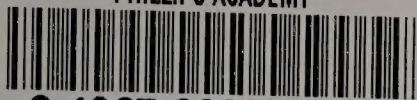


PHILLIPS ACADEMY



3 1867 00038 0597

Anno 1778.

PHILLIPS ACADEMY



OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
LIBRARY



THE
HISTORY OF ROME.

BY
THOMAS ARNOLD, D. D.,

LATE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
HEAD MASTER OF RUGBY SCHOOL,
AND MEMBER OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME.

THREE VOLUMES IN TWO.

REPRINTED ENTIRE, FROM THE LAST LONDON EDITION.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK :
D. APPLETON & CO., 200 BROADWAY.

PHILADELPHIA :
GEORGE S. APPLETON, 148 CHESNUT-STREET.

MDCCCXLVI.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BY

THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D.,

AND EDITOR OF THE HISTORY OF ROME, BY THE REV. J. B. ARNOLD, D.D.,
AND EDITOR OF THE HISTORY OF ROME, BY THE REV. J. B. ARNOLD, D.D.,
AND EDITOR OF THE HISTORY OF ROME, BY THE REV. J. B. ARNOLD, D.D.,

THREE VOLUMES IN TWO.

937

Ar 6

v. 2

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK :

J. APPLETON & CO., 230 BROADWAY.

PHILADELPHIA :

LEITCH & APPLETON, 138 CHESTNUT-STREET.

MDCCCXXXVII.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

	PAGE
Foreign History from 460 to 464 (443 to 456, Niebuhr)—Conquest of the Æquians—Third Samnite War—Coalition of the Etruscans, Samnites, and Gauls—Great battle of Sentinum, and death of P. Decius—Final victory of Q. Fabius over the Samnites—C. Pontius is led in triumph, and put to death in cold blood.....	5

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Internal History from the passing of the Ogulnian Law to the landing of Pyrrhus in Italy—Secession to the Janiculum—Dictatorship of Q. Hortensius—Hortensian and Mænian Laws—From A.U.C. 454 to 474.....	37
--	----

CHAPTER XXXV.

State of the East—Kingdoms of Alexander's Successors—Sicily—Greece—Kingdom of Epirus, and early fortunes of Pyrrhus.....	56
--	----

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Rome and the Roman People at the beginning of the War with the Tarentines and with Pyrrhus,	82
---	----

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Foreign History from 464 to 479—Wars with the Etruscans, Gauls, and Tarentines—Fourth Samnite war—Pyrrhus king of Epirus in Italy—Battles of Heraclea, Asculum, and Beneventum,	93
---	----

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

General History from the departure of Pyrrhus from Italy to the beginning of the first Punic War—Final submission of Samnium—Conquest of Tarentum—Picentian and Volsinian Wars—Rome acquires the sovereignty of all Italy—Detached events and anecdotes relating to this Period—479 to 489, A.U.C. 275 to 265, A.C.....	125
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Constitution and power of Carthage.....	139
---	-----

CHAPTER XL.

First Punic War—The Romans invade Sicily—Submission of Hiero—The Romans create a Navy—Naval victories of Mylæ and Ecnomus—Expedition of M. Regulus to Africa; His successes, his arrogance in victory, his defeat and captivity—War in Sicily—Siege of Lilybæum and naval actions connected with it—Hamilcar Barca at Eircte and Eryx—Naval battle of the Ægates—Peace concluded.—A.U.C. 490 to 513—A.C. 264 to 241.....	148
--	-----

CHAPTER XLI.

State of Italy after the Roman conquest. Political relations of the inhabitants, and different tenures of land. Latin Colonies.....	231
---	-----

CHAPTER XLII.

General history from the first to the second Punic War. Illyrian War. Great Gaulish invasion. Muster of the forces of all Italy. Defeat of the Gauls. Roman invasions of Cisalpine Gaul. M. Marcellus and C. Flaminius. A.U.C. 513 to 535. A.C. 241 to 219.....	251
---	-----

CHAPTER XLIII.

SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Hannibal. March of Hannibal from Spain to Italy. Passage of the Alps. Battles of the Trebia, and of Thrasymenus. Q. Fabius Maximus Dictator. Battle of Cannæ. A.U.C. 535 to 538.....	273
--	-----

CHAPTER XLIV.

Progress of the war in Italy after the battle of Cannæ. Revolt of Capua, and of the people of Southern Italy, to Hannibal. Great exertions of the Romans. Surprise of Tarentum. Siege of Capua. Hannibal marches on Rome. Reduction and punishment of Capua. A.U.C. 533 to 543.....	317
---	-----

CHAPTER XLV.

Progress of the war in Spain, Sicily and Greece. Operations of the Scipios in Spain. Their defeat and death. Macedon and Greece. Revolutions of Syracuse. Marcellus in Sicily. Siege of Syracuse. Archimedes. Sack of Syracuse, and reduction of Sicily. Mutines, the Numidian, in Sicily. A.U.C. 538 to 543.....	379
---	-----

CHAPTER XLVI.

State of Italy. Distress of the people. Twelve colonies refuse to support the war. Eighteen colonies offer all their resources to the Romans. Events of the war. Death of Marcellus. Fabius recovers Tarentum. March of Hasdrubal into Italy. He reaches the coast of the Adriatic. Great march of C. Nero from Apulia to oppose him. Battle of the Metaurus, and death of Hasdrubal. A.U.C. 543 to A.U.C. 547.....	411
---	-----

CHAPTER XLVII.

P. Cornelius Scipio. His operations in Spain. Siege and capture of New Carthage. Battle of Bæcula. The Carthaginians evacuate the Spanish peninsula. Scipio returns to Rome, and is elected consul. A.U.C. 543 to A.U.C. 548.....	445
---	-----

SUPPLEMENT.....	477
NOTES.....	491

HISTORY OF ROME.

2498

CHAPTER XXXIII.

937

FOREIGN HISTORY FROM 450 TO 464 (443 TO 456, NIEBUHR)—CONQUEST OF THE ÆQUIANS—THIRD SAMNITE WAR—COALITION OF THE ETRUSCANS, SAMNITES, AND GAULS—GREAT BATTLE OF SENTINUM, AND DEATH OF P. DECIUS—FINAL VICTORY OF Q. FABIUS OVER THE SAMNITES—C. PONTIUS IS LED IN TRIUMPH, AND PUT TO DEATH IN COLD BLOOD.

“Ter totum fervidus irâ
Lustrat Aventini montem ; ter saxea tentat
Limina nequidquam ; ter fessus valle resedit.”
VIRG. ÆN. VIII. 230.

“Thrice did the indignant nations league their might,
Thrice the red darkness of the battle’s night
Shrouded the recreant terror of their flight.”
MILMAN, *Judicium Regale*.

THE peace with Samnium was immediately followed by a war with the Æquians. Since the Gaulish invasion, ^{War with the Æqui-} the very name of this people has vanished out of ^{ans.} our sight, except on one single occasion in the year immediately following the recovery of the city, when Camillus is said to have taken from them the town of Bola.¹ As they took no part in the subsequent attacks made by the Volscians upon Rome, and did not even join their neighbours of Præneste, when they from the allies of the Romans became their enemies, so we may conclude with Niebuhr, that the Gaulish invasion had been even more fatal to them than to the Romans; that they must have been so

¹ Livy, VI. 2.

weakened by some great disaster sustained at that period, as to have fallen back altogether from their advanced position on the edge of the Campagna to their older country in the upper valleys of the Turano² and the Salto, and near the western shore of the lake Fucinus. From their towns on the edge of the Campagna they were probably expelled by the Latins; and acquisitions of territory from the Æquians may have been among the causes which raised Tibur and Præneste after the Gaulish invasion, to greatness far above the rest of their countrymen. Meanwhile the Æquians were left unmolested in their remaining territory, and for nearly eighty years from the burning of Rome by the Gauls they seem to have remained perfectly neutral. But towards the end of the second Samnite war, when the Hernicans, in their jealousy of the growing power of Rome, took up arms against her, the Æquians also, probably from similar motives, were induced to join in the quarrel. Æquian soldiers³ were found, it was said, together with Hernicans, in that Samnite army which Q. Fabius, when proconsul in the year 447, had defeated at Allifæ; and after the Hernican war in the year following, the whole Æquian people joined the Samnites. Thus when the Samnites, in the year 450, were obliged to sue for peace, the Æquians were left in a position of no small danger. Rome, it appears, was willing to forgive them on no other terms than those just imposed on the Hernicans; namely, that they should become citizens of Rome without the right of voting in the comitia; in other words that they should submit to become Roman subjects. Hopeless as their condition was, their old spirit would not yet allow them to yield, and they resolved to abide a contest with the whole undivided power of the Roman commonwealth.

Both consuls, P. Sempronius and P. Sulpicius,⁴ with two consular armies, marched at once into the Æquian territory. Such a force, amounting to about 40,000 men, confounded all plans of resistance. Few Æquians of that generation had ever seen war; their country had not been exposed to the ravages of an enemy within the memory of any man then living. Abandoning all hope of maintaining the field against the invaders, they took refuge in their several towns, hoping there to

Their country is overrun, and their towns taken.

² The Turano is the stream which, rising at the back of the hills which form the northern boundary of the valley of the Anio, flows thence in a northerly direction, and joins the Velino just below Rieti. The Salto rises very near to the lake Fucino, and in its earlier course is called the Imele; but it sinks into a fissure in the limestone a little below the famous battlefield of Scurgola, the scene of Conradin's defeat by Charles of Anjou, and when it

re-appears it receives the name of Salto. It flows through the pastoral country of the Cicolano, and falls into the Velino above Rieti. See Bunsen's article, "Esame del sito dei più antichi stabilimenti Italici," &c. in the Annals of the Archæological Society of Rome, Vol. VI. p. 110.

³ Livy, IX. 45.

⁴ Livy, IX. 45.

baffle the first assault of the enemy, and trusting that time might bring some of the neighbouring people to their aid. But their towns were small, and were thus each weak in the number of their defenders: the Romans well knew the effect of a first impression, and in the places which they first stormed, they probably, according to their usual practice, made a bloody execution, in order to strike terror into the rest. We have seen, under the influence of a general panic, some of the strongest fortresses and one of the most warlike nations of modern Europe taken and conquered in the space of two months; so that we cannot wonder that fifty days were sufficient to complete the Æquian war, and that forty-one towns were taken within that period,⁵ the greater part of which were destroyed and burnt. The polygonal walls of many of them are still in existence, and are to be found scattered along the pastoral upland valley of the Himella or Salto, from Alba almost to the neighbourhood of Reate. The Romans, however, did their work of destruction well; for although the style of the walls in these ruins denotes their high antiquity, yet no traces are to be found of the name, or race, or condition of their inhabitants: the actual remains will tell as little of the history of the Æquian people as we can glean from the scanty reports of their conquerors.

The fate which the Æquians had vainly striven to avert now fell upon the remnant of their nation, after the greatest portion of the people had perished or been led away into slavery. The survivors, after seeing the greatest portion of their territory converted into Roman domain land, were obliged to become Roman citizens without suffrage. But five years afterwards, when war with Etruria and with the Samnites was again threatening, the Romans admitted them to the full franchise,⁶ and they formed a considerable part of the citizens

They submit and receive the Roman franchise.

⁵ Livy, IX. 45. Diodorus, XX. 101.

⁶ "Majores nostri," says Cicero, "Æquos in civitatem acceperunt." *De Officiis*, I. 11. That they were admitted into the tribes *Aniensis* and *Terentina* is not expressly stated by any ancient writer; but the date of the creation of these tribes connects them with the Æquians, and the tribe *Aniensis* must have included the upper valley of the *Anio*, which was Æquian. The tribe *Terentina* contained at a later period; as we know, the people of the Volscian city of *Atina* (*Cicero pro Plancio*, 8, 16, 22); and *Niebuhr* thinks that they were included in it, because it was in their neighbourhood. But the *Arpinatians*, who lived nearer to the Æquian country than the people of *Atina*, were included in the *Cornelian* tribe (*Livy*,

XXXVIII. 36): and we cannot always conclude that a tribe contained only the people of one particular district. The origin of the name *Terentina* is quite unknown. We know of no town *Terentum* which could have given it its name, nor of any river *Terens*. What was the ancient name of the *Turano*, which, as it runs near to the site of *Carseoli*, must have flowed through the Æquian territory? *Bunsen* has shown that it is a mere mistake to suppose that the *Tolenus* or *Telonius* was the *Turano*. (*Annali dell' Istituto*, &c. tom. VI. p. 104.) Could the *Turano* have been anciently called *Terens*, or *Terentus*, and could the tribe *Terentina* have been named from this river, as the *Aniensis* was from the *Anio*?

enrolled in the year 455 in the two tribes then created, the Aniensiian and Terentine.

When the Samnites had made peace with Rome they were required to restore Lucania to its independence; that is, they were obliged to give back the hostages whom they had kept as a pledge of the nation's fidelity, and to withdraw their garrisons from the Lucanian towns. The Roman party in Lucania upon this regained its ascendancy, and the foreign relations of the country were so changed, that from having been in alliance with the Samnites and Tarentines against Rome, the Lucanians now took part with Rome against Tarentum. During the Samnite war, the Tarentines, covered as they were by the territory of their allies, had nothing to fear from the Roman armies; and by sea, as the Roman navy was very inconsiderable, they carried on the contest with advantage. But now a consular army,⁷ supported by their old enemies the Lucanians, might at any moment appear under their very walls; and they looked out therefore for some foreign aid. They sent to Greece, and to their own mother-city Sparta, imploring that an army might be sent to help them, and that Cleonymus might be its general. Cleonymus was the younger son of Cleomenes,⁸ king of Sparta, and the grandson of Cleombrotus who fell at Leuctra. His nephew Areus, Cleomenes' grandson by his elder son Acrotatus, had been now for about six years on the throne; and Cleonymus, like Dorieus of old, not liking to remain in Sparta as a private citizen, was eager for any opportunity of distinguishing himself abroad. Areus was no less ready to let him go; and accordingly he complied at once with the invitation of the Tarentines, and having levied at their expense about 5000 Greek mercenaries, he crossed over into Italy. There he raised 5000 mercenaries more, and the native forces of Tarentum are reckoned at 20,000 foot and 2000 horse.⁹ Most of the Italian Greeks, together with the Sallentines, who had already been engaged in hostilities with Rome, joined his standard; and had Cleonymus possessed the ability of Pyrrhus, he might have rallied around him the Samnites and Etruscans, and after the exhaustion of a twenty year's war the Romans would have found it no easy matter to withstand him.

As it was, the display of his force terrified the Lucanians, and they made their peace with Tarentum.¹⁰ It is remarkable that Diodorus, who states this in express terms, and who had just before named the Romans as being also

⁷ Diodorus says expressly, *Ταραντῖνοι πόλεμον ἔχοντες πρὸς Λευκανοὺς καὶ Ῥωμαίους*. XX. 104.

⁸ Pausanias III. 6. Plutarch, Agis, 3, and Pyrrhus, 26. Compare the article on

the kings of Sparta in the Appendix to the second volume of Mr. Fynes Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*.

⁹ Diodorus, XX. 104.

¹⁰ Diodorus, XX. 104.

at war with the Tarentines, yet makes no mention of any peace between Tarentum and Rome. A treaty, however, must have been concluded, for the attack made by the Tarentines on a Roman fleet, eleven years afterwards, is said¹¹ to have been occasioned by a violation of the conditions of the peace between the two nations; and had it not been made at this time, we cannot conceive that Cleonymus could so immediately have engaged in other enterprises. It seems probable that no other terms were required on either side than the renewal of a preceding treaty; and this treaty was originally concluded at a period when the only conceivable intercourse between Rome and Tarentum could have been by sea. It stipulated¹² in the usual language that no Roman ships, meaning probably ships of war, were to advance along the south coast of Italy nearer to Tarentum than the headland of Lacinium, which forms the southern extremity of the Tarentine gulf. There was no doubt a similar stipulation, restraining the Tarentines from advancing with their ships of war nearer to Rome than the headland of Circeii.

Cleonymus, being thus no longer needed by the Tarentines, employed his arms with various success in plundering operations along the eastern coast of Italy, till at last he was beaten off by the inhabitants and obliged to return to Greece. He is not heard of again till he invited Pyrrhus to assist him in his attempt to seize the throne of Sparta.

Two years after the end of the Samnite war, the Marsians, who had then, as we have seen, made peace with Rome like the other allies of the Samnites, were again engaged in hostilities. The Roman account¹³ states that they resisted the settlement of a Roman colony at Carseoli, one of the Æquian towns lately conquered, and themselves maintained the place by force. This is scarcely credible, for they had made no opposition to the colonizing of Alba, a more important position, and one much nearer to their own country. However the war, whatever was its cause, was short, and ended in the speedy submission of the Marsians, who were obliged to cede a portion of their domain. The same penalty had been paid in the preceding

Short war with the Marsians.

¹¹ Appian, Samnitic. VII.

¹² Δημαγωγός . . παλαιῶν τοῦς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμνησκε συνθηκῶν, μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίους πρόσω Λακινίας ἄκρας.—Appian, Samnitic. VII.

¹³ Livy, X. 3. At this point we lose the connected history of Diodorus. The last consulship noticed in his twentieth book is that of M. Livius and M. Æmilius, which was the second year after the end of the Samnite war, and according to Diodorus the third year of the hundred and nineteenth Olympiad. Although we

have numerous fragments of his later books, yet these can ill supply the place of a regular narrative, which with all its faults has certainly preserved to us some very valuable and probable accounts of many events in the Roman history. We miss also his notices of the several writers from whom his work was compiled, and his occasional mention of obscure nations and cities, of which we have scarcely any other knowledge. Thus for the third Samnite war Livy is almost our sole authority.

year by the Hernicans of Frusino, for an alleged attempt to excite their countrymen to revolt; and these acquisitions of land by the Romans are memorable, not so much as increasing their power against foreign enemies, but for their effect on their own state of society at home. We must remember that the land thus gained was mostly held in occupation by the Roman nobility, and often to a much larger extent than the Licinian law allowed; and that this great increase of their wealth, and accumulation of extensive domains, "Latifundia," led gradually to a system of slave cultivation, and contributed more than any other cause to the great diminution of the free population throughout Italy.

In the same year the Vestinians,¹⁴ of whom we have heard nothing since their unfortunate war with Rome in 429, are said to have sought the friendship of the Romans, and to have concluded with them a treaty of alliance. Since the conquest of the Æquians the Roman frontier had become contiguous to theirs; so that relations with Rome, either friendly or hostile, were become inevitable. Through this treaty, Rome completely separated the Samnites from the Etruscans; as her own territory or that of her allies reached now across the whole width of Italy from the mouth of the Tiber to that of the Aternus on the Adriatic. Two or three years¹⁵ afterwards the Picentians, whose country stretched along the coast of the Adriatic northward of the Vestinians, lapping as it were round Umbria on the east, and reaching as far as the settlements of the Senonian Gauls on the Metaurus and the Æsis, became also the allies of Rome. Their friendship was of importance; for not only were the Etruscans and Umbrians already at war with Rome, but it was known that the Gauls had been solicited to take part in the contest; and the situation of Picenum was most favourable for carrying the war into the Gauls' own country, if they should attempt to stir, or for threatening the flank and rear of the Etruscans and Umbrians, if they should move either on Rome or towards Samnium.

Meanwhile the Etruscan war, which was so soon to kindle a new

¹⁴ Livy, X. 3,

¹⁵ Livy, X. 10. Another year is inserted by the chronologers between the consulship of M. Livius and M. Æmilius, and that of M. Valerius and Q. Appuleius. Like two or three other years in the fifth century of Rome, it is said to have been a year without consuls, and marked only by a dictatorship. Thus the chronology becomes more and more confused, for these dictatorships if real could not have lasted more than six months, and the next consuls would therefore come into office half a year after their predecessors' term was

expired. In this manner the beginning of the consular year was continually varying, and these portions of years being reckoned as whole years, the reckoning fell more and more in disorder. How constantly do the perplexities of the Roman Fasti remind one of the truth of Thucydides' remark, that the natural chronology of the seasons of the year was the only sure guide; the civil chronology, he says was a perpetual source of mistakes: οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές ἐστίν, οἷς καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ μεσοῦσι, καὶ ὅπως ἔτυχέν τῳ, ἐπεγένετό τι.—V. 20.

war with the Samnites, broke out partially in the year 453. Its origin is ascribed to the internal factions of the Etruscan city of Arretium;¹⁶ the powerful house of the Cilnians, of which Mecænas was a descendant, was at variance with the people or commons of Arretium, and was suspected also by some of the neighbouring cities, as likely to endanger their independence. The Cilnians applied for aid to Rome, already known as the natural supporter of the high aristocratical party throughout Italy, and thus, we are told, a Roman army was sent into Etruria. The details, as is so often the case, are utterly conflicting; but it is said that the Cilnians were reconciled to the popular party, and hostilities ended for the present. In the next year, 454, we find one of the consuls besieging the Umbrian town of Nequinum¹⁷ on the Nar, on what provocation we know not. The siege, however, was protracted till the year following; for the inhabitants well availed themselves of the strong site of their town, built on a narrow ledge in the mountain side, with an almost abrupt ascent above, and a descent no less steep down into the narrow gorge of the Nar below. At last the town was betrayed to the Romans; and they immediately sent a colony to occupy the spot,¹⁸ which from henceforth took the name of Narnia. It commands the defile which leads from the valley of the Tiber into the plain of Interamna or Terni, one of the richest tracts of central Italy.

A new Etruscan war.
Siege of Nequinum in
Umbria.

Some accounts¹⁹ related that the Samnites had supported the people of Nequinum in their obstinate resistance, and had sent troops to their succour. It is manifest that the Samnite government was at this period making the greatest exertions, in the hope, probably, that the Etruscans would create a diversion in their favour by drawing off a part of the forces of Rome to her northern frontier. The Samnite plans were, moreover, unexpectedly furthered by a new inroad of the Gauls; new hordes had lately arrived from beyond the Alps,²⁰ and their countrymen in the plains of the Po, having no room for them, were anxious to speed them on their way southwards; they encouraged them to cross the Apennines, and even joined themselves in the enterprise. The Etruscans had already perhaps engaged their services against the Romans; so that the

The Samnites exert
themselves vigorously
to form a new coalition
against Rome.

¹⁶ Livy, X. 3.

¹⁷ Livy, X. 9.

¹⁸ Livy, X. 10.

¹⁹ "M. Fulvius Cn: F. Cn. N. Pætinnus Cos. De Samnitibus Nequinatibusque. Ann: CD . . . VII. K. Oct."—Fasti Capitol.

²⁰ Polybius, II. 19. This account is again different from that of Livy, who represents the Gauls as quarrelling with the Etruscans about the terms of their

service, and thus as not invading the Roman dominion at all. There can be no doubt that Polybius has preserved the truer version of these events. He fixes also this Gaulish invasion at about eighty-seven years after the first invasion, when Rome was taken, that is, according to his reckoning, Olymp. 120-1, or B. C. 300. The common reckoning places it in 299, a difference not worth dwelling upon.

Gauls marched through Etruria still onwards, and with an Etruscan force co-operating with them, they poured into the Roman dominions.²¹ It is probable that they followed their old line by the valley of the Clanis into Umbria, and that their ravages were carried on rather in the territory of the allies of Rome than in that of Rome itself. But the invaders won a great spoil without any opposition, and the Gauls recrossed the Apennines to carry it home in safety. They would have been tempted, probably, by their success, to renew their inroad in the next year; but fortunately for the Romans, they quarrelled with one another about the division of their plunder;²² and the greatest part of their multitude were destroyed by each others' swords. Whilst the Gauls, however, were on the left bank of the Tiber, the whole force of Rome was watching their movements; and the Samnites seized the opportunity to march into Lucania.²³ The appearance of a Samnite army revived the Samnite party in Lucania; the Roman party was every where overpowered; town after town was recovered to the Samnite alliance; and the partisans of Rome sent an embassy in all haste to the senate, praying for instant succour. But the Samnite government did not stop here; their ambassadors endeavoured to rouse all the nations of Italy to arms, and to form one great coalition against Rome. They solicited the Picentians to join them;²⁴ but there the influence of the Roman party was predominant; and the Picentian government made a merit of communicating instantly to the Romans the attempt of the Samnites to shake their faith. Old jealousies probably influenced the Marsians, Marrucinians, and Pelignians; they had often found the Samnites restless neighbours, and dreaded the restoration of their former power. But the Sabines²⁵ seem to have listened to the Samnite overtures; there the ties of blood drew the two people towards one another; and the new Roman tribes, lately created in the Æquian territory, brought the Romans into too close neighbourhood to Reate and the valley of the Velinus. Etruria was

²¹ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἀσφαλῶς ἐπανῆλθον.—Polyb. II. 19.

²² Polybius, II. 19.

²³ Livy, X. 11. Dionysius, XVI. 11. For these sudden revolutions in the condition of Lucania, we may compare the conquest of Bœotia by Myronides, and its loss a few years afterwards through the event of the battle of Coronea; and also the accession of Achaia to the Athenian alliance, a little before the thirty years' peace, and its loss again, through the stipulations of that treaty. It is manifest that the Roman and Samnite parties in Lucania, or, in other words, the aristocratical and popular parties, each as they gained the ascendancy, took to themselves

the name of the Lucanian nation, and spoke of the foreign supporters of the opposite party as the national enemies.

²⁴ Livy, X. 11.

²⁵ Amiternum, a Sabine town in the upper valley of the Aternus, was taken from the Samnites by the Romans in 461. Livy, X. 39. This implies a previous occupation of it by the Samnites, and an alliance therefore between the two countries. And an inscription relating to Appius Claudius the blind, states that he "defeated an army of Sabines and Etruscans" in his consulship, namely, in the year 458. See Orelli, Inscript. Latin. Collectio, No. 539.

already engaged in a quarrel of her own with Rome ; so far as the endless party revolutions in the Etruscan cities might allow any dependence on the stability of her counsels. The weakness of Umbria might yield to fear, if Etruria on one side and the Sabines on the other, and the Gauls hanging on her northern frontier, should together call upon her to join the confederacy. Nor were the Samnites neglectful of the nations of the south : they had already, as we have seen, recovered the greatest part of Lucania, and their arms giving timely aid to their party within the country, must at this period have won also the majority of the Apulian nation to desert the Roman alliance, and to acknowledge once again the supremacy of Samnium.²⁶ The indefatigable Samnite government, after all these efforts, might have well remonstrated, like the Homeric goddess, with that hard destiny which was to render them all fruitless—

*πῶς ἐθέλεις ἄλλον θείναι πόνον ἢδ' ἀτέλεστον,
ἰδρῶ θ' ὃν ἰδρῶσα μόγῳ ; καμέτην δέ μοι ἵπποι
λαὸν ἀγειροῦσιν, Πριάμῳ κακὰ τοῖό τε παίσιν.*

The Romans, as might have been expected, readily listened to the prayer of their friends in Lucania. An alliance²⁷ was concluded with the Lucanian people, and hostages, taken probably from some of the families of the Samnite party, were given to the Romans as a pledge of their allies' fidelity. Ambassadors were sent into Samnium to require the Samnites to withdraw their troops from Lucania, and with a threat of instant war if the demand were not complied with. The Samnites ordered the ambassadors to leave Samnium without an audience ; and the general council of the Samnite nation resolved that each separate state of their union should make its preparations for the support of the common cause. On the other side, the Romans made a formal declaration of war ; and thus the desperate struggle began again with increased animosity.

Beginning of the third Samnite war.

When we read of the Samnites, Etruscans, and Gauls, with the Lucanians and Apulians, some of the Sabines and most of the Umbrian states, engaged in one great confederacy against Rome, we are first inclined to wonder how the Romans could have escaped destruction. But when we consider that under the name of Rome were included all those nations which were in her alliance, and of whose forces she had the supreme disposal, we find that it was but a weaker and far worse organized confederacy opposed to one stronger in itself, and much more firmly united. From the Ciminian hills to the

Superior strength of the Roman confederacy.

²⁶ Because in the year 457 we find an Apulian army in the field in aid of the Samnites ; and P. Decius is said to have defeated it at Maleventum, when on its

march to join the Samnite army. Livy, X. 15.

²⁷ Livy, X. 11, 12. Dionysius, XVI. 11, 12.

bay of Naples, the territory of the Romans, Latins, and Campanians presented a compact mass of states and people, far superior in population, in resources, and in union, to the long and ill-organized line of its enemies; whilst in the centre of Italy, and reaching to the coast of the Adriatic, the Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucini-ans, Frentanians, Vestinians, and Picentians, formed a separate mass of Roman allies, who by their position might either obstruct the enemies' communication, or threaten their rear. In fact, it was only the desperate resolution of the Samnite people, and the great energy and ability of their leaders, which could afford any chance of success, where the resources of the contending parties were so unequal. The Gauls were, like all barbarians, uncertain and unmanageable; and the repeated vacillations of the Etruscan counsels made the alliance of Etruria as unsafe a support as that of Egypt to the kings of Judah: to lean on the Etruscans was indeed to lean on a broken reed.

No combined plan of operations on the part of the enemies of Rome can be traced in the first campaign of the war. The Gauls could not be prevailed on as yet to take the field; and the Roman party in Lucania was not entirely put down, so that the Samnites were still employed in that quarter, and could not send an army into Etruria.

The Roman consuls of the year 456, the first year of the renewed Samnite war, were L. Cornelius Scipio and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.²⁸ L. Scipio was the great grandfather of the conqueror of Hannibal; he is the first Roman of whom a contemporary record has reached our times; the famous epitaph²⁹ on his tomb, which declares him to have been "a brave man and a wise, whose form well matched his nobleness." Yet such are the perplexities of the uncertain history of these times, that no one action recorded in Scipio's epitaph is noticed by Livy, while no action which Livy ascribes to him is mentioned in his epitaph. The accounts of his colleague's exploits are no less varied; some making him win a great battle in northern Samnium,³⁰ and saying that he afterwards besieged and took Bovianum and Aufidena; while others placed the seat of his

²⁸ Livy, X. 11.

²⁹ The sarcophagus which contained the bones of L. Cornelius Scipio was discovered in 1780; and is now in the Vatican Museum. The epitaph is as follows, written in the old Saturnian verse:

"Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnaivod

Patre prognatus fortis vir sapiensque
Quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit,
Consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos,
Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit

Subigit omne Loucana opsidesque abducit."

"Gnaivod" in the first line would, in modern Latin, be "Cnæo," and "quoius" in the third line is "cujus." I have copied the inscription from Bunsen and Platner's "Beschreibung Roms," Vol. III. p. 616. It may be found also in Orelli's Collection of Inscriptions, No. 550, and an engraving of the sarcophagus, exhibiting also the epitaph, is given in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1787.

³⁰ Livy, X. 12.

campaign on the Lucanian frontier, and extolled³¹ the ability with which he had conducted his operations against a superior enemy. A third account is followed by the *Fasti Capitolini*, that Fulvius triumphed over the Samnites and Etruscans; which seems to contradict the story followed by Livy, that Scipio invaded Etruria, advanced as far as Volaterræ, and gained a hardly won victory under the walls of that city. It is only certain that this year was really marked by no great successes on the part of the Romans; on the contrary, they looked forward to the next campaign with great anxiety, and therefore³² they pressed Q. Fabius to accept the consulship, notwithstanding his advanced age, and although he was not legally eligible, as ten years had not elapsed since he was consul before. It was in vain that he remonstrated; a dispensation,³³ according to a practice afterward so frequent, was passed in his favour; and the people proceeded to elect him. He then entreated of them that he might recommend to them P. Decius as his colleague: Decius and himself, he said, had been censors together, and there was no man with whom he could act so well as consul. Accordingly Q. Fabius and P. Decius were elected together: L. Scipio, the consul of the preceding year, served³⁴ under Fabius as his lieutenant, and a Fulvius³⁵ and a Valerius are named amongst his military tribunes.

At this moment, when the Romans expected to be assailed by the whole force of the enemies' confederacy, they found it suddenly paralyzed. Etruria for some reason or other was not ready to act,³⁶ and the Ro-

Second campaign. Destructive invasion of Samnium by Q. Fabius and P. Decius.

³¹ See the stories in Frontinus, *Strategem.* I. 6, § 1, 2, and I. 11, § 2, already referred to by Niebuhr. But the authority of the particular anecdotes contained in such collections as that of Frontinus is but small, and is not in itself to be set in comparison with that of any moderately careful historian. In the present instance the anecdotes are curious, as showing how many different versions of the same events were in circulation, as long as no real historian existed to sift them all, and to choose the truest or the most probable; but they do not appear to me to be entitled to any peculiar credit.

³² Livy, X. 13.

³³ "Tribuni plebis . . . aiebant, se ad populum laturus ut legibus solveretur."—Livy, X. 13. *Legibus solvi* is the regular expression used, when any one has a dispensation granted him, to release him from complying with the enactments of some particular law.

³⁴ Livy, X. 14. "Fabius . . . Scipionem legatum hastatos primæ legionis subrahare . . . jubet."

³⁵ Livy, X. 14. The reading in the modern editions of Livy is "M. Fulvium et M. Valerium," but most of the MSS. read "Maximum Fulvium," and Niebuhr observes that Maximus was a surname of the Fulvian family, as appears from the *Fasti Capitolini*. It is probable that the military tribunes here spoken of were the sons respectively of Cn. Fulvius and of M. Valerius, who had been consuls in 454 and 456.

³⁶ "Ab Sutrio et Nepete et Faleriis legati, auctores concilia Etruriæ populorum de petendâ pace haberi."—Livy, X. 14. This perpetual vacillation in the Etruscan counsels arose no doubt from the balanced state of their domestic parties. If any difficulty arose in obtaining the expected aid from the Gauls, the Cilni of Arretium, and other friends of the Roman connexion, would urge the danger of opposing Rome single-handed, and would advise delay; and fear and weakness counterfeiting prudence would easily be tempted to listen to them.

man frontier on that side might be safely left without an army. Accordingly, both consuls marched into Samnium,³⁷ Fabius by Sora and the upper Liris, Decius by the country of the Sidicini-ans and the line of the Volturnus. Fabius was met by the main Samnite army, which he defeated after a most obstinate battle; while Decius had encountered the Apulians near Beneventum on their march to join their allies, and defeated them also. The Samnites then acted on the defensive, and were obliged to suffer their country to be laid waste without opposition. Both of the Roman armies remained in Samnium, it is said, for five months,³⁸ moving about from one part of it to another, and carrying on their ravages so systematically, that Decius was recorded to have encamped his legions in forty-five several places, and Fabius in as many as eighty-six. But the Samnites must have driven their cattle to their mountain pastures, and many of these were so surrounded by forests, and so fenced round with precipitous cliffs, that a small force could have defended them with success against an army. The low country,³⁹ however, was no doubt grievously wasted, and the Romans must have found plunder enough to encourage them to continue their invasion. Towards the end of the year Fabius returned to Rome to hold the comitia; after which he resumed his command, and both he and his colleague were ordered to remain in Samnium⁴⁰ for six months longer, with the title and power of pro-consul.

It was probably in this winter that the Samnite influence in Lucania and Apulia was completely overthrown, and both those countries returned to the Roman alliance. In both the aristocratical party was of itself eager to re-establish this connexion; and the presence of two Roman armies, and the inability of the Samnites to keep the field against them, destroyed the ascendancy of the popular party,⁴¹ and changed accordingly the foreign relations of the whole people. It was now too, it seems, that L. Scipio, as lieutenant of the proconsul, Q. Fabius, had so great a share in effecting the revolution in Lucania, as to be able to boast, in the words of his epitaph, that he

³⁷ Livy, X. 14.

³⁸ Livy, X. 15. The circumstantial statement of the number of encampments in this campaign deserves credit; and the account of Fabius' victory is moderate and probable.

³⁹ In the former war the consuls of the year 448 had ravaged Samnium during five months, burning all the scattered houses, and destroying the fruit-trees.—Diodorus, XX. 80. But no enemy could have penetrated within the rocky walls of the Matese, and many other spots must have been equally secure.

⁴⁰ Livy, X. 16.

⁴¹ "Lucanorum seditiones a plebeiis et agentibus ducibus ortas summâ optimatum voluntate per Q. Fabium proconsulem, missum eo cum vetere exercitu, compresserat."—Livy, X. 18. Nothing is mentioned of the Apulians after their defeat at Beneventum; but as they do not appear again as the allies of the Samnites, it is probable that they followed the example of the Lucanians, and returned in this winter to their old connexion with Rome.

had "subdued all Lucania and carried off hostages." The hostages would be demanded from the principal families of the popular or Samnite party, as a security that they should not again excite their countrymen to revolt from Rome.

Thus having recovered Lucania and Apulia, having overrun Samnium without resistance during several months, and having succeeded apparently, through the influence of their party in the Etruscan cities, in separating Etruria from the coalition, the Romans thought that their work was done; the two proconsular armies marched home and were disbanded, and the consuls of the year, L. Volumnius and App. Claudius, after having hitherto remained quiet at Rome, were ordered to march with their newly-raised legions⁴² into Samnium, as if to receive the final submission of their exhausted enemy. But scarcely had the consuls left the city, when tidings came that the cities of Etruria were in arms,⁴³ that several of the Umbrian states had joined them, that they were engaging the services of a large force of Gaulish auxiliaries; and that a Samnite general, with a Samnite army, was in the midst of this mass of enemies, to cement their union, and to breathe into their counsels a new spirit of decision and energy.

There is no finer scene in history than the embassy of Demosthenes to Thebes, when Philip had occupied Elatea. Triumphant alike over all old prejudices and all present fears, the great orator, almost in the very presence of the Macedonian army, and in spite of the influence of a strong Macedonian party in Thebes itself, prevailed upon the Thebans to throw themselves into the arms of Athens, and to share her fortune for life or for death in her contest against the common enemy of independent Greece. Most unlike to this action of Demosthenes in glory, yet not inferior to it in vigorous resolution, was the march of the Samnite general, Gellius Egnatius, into Etruria, in order by his presence to determine the wavering counsels of the Etruscans to a zealous co-operation against Rome. Seizing the moment when the proconsuls had left Samnium, and the new consuls had not yet taken the field, he fearlessly abandoned his own country to the attacks of the enemy, and, with a select army, marched through the land of the Sabines into Umbria,

⁴² The accounts which Livy followed represent the proconsuls as being still in Samnium when the new consuls took the field, X. 18. But Niebuhr observes that his narrative contradicts itself, for the legions raised by the consuls are expressly said to have been the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th as usual; whereas, had two consular armies been under arms at that time, the new legions must have been the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th. Besides, some of the annals

reported that Appius Claudius and Volumnius both carried on war in Samnium (Livy, X. 17, ad finem); and it is not likely, as Niebuhr remarks, that four armies should have been employed before the war broke out in Etruria, and that two of them should then have been disbanded, just when their services were most needful.

⁴³ Livy, X. 18.

Revival of the war in Etruria.

March of Gellius Egnatius from Samnium into Etruria, to organize the war against Rome.

and from thence crossing the Tiber, arrived in the heart of Etruria. His sudden appearance raised the spirits of the friends of the Samnite alliance, and struck terror into the Cilnii and the party attached to Rome. The Etruscans resolved to renew the war, and, as we have seen, many of the Umbrian states and an army of Gauls were expected to join them.

On the first tidings of this march of the Samnite general, the senate sent orders to Appius Claudius to follow him without delay. Appius, with the first and fourth Roman legions and 12,000 allies, was probably on his march towards the northern parts of Samnium, by the Latin road and the upper valley of the Liris, and thus could be sent into Etruria more readily than his colleague, who, we may suppose, had marched by the Appian Road to attack the southern frontier of Samnium from Campania. Appius hastened into Etruria,⁴⁴ and the appearance of a Roman army at first revived the hopes of the partisans of Rome: but one consul was unequal to the combined forces of the enemy, and L. Volumnius was obliged to evacuate Samnium also, and hasten to join his colleague. No sooner was the whole force of Rome thus employed in Etruria, than the Samnites took the field with the forces which had been left to defend their own country, and burst into Campania.⁴⁵ There they laid waste not only the lands of the allies of Rome, but of all those Roman citizens who had obtained settlements in the Falernian district, and composed the Falerian tribe.

The march of Gellius Egnatius had thus completely attained its object; Samnium was wholly relieved, and the war was carried into the actual territory of Rome. Even the mere suddenness of this change was enough to increase its terrors; the Roman government ordered all legal business to be suspended,⁴⁶ and troops to be raised for the defence of the city; nor were the levies confined to the military age, or to free-born commons of the country tribes, but citizens above five and forty, and even freedmen of the four city tribes, were enrolled in the legions raised to meet the emergency. All these measures were directed in the absence of the consuls by P. Sempronius Sophus, the prætor. Meanwhile L. Volumnius had received intelligence of the invasion of Campania, and was hastening back from Etruria to his own province. It is apparent from the stories which have been preserved of the meeting of the two consuls in Etruria, that there was no harmony between them; and thus the public service was likely to suffer the less from the division of their forces. We may believe also, that their junction for a time had revived the Roman interest in the Etruscan cities;

Third campaign. Both consuls in Etruria. The Samnites invade Campania.

Alarm at Rome. The consul Volumnius marches back from Etruria to deliver Campania.

⁴⁴ Livy, X. 18.

⁴⁵ Livy, X. 20.

⁴⁶ Livy, X. 21.

and we may admit, not indeed the account given by Livy of a complete victory won over the Etruscan and Samnite armies, but that some advantages were gained⁴⁷ which saved Appius from his perilous situation, and enabled his colleague to leave him when a still more pressing danger called him into Campania. Volumnius marched with the utmost rapidity, and on his reaching the scene of action, he obliged the Samnites instantly to retreat into their own country, and overtaking a party of them on their way, he defeated them with considerable loss,⁴⁸ and recovered a great portion of the spoil which they were carrying with them. This gleam of success was most welcome to the Romans; the usual course of business was resumed, after having been suspended for eighteen days, and a thanksgiving was ordered in the name of the consul for the favour which the gods had shown to the commonwealth under his auspices.

Still, however, the aspect of affairs was most critical. In order to protect the Falernian district from the ravages of the Samnites, it was resolved that two Roman colonies should be planted there; one at Minturnæ⁴⁹ at the mouth of the Liris, and the other at Sinuessa, on the hills which divide the waters running to the Liris from those that feed the Savone. But settlements in this quarter were considered so insecure, and so exposed to perpetual ravages from the Samnites, that few were willing to accept a grant of land on such terms. As the consular elections drew near, L. Volumnius was recalled from Campania to hold the comitia; and the unanimous voice of the people again called upon Q. Fabius to accept the office of consul. He again yielded to the general wish, but begged as before that P. Decius might be his colleague; and Decius was accordingly elected consul with him.⁵⁰ Appius Claudius, who was still with his army in Etruria, was appointed prætor, and L. Volumnius had his command prolonged for another year as proconsul. L. Cornelius Scipio, who had served under Fabius in his last consulship, Cn. Fulvius who had been consul in the year 456, and had conducted the first campaign of this war in Samnium, together with L. Postumius Megellus, were appointed also to commands in this great campaign, with the title of proprætors.

The anxiety occasioned by the impending contest may be measured by the particular accounts of prodigies and their expiations which were to be found in the annals of this year. From the altar⁵¹ of the temple

Great preparations for the ensuing campaign. Q. Fabius and P. Decius again chosen consuls.

A. U. C. 459. B. C. 295. Reported omens of the fate of the war.

⁴⁷ In the midst of the battle, Appius vowed to build a temple to Bellona, if the goddess would grant him victory; and this temple was afterwards built. See Orelli, *Inscript. Latinar. Collect.* No. 539. This may be taken as evidence that Appius repulsed the enemy and saved his own

army, but it by no means proves that he won a decided victory. We have only to remember Coruña and Albuhera.

⁴⁸ Livy, X. 20, 21.

⁴⁹ Livy, X. 21.

⁵⁰ Livy, X. 22-26.

⁵¹ Zonaras, VIII. 1.

of the Capitoline Jupiter there flowed for three successive days, so said the annals, first blood, then honey, and on the third day milk. The blood was interpreted as a sign that the blood of thank-offerings for victory should soon stream on the altar of Jupiter, but the favours of the gods would not be unmixed; for honey was the medicine of the sick, and foreshowed a heavy visitation of sickness: milk was the food of those whose corn had failed them, and was the sign of a coming famine. To avert the threatened anger of the gods, and to confirm them in their promised favour, solemn prayers⁵² were ordered to be offered during two whole days; and frankincense and wine were furnished to every one at the public expense, that the prayers might be universal and unceasing.

The consuls at this time came into office about the beginning of the year; and as the snow was still thick on the Apennines, the Gauls could not yet take the field to march into Etruria, and the campaign would not be opened till the spring. But the position of Appius Claudius in the enemy's country was exceedingly perilous; and he himself, in the opinion of Fabius, was scarcely equal to the difficulties of his situation. Accordingly, Fabius himself having raised⁵³ a small force of 4000 foot and 600 horse, out of a great multitude who were eager to serve under so renowned a general, set out at once for Etruria. He found Appius Claudius busily employed in strengthening the fortifications of his camp, and the soldiers from thus acting solely on the defensive were dispirited, and mistrusted both themselves and their general. Fabius ordered them to level their fortifications; and having sent Appius home, he took the command of the army in person, and kept it continually in movement, marching rapidly from place to place, and restoring to the men their accustomed feeling of confidence. He then stationed one division⁵⁴ in the country of the Camertian Umbrians, the allies of the Romans, to observe the pass by which the Gauls were likely to cross the Apennines, apparently that of La Scheggia on the Flaminian road, descending on Nocera and Foligno. This was placed under the command of L. Scipio; while Fabius himself returned to Rome to concert measures with his colleague for the operations of the approaching spring.

Two consular armies⁵⁵ were destined to take the field, consisting each of two Roman legions, and an unusually large force of Roman cavalry; together with 500 Campanian cavalry, and a force of allies still larger than that of the Romans themselves. Amongst the allies were undoubtedly the Lucanians⁵⁶ and Campanians, and in all proba-

App. Claudius in Etruria. Winter march of Fabius to relieve him.

Forces of the Romans and their allies employed in active operations.

⁵² Livy, X. 23.

⁵³ Livy, X. 25.

⁵⁴ Livy, X. 25.

⁵⁵ Livy, X. 26.

⁵⁶ The Lucanians are mentioned as among the regular allies of the Romans,

bility the Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucinians and Vestinians, as well as the contingents of the colonies founded in the late war, and those of the still independent cities of the Latins. All the forces of the Picentians which could be spared from the defence of their own country, as well as those of the Camertians, were employed, we may suppose, with the army of L. Scipio, watching the movements of the enemy in Umbria.

Whilst this large force, consisting at least of between fifty and sixty thousand men, was to take the field in the north, two more Roman legions, with a proportionate number of allies, were to invade Samnium⁵⁷ under L. Volumnius as proconsul. A third army, under Cn. Fulvius as proprætor,⁵⁸ was to be stationed as a reserve in the Faliscan territory, at once to defend the passage of the Tiber, and preserve the communications of the main army with Rome; and also to create a diversion, if opportunity should offer, by acting on the offensive against Etruria. And lastly, a fourth army, commanded by L. Postumius Megellus,⁵⁹ also proprætor, was to be encamped in the Vatican district, on the right bank of the Tiber, to cover Rome itself.

Their armies of reserve.

This account of the dispositions of the Romans is clear and perfectly credible; but, unfortunately, we are left in total ignorance as to the numbers, movements, and position of the enemy. Why the Etruscans and Samnites did not crush Scipio's army, even before the arrival of the Gauls, we can scarcely understand, unless we suppose that party struggles again paralyzed the force of the Etruscans, and kept it in inactivity under a show of caution, till the whole army of the alliance should be assembled. At last the Gauls commenced their movement before the consuls had left Rome; they hastened to force the passage of the Apennines, and no sooner had they arrived on the scene of war than they began to act in earnest. L. Scipio's army⁶⁰ was attacked by the Gauls and Samnites, and completely defeated; one legion, it is said, was cut to pieces; the rest of his division took shelter, probably, within some of the neighbouring towns, and the Gaulish horsemen overrunning the country, fell in suddenly with the two consular armies, which had now taken the field, and first acquainted them with the defeat of their countrymen, by exhibiting the heads of the slain Romans affixed to their long lances, or hanging round the necks of their horses.

L. Scipio's division is defeated by the Gauls and Samnites.

and quartered within the consul's camp, in the year immediately following.—See Livy, X. 33.

⁵⁷ Livy, X. 27.

⁵⁸ Livy, X. 27.

⁵⁹ Livy, X. 27.

⁶⁰ Livy, X. 26. Polybius, II. 19. We learn from Polybius, that the Samnites

were engaged in this action as well as the Gauls, and that it was not a surprise, but a regular battle, *κατὰ κράτος* 'Ρωμαίοις. It was fought in the country of the Camertians, or people of Camerinum, perhaps near the point where the modern road from Ancona to Rome crosses the Apennines to descend upon Foligno.

Exactly at this critical point of the campaign, Livy's narrative fails us, and all that passed between the destruction of the legion and the final battle at Sentinum, is a total blank : it is as much lost to us as a country travelled over during the night ; we were in one sort of scenery yesterday, and we find ourselves in another this morning : each is distinct in itself, but we know not the connexion between them. Earnestly must Gellius Egnatius have laboured to bring on a decisive battle in the plains of Umbria ; the allies had begun the campaign with happy omens, their whole force was united, the ground was favorable ; nothing could be gained, and every thing would be hazarded by delay. But whether the fault rested once again with the Etruscans, or whether the Picentians caused a timely diversion, by threatening to invade the country of the Gauls, or whether the consuls fell back upon Spoletum, and were able to avoid an action for the moment, we know not. But they sent orders to the proprætors, Cn. Fulvius and L. Postumius, to advance into the heart of Etruria, and no sooner did the tidings of this movement reach the enemy's army, than the Etruscans and Umbrians insisted on marching to the defence of the Etruscan territory, and the Gauls and Samnites, indignant at their desertion, and refusing to follow them, had no choice themselves but to fall back behind the Apennines, and to resign their hopes of a victorious march upon Rome.

The Romans pursued them instantly, with two consular armies certainly, and with the wreck of L. Scipio's division ; perhaps also with the two legions of L. Volumnius, which may have been recalled from Samnium. They found the enemy in the country of Sentinum, an Umbrian town on the north side of the Apennines,⁶¹ just under the central chain, in a small valley which runs down into the larger valley of the *Æsis* or *Esino*, and not far on the right hand of the *Flaminian* road, at the point where it crosses the watershed of the mountains. It was of the utmost importance to the Roman generals to bring the contest to an issue whilst they had only the Gauls and Samnites to encounter, and in this they easily succeeded, for the Gauls had never yet fought the Romans without conquering them, and Gellius Egnatius knew enough of the inconstant humour of barbarians to be aware that they would soon be tired of a protracted war, and that if the Gauls too deserted him, his heroic march from Samnium would have been made in vain. So the two armies met by common consent in fair field ; Q. Fabius was on the Roman right, opposed to Gellius Egnatius and his Samnites ;⁶²

⁶¹ The ancient Sentinum stood on or near the site of the modern town of Sassoferrato, as is known by inscriptions which have been discovered there. See Orelli,

Nos. 3861 and 4949. But I have no good information as to the details of the topography.

⁶² Livy, X. 27.

P. Decius was on the left over against the Gauls. If L. Volumnius was present with the legions from Samnium, he probably, like Cn. Servilius at Cannæ, who had also been consul in the year before the battle, had his place in the centre. The Samnites could not alone have contended with Q. Fabius, whose right wing was equal to a regular consular army ; and the Gauls must have been more than enough to overpower P. Decius. It is probable, therefore, that the Gauls composed the greater part of the enemy's line of battle, and that only the extreme left was held by Gellius Egnatius and his Samnites.

While the two armies fronted each other, and were on the very eve of battle, a hind,⁶³ said the Roman story, came running down from the mountains between the two opposing lines, with a wolf in chase of her. A favourable omen encourages the Romans. She ran in amongst the Gaulish ranks, and the Gauls transfixed her with their long javelins. The wolf ran towards the Romans, and they instantly gave free passage to the beast which had given suck to the founder of their city ; and whose image they had only in the preceding year⁶⁴ set up beneath that very sacred fig tree in the comitium, which tradition pointed out as the scene of the miracle. "See," cried out one of the soldiers, "Diana's sacred hind has been slain by the barbarians, and will bring down her wrath upon them ; while the Roman wolf, unhurt by sword or spear, gives us a fair omen of victory, and bids us think on Mars and on Quirinus our divine founder." So the Roman soldiers, as encouraged by a sign from the gods, rushed cheerfully to the onset.

This story, with some other circumstances related of the battle itself, are blended strangely with the perfectly historical substance of the general narrative. Battle of Sentinum. When the armies closed,⁶⁵ the Roman left wing struggled vigorously against the numbers, and strength, and courage of the Gauls. Twice, it is said, did the Roman and Campanian cavalry charge with effect the Gaulish horsemen ; but in their second charge they were encountered by a force wholly strange to them, the war chariots of the enemy, which broke in upon them at full speed, and with the rattling of their wheels, and their unwonted appearance, so startled the horses of the Romans, that they could not be brought to face them, and horses and men fled in confusion. Uncouth and almost ridiculous as these chariots may seem to our notions, yet a force which terrified Cæsar's veterans, and which that great master of war speaks of as formidable, could not have been ridiculous in reality ; and the undoubted effect of the British chariots against the legions of Cæsar, may well convince us that the Gaulish chariots at Sentinum must have struck terror into the soldiers of Decius.

⁶³ Livy, X. 27.⁶⁵ Livy, X. 27, 28.⁶⁴ Livy, X. 23.

The Roman cavalry were driven back upon their infantry ; the first line of the legions was broken, and the Gauls, following their advantage, pressed on with the masses of their infantry. Decius strove in vain to stop the flight of his soldiers ; one way alone was left by which he might yet serve his country ; he bethought him of his father at the battle by Vesuvius, and calling to M. Livius, one of the pontifices who attended him in the field, he desired him to dictate to him the fit words for self-devotion. Then, in the same dress, and with all the same ceremonies, he pronounced also the same form of words which had been uttered by his father, and devoting himself and the host of the enemy with him to the grave and to the powers of the dead, he rode into the midst of the Gaulish ranks and was slain.

P. Decius devotes himself to death.

His last act as consul had been to invest the pontifex M. Livius⁶⁶ with the command of his legions as prætor, and to order his lictors to follow the new general. Fabius also, learning the danger of his colleague, had sent two of his own lieutenants, L. Scipio and C. Marcius, to his aid, with reinforcements drawn from his own reserve ; and thus the flight of the Romans was stayed, while the manner of Decius' death encouraged rather than dismayed his soldiers, as they believed that it was the price paid for their victory. But the Gauls though checked were yet neither beaten nor disheartened ; they gathered into thick masses, with their huge shields covering almost their whole bodies, and wielding their heavy broadswords, they stood unbroken and unassailed ; till the Romans picked up from the field of battle the javelins which had been discharged earlier in the action, and with these missiles endeavoured to wear down the mass of their enemies. The pila pierced through the wooden shields of the Gauls, encumbering them, even when they inflicted no wound ; but the Gauls stood as firm as the " Scottish circle deep " under the hail of the English arrows at Flodden ; and no efforts of the left wing of the Romans could secure the victory.

Meanwhile, Fabius,⁶⁷ on the right, after a long and arduous contest with the Samnites, and finding that his infantry could not break them, at last succeeded in charging their flank with his cavalry, and at the same moment bringing all his reserves of infantry into action, he assailed their line in front, and decided the victory. The Samnites fled to their camp, and thus left exposed the flank of the Gauls, who were still maintaining their ground. Fabius saw his opportunity, and detached the Campanian cavalry, with the principes of the third legion, to attack the Gauls in the rear ;

Fabius defeats the Samnites, and at last forces the Gauls to give way. Complete victory of the Romans.

⁶⁶ Livy, X. 29.

⁶⁷ Livy, X. 29.

while he himself closely pursued the Samnites, and vowed aloud that if he won the day, he would build a temple and offer all the spoils of the enemy to Jupiter the victorious. The Samnites rallied under the ramparts of their camp, and still disputed the victory; but the Gauls, assailed on all sides, were now hopelessly broken, and the last hope of the Samnites vanished, when their commander Gellius Egnatius fell. Still, when the day was utterly lost, these brave men would neither surrender nor disperse; they left the field in a body, and immediately began their retreat to their own country.

The Roman accounts of this bloody battle⁶⁸ state the loss of their enemies at 25,000 killed, and 8000 prisoners:

their own they make to have amounted to 8200 Loss on both sides. killed; but they give no report of the number of wounded. Of the total loss, only 1200 are said to have fallen in the right wing, while in the army of Decius there were killed 7000. The great slaughter in ancient warfare always took place when the line of battle was broken; and the disparity of loss on the two wings of the Roman army is therefore such as might have been expected.

Meanwhile Cn. Fulvius⁶⁹ had, according to his instructions, penetrated into Etruria; and had not only laid waste a large tract of country, but had defeated in Operations in Etruria. the field an army sent out by the two cities of Perusia and Clusium to check his ravages.

It is quite plain that the Etruscans were at this time suffering the full evil of distracted counsels, and that they were neither unanimous for peace nor for war. What was become of the forces of Arretium, of Volaterræ, of Rusellæ, of Cortona, and of Vulsinii, when Clusium and Perusia were left to resist the Roman invasion alone?

The body of Decius⁷⁰ was found under a heap of slaughtered Gauls, and honourably buried. Fabius celebrated his funeral, and pronounced his funeral oration; a Funeral of Decius. fit tribute from one who had been twice his colleague in the consulship and once in the censorship; nor had any man enjoyed better opportunities of knowing his excellence. He had proved his skill and courage in war, and his wisdom and moderation in peace; and he had experienced also the noble frankness of his nature, which never allowed any selfish jealousy to stand

⁶⁸ Livy, X., 29.—Duris of Samos, a contemporary writer, but whose information of these events could come only from common report, and who delighted to exaggerate the disasters of the Gauls, related that in the Gaulish and Samnite army 100,000 men had fallen.—See Diodorus, XXI. Frag. Hoeschel. p. 490. Duris sup-

posed that the Etruscans were engaged in the battle; and some of the Roman writers gave the same account, and made the allied army to consist of a million of men.—See Niebuhr, Vol. III. note 647.

⁶⁹ Livy, X. 30.

⁷⁰ Livy, X. 29.

in the way of his private friendship, and much less of his devotion to his country's service.

Such was the great battle of Sentinum, the Austerlitz of the third Samnite war. But as more than eighteen months elapsed between the battle of Austerlitz and the peace of Tilsit, so neither was the coalition against Rome dissolved at once by the victory of Sentinum. The Gauls, indeed, remained quiet after their defeat, for their interest in the war was only that of mercenary soldiers, and they were not tempted to a service which seemed likely to bring with it more loss than profit. But even Etruria would not yet submit to Rome, and the Samnites, hoping still to keep the war at a distance from their own country, were eager to renew the contest.

Yet the Romans could not but feel great relief from their victory. The armies of the proprætors, Cn. Fulvius and L. Postumius, were recalled to Rome⁷¹ and disbanded; and Fabius marched into Etruria with his consular army, and was strong enough to obtain fresh advantages over the Perusians, who alone of all the Etruscan people ventured it seems to meet the Romans in the field. He then returned to Rome and triumphed on the 4th of September over the three principal powers of the late coalition, the Etruscans, the Gauls, and the Samnites; and the soldiers who followed his chariot, in the rude verses which they were accustomed to utter on such occasions, commemorated the death of Decius as fully equal in glory to their own general's safe and victorious return. It is mentioned⁷² that each soldier received out of the spoil taken in the late battle, eighty-two *ases*, and a coat, and military cloak; "rewards," says Livy, sadly feeling how whole districts of Italy had in his days been portioned out amongst the legions of Augustus, "which the soldiers of those times did not think despicable."

The wreck of the Samnite army,⁷³ still, it is said, amounting to 5000 men, made its way unhurt or unopposed through the countries of the Picentians and Vestinians, and from thence proceeded towards Samnium through the country of the Pelignians, by Sulmo and the Five-mile plain to

The Samnite army forces its way back to Samnium.

⁷¹ This appears from the circumstance that Fabius marched into Etruria and engaged the Perusians; which shows that Cn. Fulvius must have already been recalled, and also because App. Claudius the prætor was ordered to support L. Volturnus in Samnium with the remains of the army of Decius; had the proprætor's armies been still embodied, one of them would probably have been employed on that service. I have followed Niebuhr in placing Fabius' victories over the Perusians

before his triumph, whereas Livy makes him march back to Etruria after his triumph. But as Niebuhr says, his army would be disbanded as a matter of course after his triumph, and the Fasti Capitolini say that he triumphed over the Etruscans, as well as the Samnites and Gauls; which he could not have done had he only triumphed for his victory at Sentinum, as no Etruscans were engaged there.

⁷² Livy, X. 30.

⁷³ Livy, X. 30.

the valley of the Sagrus or Sangro. The Pelignians, more zealous in the quarrel, because they were nearer neighbours to the Samnites, and their lands no doubt had often suffered from Samnite incursions, endeavoured to cut off the retreating army. But the Samnites, with some loss, beat off this new enemy, and entered their own country in safety.

It is manifest that during this year Samnium enjoyed a complete respite from invasion ; and that L. Volumnius, even if we suppose that he was not called away to the great seat of war in Umbria, was not a match for the Samnite forces opposed to him.

Operations in Samnium and Campania during this campaign.

His defeat of a Samnite army which had taken refuge in the Matese is entitled to no credit whatever ; on the contrary, we find that the Samnites again invaded the Roman territory in two different directions ;⁷⁴ that one army descended into the districts of Formiæ and Vescia, and another laid waste the banks of the Volturnus apparently where it first issues out on the plain of Campania. After the battle of Sentinum, the legions of Decius were recalled from Etruria, and put under the command of Ap-
pius Claudius the prætor, and he and L. Volumnius, acting together with their two armies, obliged the Samnites to retreat within their frontier. But as the Etruscans had not yet made peace with Rome, the Samnites were not discouraged, and trusted that another year might enable them to retrieve their defeat at Sentinum.

The events of the next year, however, are involved in such confusion that it is impossible to disentangle them. L. Postumius Megellus, one of the proprætors of the year before, was now consul, and M. Atilius Regulus was his colleague. The seat of war was again transferred to Apulia,⁷⁵ where the Samnites, well understanding the importance of acting on the offensive, laid siege to Luceria. Here there was fought a bloody and indecisive battle, in which the Romans were in such danger that the consul vowed to build a temple to Jove the stayer of flight, if his army were saved from total rout. At the end of the campaign the Roman army wintered at Interamna⁷⁶ in the valley of the Liris, to save that country from the ravages of the enemy ; and the consul returned to Rome to hold the comitia. His colleague had been recalled from Samnium

A. U. C. 460. A. C. 294. Fifth campaign. The Romans obtain no advantages in it.

⁷⁴ Livy, X. 31. He describes the scene of the Samnite inroad in these words, "in Æserninum quæque Vulturno adjacent flumini." The word which in the modern editions of Livy is printed as "Æserninum" varies, however, in the MSS. greatly. Æsernia in Samnium seems out of the question, for it was only in the beginning of the first Punic war that the

Romans planted a colony there ; unless we suppose that portions of its domain had already been ceded to the Romans in the second Samnite war, which, however, considering how deep the city lies in the heart of Samnium, seems improbable.

⁷⁵ Livy, X. 35.

⁷⁶ Livy, X. 36.

earlier in the season to carry on the war in Etruria; and this he did, according to the Roman accounts, with such success,⁷⁷ that Vulsinii, Perusia, and Arretium sued for peace, and obtained a truce for forty years. But which consul it was who fought at Luceria, and which had marched into Etruria, the annalists did not know, and therefore guessed variously.⁷⁸ Some accounts went so far as to say that both consuls triumphed;⁷⁹ but most said that only one obtained that honour, and again they did not agree in determining which consul it was. It is probable that neither of the consuls triumphed; nor does it seem likely that the Romans obtained any advantages in this year, except perhaps over the ever-restless but ever-vacillating and divided Etruscans. The Samnites therefore resolved to try their fortune once again.

The next year was undoubtedly marked by great successes on the side of the Romans; but its history is still uncertain in the details, and much of the geography of the campaign is wholly inexplicable. The consuls were L. Papirius Cursor, son of that Papirius who had been so famous in the second Samnite war, and Sp. Carvilius Maximus. Carvilius took the command⁸⁰ of the army which had wintered near Interamna on the Liris; Papirius commanded two new legions, and both consuls were ordered to invade Samnium.

The Samnites on their part are said to have raised an army with unusual care, and to have bound their soldiers by the most solemn oaths, taken amidst the most mysterious and horrid ceremonies, that they would either conquer or die. The men thus pledged were arrayed in a peculiar manner, with waving plumes on their helmets, and with coats of white linen, exactly as had been done fifteen years before, when the old Papirius, the father of the present consul, was appointed dictator to encounter them; and the repetition of these same ceremonies by the Samnites now made the Romans for the omen's sake appoint another Papirius Cursor to be consul; as if the Papirian family⁸¹ was chosen by the gods to meet and to overcome the most desperate efforts of their Samnite enemies.

⁷⁷ Livy, X. 37.

⁷⁸ Livy says that Atilius fought at Luceria, and Postumius marched into Etruria. Claudius Quadrigarius, as quoted by Livy, maintained exactly the contrary; and Fabius, whose narrative of this war seems to have depended chiefly on the memoirs of the Fabian family, and to have become uncertain where they failed him, did not venture to say which it was.—See Livy, X. 37.

⁷⁹ Fasti Capitolini.—Livy says that Atilius did not triumph, but that Postumius did, by his own authority, without the sanction of the senate. But this story is

referred by Dionysius to Postumius' third consulship three years afterwards; and Claudius said that Postumius never triumphed at all. It does not appear that the narrative of Fabius gave a triumph to either of them.—Livy, X. 37.

Orosius' description of the events of this year is far nearer the truth, I think, than the account of Livy. "Sequitur annus quo Romani instaurato a Samnitibus bello victi sunt, atque in castra fugerunt." III. 22.

⁸⁰ Livy, X. 39.

⁸¹ Livy, X. 38, 39.

It was no doubt the failure of all co-operation in Etruria, and the knowledge, therefore, that they would have to withstand the whole force of Rome, which led the Samnites to apply these extraordinary excitements to the courage of their soldiers. Yet it seems as if they had not abandoned all hopes of Etruscan aid, and that they had learned from their enemies the wisdom of acting on the offensive; for the first operations of the Roman armies were the capture of Amiternum,⁸² and the ravaging of the country of Atina. This seat of war implies that the Samnites still obstinately retained their line of communication with Etruria amidst all the invasions of their own country, and with this view still held fast to their alliance those Sabine and Volscian cities which at the beginning of the coalition had been forced or persuaded to espouse their cause.

A Samnite army was also sent into Campania to ravage the territory⁸³ of the Romans and their allies on the Liris and Vulturnus, whilst another was kept in Samnium for home defence; and it was, perhaps, to the soldiers of this last army, consisting of the oldest and youngest men capable of bearing arms, that the excitements of enthusiasm were applied, to make up for their inferiority in strength and in experience.

The Roman consuls⁸⁴ having jointly laid waste the territory of Atina, proceeded to enter Samnium. The seat of war lay apparently in the country of the Pentrian Samnites on the north of the Matese: Carvilius laid siege to Cominium: Papirius, after having taken Duronia, marched against Aquilonia, where the Samnite army was stationed: all these three places are quite unknown to us, and we can only conclude that they lay on the north side of the Matese, because two of them are described as being near to Bovianum, the site of which is known. The Samnites, attacked at once by two consular armies, were compelled to divide their forces; and eight thousand men were detached from the army before Aquilonia to relieve Cominium. A deserter acquainted Papirius with this movement, and he instantly sent off a messenger to warn his colleague, while he himself attacked the enemy at the moment when he knew their force to be thus untimely weakened. The auspices had been reported to be most favourable; "the fowls ate so eagerly," so said their keeper to the consul, "that some of the corn dropped from their mouths on the ground."⁸⁵ This was the best

They retain their hold on the country of the Sabines.

And ravage Campania.

Both the Roman consuls invade Samnium. Operations on the north of the Matese.

⁸² Livy, X. 39.

⁸³ Zonaras, VIII. 1.

⁸⁴ Livy, X. 39.

⁸⁵ "Pullarius auspiciū mentiri ausus tripudium solistimum."—Livy, X. 40.

"Quia quum pascuntur (aves) necesse est

aliquid ex ore cadere et terram pavire, terripavium primo, post tripudium dictum est: hoc quidem jam tripudium dicitur. Quum igitur offa cecidit ex ore pulli, tum auspicianti tripudium solistimum nuntiant." —Cicero, de Divinat. II. 34.

possible omen ; but just as the consul was on the point of giving the signal for action, his nephew, Sp. Papirius, came to tell him that the keeper had made a false report. "Some of his comrades have declared the truth," said the young man ; "and far from eating eagerly, the fowls would not touch their food at all." "Thou hast done thy duty, nephew, in telling me this," replied his uncle, "but let the keeper see to it if he has belied the gods. His report to me is that the omens are most favourable, and therefore I forthwith give the signal for battle. But do you see," he added to some centurions who stood by, "that this keeper and his comrades be set in the front ranks of the legions." Ere the battle cry was raised on either side, a chance javelin struck the guilty keeper, and he fell dead. His fate was instantly reported to the consul. "The gods," he exclaimed, "are amongst us ; their vengeance has fallen on the guilty." While he spoke, a crow was heard just in front of him to utter a full and loud cry. "Never did the gods more manifestly declare their presence and favour," exclaimed the consul, and forthwith the signal was given, and the Roman battle-cry arose loud and joyful.

The Samnites met their enemies bravely ;⁸⁶ but the awful rites under which they had been pledged, gave them a gloomy rather than a cheerful courage ; they were more in the mood to die than to conquer. On the Roman side the consul's blunt humour, which he had inherited from his father, spread confidence all around him. In the heat of the battle, when other generals would have earnestly vowed to build a temple to the god whose aid they sought, if he would grant them victory, Papirius called aloud to Jupiter the victorious, "Ah, Jupiter,⁸⁷ if the enemy are beaten, I vow to offer to thee a cup of honeyed wine before I taste myself a drop of wine plain." Such irreverent jests do not necessarily imply a scoffing spirit ; they mark superstition or fanaticism quite as much as unbelief ; nor would the consul's language shock those who heard it, but rather assure them that he spoke in the full confidence of being heard with favour by the gods, as a man in hours of festivity would smile at the familiarity of an indulged servant. Besides, Papirius performed well the part of a general ; he is said to have practised the trick which was so successful at Bannockburn ;⁸⁸ the camp servants were mounted on the baggage mules, and appeared in the midst of the action on the flank and rear of the Samnites ; the news ran through both armies, that Sp. Carvilius was come up to aid his colleague, and a general charge of the Roman cavalry

⁸⁶ Livy, X. 41.

⁸⁷ "Voverat Jovi Victori, si legiones hostium fudisset, pocillum mulsi priusquam temetum biberet sese facturum." Livy, X. 42. Mulsum was "honeyed wine," a

favourite beverage of the Romans in the early times ; temetum, in the older Latin, was merely "wine." See Pliny, Hist. Natur. XIV. 13, § 90, Ed. Sillig.

⁸⁸ Livy, X. 40, 41.

and infantry at this moment broke the Samnite lines, and turned them to flight. The mass of the routed army fled either to their camp, or within the walls of Aquilonia; but the cavalry, containing all the chiefs and the nobility of the nation, got clear from the press of the fugitives, and escaped to Bovianum.

The Romans⁸⁹ followed up their victory, and stormed the Samnite camp, and scaled the walls of Aquilonia, which was abandoned by the enemy during the night. Carvilius meanwhile had taken Cominium, while the detachment sent to relieve it had been recalled to the main army when Papirius began his attack, and thus had wasted the day in marching backwards and forwards, without being present at either scene of action. These soldiers, however, having halted during the night in the neighbourhood of Aquilonia, pursued their march the next day, and with a very trifling loss effected their retreat to Bovianum, which was now the common rallying point.

Both Aquilonia⁹¹ and Cominium were given up to be plundered by the conquerors, and were then set on fire. It was late in the season, (a circumstance which shows how imperfect are our accounts of these wars,) but the consuls having now no enemy in the field, wished to follow up their blow, and to attack the several Samnite cities; a service most welcome to the soldiers, as it offered to them the prospect of plunder. Bovianum however was too strong to be attacked as yet; so the consuls moved on farther into the heart of the country, and fixed the seat of war on the eastern side of the Matese. Here Papirius laid siege to Sæpinum, a place not far from the sources of the Tamarus, near the modern road from Benevento to Campobasso, the capital of Molise. Carvilius attacked a town, called variously in the MSS. of Livy, Vella, Velia, or Volana, but the position of which is altogether unknown.

The tidings of these successes⁹¹ were received at Rome with the greatest joy; and thanksgivings were offered for four days; the longest period of public rejoicings for victory which has been hitherto mentioned in the Roman annals. Just at this time, as we are told, there came complaints from the Roman allies on the Etruscan frontier, that is, we must suppose from the people of Sutrium, that the Etruscans were again in arms, and that the Faliscans, hitherto the allies of Rome, had now taken part with the enemy. It is vain to attempt to explain all these movements in Etruria; or to decide whether the Etruscans were tempted to renew the contest by the employment of both consuls in Samnium, or whether the Romans were encouraged by their victories there to take vengeance for past offences

Successes of Sp. Carvilius.

The consuls attack the Samnite towns on the east of the Matese.

Sp. Carvilius is recalled and sent into Etruria.

⁸⁹ Livy, X. 41-43.

⁹⁰ Livy, X. 44, 45.

⁹¹ Livy, X. 45.

on the Etruscans. At any rate the consuls were ordered to determine by lot which of them should march into Etruria : and the lot fell upon Carvilius. His soldiers were glad to go, it is said, because the cold of Samnium was becoming intolerable ; but they had other reasons besides the cold, for wishing to change their seat of war ; for whatever might be the plunder of the Samnite towns, it was not always to be easily won ; and though Carvilius had taken three of them, yet it had been at the cost of two actions in the field, in which his own loss had exceeded that of the enemy. Papirius, on his side, was detained for a long time before Sæpinum ; the Samnites made repeated sallies, and would not allow him even to form the siege of the place ; and their resistance was so protracted, that when at last they were overpowered, and the town was taken, the winter was so far advanced, that any farther operations were impracticable, and Papirius having, as we may suppose, burnt Sæpinum, evacuated Samnium.

The operations of Sp. Carvilius in Etruria,⁹² were short and successful ; Troilium and some small mountain fortresses were taken, and the Faliscans purchased a truce for a year by the payment of 100,000 ases, and a year's pay to the soldiers of the Roman army. Both consuls enjoyed a splendid triumph ;⁹³ and a very large treasure of copper and of silver was brought home by Papirius, and paid by him into the treasury, his victorious soldiers receiving nothing. Carvilius brought home also a large treasure ; but he divided a part of it amongst his troops, and their pay had already been provided to them out of the contribution paid by the Faliscans ; so that the ungracious conduct of Papirius was doubly odious,—for his soldiers received nothing from the plunder, and the war tax, or tributum, was made to furnish them with their pay ; and thus his victories brought to the poorer citizens no relief from the burdens of war. The captured arms⁹⁴ were so numerous, that the allies and colonies of Rome received a large share to ornament their own cities ; and Sp. Carvilius⁹⁵ made out of those which fell to his portion, a colossal statue of Jupiter, of such magnitude, that when it was set up on the Capitoline hill at Rome, it could be seen from the temple of the Latin Jupiter on the summit of the mountain of Alba ; a distance in a straight line of not less than twelve English miles.

After such an issue of this campaign, we read with astonish-

⁹² Livy, X. 46.

⁹³ Carvilius triumphed on the 13th of January, and Papirius on the 13th of February. *Fasti Capitolini*. The weight of silver taken from the temples and houses of the several cities of Samnium which had been captured, amounted to 1330 lbs. ; the copper money which had been obtain-

ed by the ransom or sale of the prisoners, amounted to 2,033,000 ases of full weight, that is, to so many pounds' weight of copper.

⁹⁴ Livy, X. 46.

⁹⁵ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXIV. § 43, Ed. Sillig.

ment that Papirius led back his army to winter in the neighbourhood of Vescia,⁹⁶ because that country was still infested by the incursions of the Samnites. And in the next year we find, after a long interval, C. Pontius of Telesia once more at the head of the Samnite armies, we find him carrying on war in Campania, and again victorious. Austria lost five armies in the campaign of 1796, before she would consent to treat for peace; and when the French were besieging Cadiz, and had won almost all the fortresses of the kingdom, Spain still continued to resist, and the Guerillas often inflicted defeat upon their triumphant enemy. But the Samnite victory obtained over Fabius Gurgus in Campania in the year immediately following the triumphs of Papirius and Carvilius, is more extraordinary than the fortitude either of Austria or Spain; and so far as the circumstances are known to us, it can only be paralleled by the triumphant career of the Vendéans in Bretagne, when, after repeated defeats in their own country, they effected their desperate expedition beyond the Loire.

C. Pontius again commands the Samnite armies.

We may ask why the Roman government, little apt to hold its hand till the work was fully done, and having nothing to fear on the side of Etruria, contented itself with sending a single consular army into the field in the year following the great victories of Papirius and Carvilius, instead of employing its whole force, and thus again overrunning the enemy's country. The reason probably is to be found in the severe visitation of pestilence which at this time fell upon Rome;⁹⁷ and this may farther explain why the legions of Papirius wintered in Campania; for as such disorders are generally more or less local, an army might be in perfect health on the hills by Vescia, while had it remained in or near Rome, it would have been losing men daily. However, the new consul, Q. Fabius Gurgus,⁹⁸ son of the great Fabius, took the command of the army

A. U. C. 462. A. C. 292. Q. Fabius Gurgus, the new consul, is sent alone to invade Samnium.

⁹⁶ Livy, X. 46

⁹⁷ Livy, X. 47. Zonaras, VIII. 1.

⁹⁸ Livy, X. 47. In the last chapter of his tenth book, Livy names the consuls who were elected for the year 462, Q. Fabius Gurgus, and D. Junius Brutus. And here the first decade of Livy's history ends, and as the second decade is lost, we shall now be without his assistance for the remainder of this volume. We should be glad to possess the eleventh book, which contained the account of the secession to the Janiculum and of the Hortensian laws: yet, on the whole, a careful study of the ninth and tenth books will dispose us to be more patient of the loss of those which followed them. How little does the tenth book tell us of the internal state of Rome,

how uncertain are its accounts of the several wars! Its most valuable information consists in the miscellaneous notices with which Livy generally concludes his account of every year; such as his notice of the paving of part of the Appian road, and of the building of several temples. But we might cheerfully resign, not the second decade only, but the first, third, and fourth, in short, every line of Livy's history which we at present possess, if we could so purchase the recovery of the eighth and ninth decades, which contained the history of the Italian war, and of the civil war of Marius and Sylla which followed it. For this period, of which we know, as it is, so little, Livy's history would have been invaluable. He would have been writing of

in Campania, and proceeded towards the frontiers of Samnium. C. Pontius Herennius, of whom nothing is known since the affair of the pass of Caudium, again commanded the Samnite army; whether it was that he was now called upon in the extreme danger of his country, as the only man capable of saving it, or whether the southern Samnites, or Caudinians, had in fact taken no part in the war for many years, and only now, when the Pentrians were nearly exhausted, came forward to uphold their cause.

The ravages which the pestilence was at this time making in Rome encouraged the enemy;⁹⁹ and C. Pontius boldly invaded Campania. Q. Fabius, forgetting how formidable is the last struggle of the hunted lion, thought that to meet the Samnites was to conquer them; and when he fell in with some of their look-out parties, and they retired before him, he believed the whole Samnite army to be retreating, and leaving his baggage behind him, he pushed on as to a certain victory. His men were already tired and disordered by the haste of their march, when they found the Samnite army in perfect order ready to receive them. They were presently defeated; 3000 men were killed on the place,¹⁰⁰ many were wounded, and night alone saved the army from destruction. But they could not retreat to their baggage,¹⁰¹ and passed a miserable night in the open country, without any means of relieving their wounded, whose sufferings filled the whole army with horror and dismay. Day dawned, and the Romans expected to be attacked by the conquerors: but Pontius, it is said, heard that the old Fabius was close at hand, coming up with a second army to support his son, and therefore he allowed the beaten Romans to retreat unmolested. This is improbable,¹⁰² but the truth is lost beyond recovery, and

times and events sufficiently near to his own to have been perfectly understood by him; his sources of information would have been more numerous and less doubtful, and then his fair and upright mind, and the beauty of his narrative, would have given us a picture at once faithful, lively, and noble.

⁹⁹ Zonaras, VIII. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Eutropius, II. Suidas, in Φάβιος Μάξιμος. We should like to know from whom Suidas borrowed this article; but who, except Niebuhr, has a sufficient power of divination to discover it?

I owe my knowledge of the passage in Suidas to Freinsheim's supplement of the eleventh book of Livy; and as he has consulted almost every passage in the ancient writers which relates to these times, I have in other instances been indebted to him in like manner. But it is right to state, that I have always consulted the passages to

which he refers, and have myself verified them: and of this the reader may be assured, that no quotation has been made in these notes which I have not myself verified; if it has ever happened that I have not had the book within my reach, the circumstance has been and will be especially noticed.

¹⁰¹ Zonaras, VIII. 2.

¹⁰² Zonaras, who copies Dion Cassius, represents the old Fabius as having been appointed lieutenant to his son at the beginning of the campaign; and he says that the consul left Rome before his father, and was anxious to fight the Samnites, before he joined him, that the glory of the action might be his own. Livy, (Epitom. XI.) Eutropius, and the writer from whom Suidas copied his article, "Fabius Maximus," say that the old man was only made his son's lieutenant after his defeat, and upon his own request, in order to save

it is vain to attempt to restore the details of this most important campaign.

The defeat of Fabius excited great indignation at Rome ; and the political adversaries of his father, such as Ap-
 pius Claudius and L. Papirius, the latter of whom The old Q. Fabius serves under his son as his lieutenant. was now prætor, would not fail to exaggerate his misconduct. It was moved in the senate that he should be recalled from the army, in other words, that his imperium or consular power should be taken from him ; a measure without example in Roman history, except in the case of L. Cinna. The simple course would have been to order the consul to name a dictator ; and he would in that case have named his father, who by universal consent was the man best fitted to meet the need. But the more violent course was preferred by the party opposed to Fabius, and would have been carried, had not the old Fabius¹⁰³ moved the senate by offering to go himself to the army, not in the majesty of the dictator's office, as most befitted his age and glory, but merely as lieutenant to his son. This could not be refused, and the old man followed his son to the field, leading with him, we may be sure, sufficient reinforcements ; for every Roman loved the old Q. Fabius, and felt confident that in marching under his command he was marching to victory.

A second battle followed ; where fought, or how brought about, we know not. The old Fabius was the Talbot of C. Pontius is defeated and taken prisoner. the fifth century of Rome ; and his personal prowess, even in age, was no less celebrated than his skill as a general. When the consul was surrounded by the enemy in the heat of the battle,¹⁰⁴ his aged father led the charge to his rescue ; and the Romans, animated by such an example, could not be resisted, and won a complete victory. C. Pontius was taken prisoner, and 4000 Samnites shared his fate, while 20,000 were slain on the field.

What resources of hope or of despair could still be left to the Samnites after a disaster so irreparable ? Yet they A. U. C. 463. A. C. 291. Eighth campaign. Samnium again ravaged by two consular armies. resisted for another year, during which the war was carried on by two consular armies¹⁰⁵ in the heart of their country : many of their towns were taken ; and

him from being deprived of his command. But if this be true, and it seems the more probable account, how could Pontius expect the arrival of the old Fabius on the instant after his son's defeat ? Perhaps the consul fought with only a part of his army, and his lieutenant brought up the other part to his rescue from the camp which he had left so rashly ; and something of this sort is probable, for if Q. Fabius had been defeated by the enemy in a

fair battle without any fault of his own, the senate, according to its usual practice, would not have treated his defeat so severely.

¹⁰³ Livy, Epit. XI. Dion Cass. Fragm. Peiresc. XXXVI.

¹⁰⁴ Orosius, III. 22.

¹⁰⁵ By L. Postumius, the consul, with his own army, and by Q. Fabius, the consul of the former year, as proconsul.—Dionysius, XVI. 16.

amongst the rest, Venusia, a place on the frontiers of Lucania and Apulia, and important both from its strength and its position. So completely indeed was the power of Samnium broken, that now for the first time the Romans resolved to establish a colony in its territory. Venusia was the spot chosen for this purpose; but it marks the sense still entertained of the Samnite spirit of resistance, that no fewer than 20,000 colonists were sent out to occupy and maintain the new settlement.

After his victory, Q. Fabius, the consul, was continued in his command for some time as proconsul. It was not, therefore, till the summer of the year 463 that he returned to Rome, and triumphed. While he was borne along in his chariot, according to custom, his old father rode on horseback behind him as one of his lieutenants,¹⁰⁶ delighting himself with the honours of his son. But at the moment when the consul and his father having arrived at the end of the Sacred Way turned to the left to ascend the hill of the Capitol, C. Pontius, the Samnite general, who with the other prisoners of rank had thus far followed the procession, was led aside to the right hand to the prison¹⁰⁷ beneath the Capitoline hill, and there was thrust down into the underground dungeon of the prison, and beheaded. One year had passed since his last battle; nearly thirty since he had spared the lives and liberty of two Roman armies, and, unprovoked by the treachery of his enemies, had afterwards set at liberty the generals who were given up into his power as a pretended expiation of their country's perfidy. Such a murder, committed or sanctioned by such a man as Q. Fabius, is peculiarly a national crime, and proves but too clearly that in their dealings with foreigners the Romans had neither magnanimity, nor humanity, nor justice.

In the year 464, P. Cornelius Rufinus and M'. Curius Dentatus were chosen consuls. Both entered Samnium with their armies,¹⁰⁸ but it was rather to entitle themselves to the honour of a triumph, than to overbear any real opposition. Every resource of the Samnites was exhausted, and they again submitted. They were again received as dependent allies of Rome; what territory was taken from them besides that of Venusia, we are not told, or what other sacrifices were required of them. Such was the end of the third Samnite war.

A. U. C. 464. A. C. 290. Ninth campaign. The Samnites lay down their arms and submit to Rome.

¹⁰⁶ Plutarch in Fab. Maxim. c. 24.

¹⁰⁷ So the well-known passage in Cicero, Verres, Act. II. v. 30, where he describes and even approves of this atrocious

practice. "*Supplicia, quæ debentur hostibus victis.*"

¹⁰⁸ Eutropius, II.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INTERNAL, HISTORY, FROM THE PASSING OF THE OGULNIAN LAW TO THE LANDING OF PYRRHUS IN ITALY—SECESSION TO THE JANICULUM—DICTATORSHIP OF Q. HORTENSIUS—HORTENSIAN AND MÆNIAN LAWS.—FROM A. U. C. 454 TO 474.

“Clearly a difficult point for government, that of dealing with these masses ;—if indeed it be not rather the sole point and problem of government, and all other points mere accidental crotchets, superficialities, and beatings of the wind.”—CARLYLE, *Hist. of French Revolution*, Vol. I. p. 48.

THERE is often in well-contrived works of fiction a point in the middle of the story, at which all its circumstances seem tending towards a happy catastrophe : and it is only because the reader knows that there is much of the story yet to come, and that something therefore must occur to spoil the fair prospect, that he doubts the stability of the hero's or heroine's good fortune. So promising was the domestic state of Rome in the year 454, when the censorship of Fabius and Decius on the one hand, followed by the Ogulnian and Valerian laws on the other, seemed to announce that society had arrived at its perfect settlement ; in which every member of it had found his proper place, and the artificial institutions of man seemed to correspond faithfully to the model, existing in truth though not in fact, which our reason declares to be the will of God.

But it should ever be borne in mind, that history looks generally at the political state of a nation ; its social state, which is infinitely more important, and in which lie the seeds of all the greatest revolutions, is too commonly neglected or unknown. What is called the constitution of Rome, as far as regards the relations of patricians and plebeians to each other, was in fact perfected by the Ogulnian law, and remained for centuries without undergoing any material change. By that law the commons were placed in all respects on a level with the patricians ; and the contests between these two orders were

Changes for the worse in the internal state of Rome.

These changes were social rather than political.

brought to an end for ever. The comitia too had assumed that form, whatever it was, which they retained to the end of the commonwealth; the powers of the magistrate as affecting the liberty of the citizen underwent but little subsequent alteration. But however stationary political institutions may remain, the social state of a nation is for ever changing; peace affects this no less than war, and many times even more: nay seasons of profound political quiet may be working far more extensive alteration than periods of faction, or even of civil war. And so it was with the years which followed the passing of the Ogulnian law. Politically they are almost a blank; they present no new law, nothing that deserves the name of a contest between orders in the commonwealth, scarcely between individuals; the public attention seems to have been fixed exclusively on the events of the war with Etruria and Samnium. Yet we know that they must have wrought great social changes; for so violent a measure as a secession could never have been so much as contemplated, had it not been preceded by long and general distress, producing social irritation first, and then political.

In the seven years which followed immediately after the passing of the Ogulnian law, we find mention made of a season of great scarcity¹ (A. U. C. 454), and of two years² of pestilence (459 and 461). We also read of prosecutions by the ædiles in three several years for violations of the Licinian law³ (456, 458, 461); and also of prosecutions by the same magistrates for a breach of the law which forbade the taking of interest upon a debt⁴ (358). Now, although there may be some caprice in Livy's notice or omission of such particulars, yet it is at least remarkable that he has recorded so many of them at this period; while in the twenty-three years previous to the Ogulnian law, a term which includes the whole of the second Samnite war, we have no mention of any one of them, with the exception of an uncertain report of a pestilence in the year 441.⁵ And the argument is the stronger, because we do find notices before the second Samnite war of prosecutions both for the breach of the Licinian law, and for taking illegal interest⁶ (398 and 411); so that we may fairly conclude that the second Samnite war itself was a period comparatively exempt at any rate from offences of this nature, as also from the visitations of pestilence and famine. The causes of these last evils belong indeed to a law of God's providence which is to us unknown; but the occurrence of particular crimes at particular periods may in general be explained, if we are fully acquainted with the history of the time; and even in the fifth century of Rome, meagre as our knowledge of

¹ Livy, X. II. 11.

² Livy, X. 31, 47.

³ Livy, X. 13, 23, 47.

⁴ Livy, X. 23.

⁵ Livy, IX. 28.

⁶ Livy, VII. 16, 28.

it is, we may in some measure account for the facts presented to us.

The close of the second Samnite war in 450, the conquest of the Æquians in the same year, that of the Hernican state of Frusino in the year following, and of the Marsians in 452, must have added greatly to the domain land of the Romans. It was but a small proportion of this which was assigned to the 14,000 colonists of Alba, Carseoli, and Sora; the remainder would be either let to the old inhabitants on payment of a rent or vectigal to Rome, or would be occupied or beneficially enjoyed by individual citizens of Rome or of her allies. Now, as slaves were not yet numerous, there would be a difficulty in procuring labourers to cultivate tracts of land lying mostly at a distance from Rome, and, in many instances, liable to the incursions of an enemy in time of war. It would be more convenient, therefore, to the occupiers to throw their land into pasture wherever it was practicable; and large tracts of domain would be fit for nothing but pasture, such as the higher valleys, and the sides and summits of the mountains; and these would not be occupied by any one particular person, but would be common land, on which any one would have a right to turn out a certain number of sheep and oxen, limited by the Licinian law. Now the acts of violence which were practised, even under the emperors, by powerful men against the property of their weaker neighbours, and the allusion to forcible ejectment, as to a thing of no unusual occurrence, in the language of the prætor's interdict, may warrant our believing that the cattle of a small proprietor, when turned out on the mountain pastures at a distance from Rome, would be liable to continual injuries, and that the common land would be exclusively enjoyed by wealthy men, who would little scruple to exceed the legal number of sheep and oxen which they were permitted to feed. These were the pecuarii whom Livy twice notices as impeached by the ædiles and heavily fined; but the temptation to violate the law was perpetually recurring; and the chances of a prosecution must have been very uncertain; nor was it always impossible for a powerful man⁷ of fair military reputation to escape from his prosecutors, by getting the consul to name him as one of his lieutenants.

Thus, on the one hand, the years which immediately followed the second Samnite war, furnished the rich with many opportunities of becoming richer. On the other hand, there were many causes at work which made the poor yet poorer. A season of extreme scarcity, such as that of the year 455, must have obliged many of the small tradesmen and artificers of the city to incur debts. Two or three years of

Partly by the encroachments of the rich on the common pasture lands.

Partly by the continued wars.

⁷ As in the case of L. Postumius, which will be noticed hereafter.—See Livy, X. 46.

pestilence following closely upon one another, as in 459, 461, and 462, must have created great distress not only amongst the town population, but also amongst the agricultural commons: where the father was carried off by the disorder, his wife and family, who were solely dependent on his labour, would be at once reduced to poverty, or again would be forced to relieve their immediate necessity by borrowing. If the pestilence was local, and raged most in Rome and its immediate neighbourhood, yet the more distant tribes suffered from evils of another sort. The tribes on the Etruscan frontier suffered perhaps something in 455 from an inroad of the Gauls, which no doubt aggravated the scarcity of that year; the Falerian tribe in Campania was repeatedly, as we have seen, exposed to the invasions of the Samnites. The extraordinary military exertions of the Romans in the third Samnite war must have rendered necessary a heavy amount of taxation. In the great campaign of 459, six legions were raised, besides two armies of reserve; and in the preceding year there had been a levy⁸ of the whole population of the city, which had been kept under arms for nearly three weeks, whilst the two consular armies were at the same time employed in the field. Nor were the services of the soldier required only for a few weeks in the summer or autumn; the legions were more than once⁹ kept abroad during the whole winter; which in itself must have been a great hardship to the small landed proprietor, whose land could ill spare his presence and his labour. Besides, even in the unfair accounts which remain to us of the events of the war, it is confessed that the Roman loss in battle was often very severe; and although their writers do not acknowledge it, the Romans must have lost also many prisoners, whose ransom, if they were not left in hopeless captivity, was an additional burden upon their families. And when, after all this, the most valuable part of the spoil won in a successful campaign was wholly put into the treasury, as was done by L. Papirius in 461,¹⁰ and the soldier received nothing but what he might have gained for himself in sacking one or more of the Samnite cities, the mass of the population would feel, that while the burdens of war were mostly borne by them, they had scarcely any share of its occasional advantage.

Thus it is conceivable that, within three or four years after

⁸ Livy, X. 21. "Senatus—delectum omnis generis hominum haberi jussit, nec ingenui modo aut juniores sacramento adacti, sed seniorum etiam cohortes factæ, libertinique centuriati."

⁹ App. Claudius' army was kept in Etruria during the winter of 458. Livy,

X. 25. The army of M. Atilius wintered near Interamna on the Liris in 460, and that of L. Papirius was kept out in the country of Vescia through the winter of 461. Livy, X. 39, 46.

¹⁰ Livy, X. 46.

the end of the third Samnite war, a large portion of the Roman people should have been again involved in debt, and thus should have been irritated against their richer countrymen, and ready to catch fire on the smallest provocation. But the deepest obscurity involves this part of the Roman history: for Livy's tenth book ends with the consulship of L. Papirius and Sp. Carvilius, and from that time to the war with Pyrrhus, we have no other record of events than the meagre epitomes of Zonaras, Orosius, and Eutropius, and a few fragments and incidental notices from other writers. Even the *Fasti Capitolini* are wanting for this period; so that the very lists of consuls can only be made out from recent authorities.¹¹ Thus we neither know the immediate causes, nor the leaders, nor the principal opponents, nor even the exact date of the great popular movement which was finally appeased by Q. Hortensius, as dictator. We may conjecture that Appius Claudius, so far as his infirmities might permit him, was most zealous in his opposition to the demands of the people; and that L. Papirius Cursor took the same side. On the other hand, the claims of the popular party were supported, as is most probable, by one of the most eminent Romans of this period, M'. Curius Dentatus.

Obscurity of the history of this period. Friends and opponents of the popular cause.

This is a name familiar to every ear, and associated with our highest ideas of ancient Roman virtue. Yet there is not a single great man within the historical period of Rome of whose life less is known to us. Like the Fulvii, and like Ti. Coruncanius and C. Fabricius, he was not of Roman extraction; he came from one of the Latin towns which had received the full Roman franchise,¹² and he was a man of no inherited fortune. His merit as a soldier must have first brought him into notice; and the plain resoluteness of his character, not unlike that of Marius, and perhaps combined, as in his case, with a marked abhorrence of the wealthy aristocracy, caused him to be elected tribune of the commons. In his tribuneship¹³ he resisted the most eloquent and overbearing of the patricians, Appius Claudius, who, when holding the comitia as interrex, refused to allow the election of a plebeian consul. Curius compelled the curiæ to ratify the choice of the centuries beforehand, on whomsoever it

M'. Curius Dentatus opposes Appius Claudius.

¹¹ From Cassiodorus, from what are called the *Fasti Siculi*, published by Scaliger in his edition of Eusebius; from the anonymous *Fasti*, first published by cardinal Noris from a manuscript in the imperial library at Vienna, and reprinted by Grævius in his great collection of Roman antiquities, Vol. XI. p. 355, and lastly, from the *Fasti* which go by the name of the *Fasti* of Idatius, published also by Grævius in the same volume, p. 247. The

two last *Fasti* give only the cognomina of the consuls, and this is too often the case with the Sicilian *Fasti* also; they are also often corrupt, but, such as they are, they are almost our sole authority for the consuls of this dark period.

¹² This appears from the speech of Cicero, pro Sulla, 7, § 23; but we have no information, I believe, as to the particular town from which he came.

¹³ Cicero, Brutus, 14, § 55.

might fall ; and thus the candidate, when elected by the comitia, needed no farther confirmation of his title ; he was at once consul. Such is the anecdote as related by Cicero ; but we cannot with certainty fix the date of it.¹⁴ It must, however, have occurred before the year 464, when Curius was consul, and, as we have seen, put an end to the Samnite war.

His consulship was rendered farther memorable by the beginning and end of another war,¹⁵ that with the Sabines. Some aid given by them to their kinsmen the Samnites afforded the Romans a pretext for attacking them, after the peace between the two nations had lasted since the year after the expulsion of the decemvirs ; that is, during a period of a century and a half. The Sabines dwelt in the heart of Italy, in the valley of the Velinus on the south of the central Apennines, and along the upper part of the course of the Aternus, which runs into the Adriatic. It was an extensive and populous country, for it came down to the left bank of the Tiber at Cures, only nineteen miles from Rome, and it stretched beyond the Apennines as far as the confines of the Vestinians, and Picentians. It was rich in oil¹⁶ and wine, and the acorns of its forests fattened innumerable herds of swine. But the long peace which had increased its wealth, had also made its people unwarlike ; they fell almost without a struggle ; and their conquest, according to the old historian, Fabius Pictor,¹⁷ first made the Romans acquainted with riches. For his double victory over the Samnites and Sabines, Curius triumphed twice in the same year ; and he declared of himself in the assembly of the people on his return to Rome : " I have conquered such an extent of country that it must have been left a wilderness, had the men whom I have made our subjects been fewer : I have subjected such a multitude

¹⁴ We find from Livy, X. 11, that Ap-
pius Claudius was interrex in the year
455, at the breaking out of the third Sam-
nite war. But, as Niebuhr observes, Ap-
pius Claudius was interrex three several
times, as appears from the inscription re-
cording the principle dignities and actions
of his life, Orelli, No. 529, so that we can-
not tell in which of his three interregna
the circumstance noticed by Cicero took
place. When he was a candidate for his
second consulship in 457, he earnestly en-
deavoured to get Q. Fabius elected with
himself in order to exclude a plebeian,
Livy, X. 15 ; but this must not be con-
founded with Cicero's story ; it only shows
the habitual temper of the man, and that
he never lost sight of his object, of restor-
ing the old ascendancy of the patricians.

¹⁵ Livy, Epitom. XI. Auctor, de Viris
Illustr. in M^c. Cur. Dentat.

¹⁶ Strabo, V. 3, § 1, p. 228.

¹⁷ Strabo, V. 3, § 1, p. 228. This con-
trasts strangely with our notions of Sabine
simplicity and frugality : " hanc vitam ve-
teres olim tenuere Sabini," &c. But pos-
sibly Strabo did not give Fabius' meaning
correctly ; and the old historian may have
spoken not of the Sabines only, but of
them and the Samnites together, calling
them both, perhaps, by the common name
of " Sabellians," a term by which the
Samnites are called in Livy, X. 19. Fa-
bius meant probably to speak of the period
of Curius' consulship, when he conquered
both the Samnites and Sabines, and made
the speech reported in the text. But that
speech is especially referred by the author
of the work " de Viris Illustribus," to the
Samnite conquests of Curius, and not to
his successes against the Sabines.

of men, that they must have starved if the territory conquered with them had been smaller." The Sabines were obliged¹⁸ to become subjects of Rome; that is, to receive the citizenship without the right of voting.

For his double victory over the Samnites and Sabines, Curius, it is recorded,¹⁹ triumphed twice in the course of the year of his consulship. But a far harder contest, and one in which no triumphs could be gained, awaited him at Rome. He saw on the one hand the extreme distress of the poorer citizens, whom war and pestilence together had overwhelmed with misery; on the other hand he had conquered large tracts of lands, which, if granted out under an agrarian law, might go far towards the relief of their sufferings; and farther, the grasping and insolent spirit of some of the nobility disgusted him with the system of the occupation of the domain lands by individuals. It was only in the preceding year that L. Postumius had employed a Roman army as his slaves,²⁰ and had made his soldiers clear a wide extent of public land won from the enemy, which he had been allowed to occupy for himself. The actual colleague of Curius in the consulship was P. Cornelius Rufinus,²¹ a man already notorious for his rapacity and corruption, and who, doubtless, was turning his Samnite conquests to his own account, and appropriating to himself, at this very moment, the spoil won by the valour of his soldiers. So Curius thought that justice and the public good required that the conquests of the nation should be made available for the relief of the national distress; and he proposed an agrarian law which should allot to every citizen a portion of seven jugera.²²

¹⁸ Paterculus, I. 14. "Sabinis sine suffragio data civitas."

¹⁹ Livy, Epitom. XI.

²⁰ A more detailed account of the mad conduct of Postumius in his consulship is given in a subsequent part of this chapter. His trial and fine took place probably in the very year when Curius and P. Cornelius Rufinus were consuls.

²¹ Dion Cassius seems to have placed the well-known story of Fabricius voting for Rufinus at the consular comitia, because "he would rather be robbed than sold as a slave," in the first consulship of Rufinus, that is, in the year 464. See the mutilated fragment in Mai's *Scriptor. Veter. Collect.* Dion. XLI. which, when compared with the entire story as given by Cicero, de Oratore, II. 66, clearly relates to the same circumstance. Yet it is difficult to understand, how in either of Rufinus' consulships, the Republic was in such perilous circumstances that great military skill was needed to save her from destruc-

tion, which is the meaning of Fabricius' words; and therefore, Niebuhr thinks that the story may refer to the time of Rufinus' dictatorship just after the defeat of Lævinus by Pyrrhus.

²² "Quaterna dena agri jugera viritim populo divisit." Auctor de Viris Illustribus.—M. Curius. But these fourteen jugera must be understood of two separate agrarian laws, the one passed or proposed in the first consulship of Curius, the other in his second consulship, after the final defeat of Pyrrhus. It is not expressly stated that this first allotment was vehemently opposed; but the fragment from Appian, preserved by Suidas, and quoted below, proves that Curius was in a state of violent opposition to the senate, and this is likely to have been on account of his agrarian law. It may be, however, that he also brought forward some of those measures which were afterwards conceded by the aristocracy, and which were contained in the Hortensian laws.

He arrayed at once against him, not the patricians only, but many families no doubt of the new nobility, who, having attained to wealth and honours, felt entirely as the older members of the aristocracy. The ancestors of Lucullus, and of the Metelli, and of the orator Hortensius, already, we may believe, had joined that party which their descendants so constantly upheld. They made common cause with Appius Claudius, the uncompromising enemy of their whole order, who despised the richest of the Liciinii as heartily as the poorest citizen of one of the city tribes. L. Scipio was likely to entertain the same spirit of resistance to the agrarian law of Curius, which Scipio Masica, nearly two hundred years afterwards, displayed so fiercely against the measures of Ti. Gracchus; and L. Papirius Cursor, with all his father's inflexible temper and unyielding courage, would be slow to comply with the demands of a plebeian multitude. The old Q. Fabius was respected and loved by all orders of his countrymen, and he had been opposed to the party of the high aristocracy; but perhaps his civil courage was not equal to his courage in the field; he had shown on a former occasion²³ that he might be moved by the reproaches of his order, and if he took no part against Curius, yet we cannot believe that he supported him.

I have tried to recall the individual actors in these troubles, in order to give to them something more of reality than can belong to a mere account of actions apart from the men who performed them. And the contest no doubt was violent; as it is said that Curius was followed by a band of eight hundred picked young men,²⁴ the soldiers, we may suppose, who had so lately conquered under his auspices, and who were ready to decide the quarrel, if needful, by the sword. They saved Curius from the fate of Ti. Gracchus, but it does not appear that they committed any acts of outrage themselves. But an impenetrable veil conceals from our view the particulars of all these disturbances; the law of Curius was finally passed, but we know not at what time, nor whether it was obtained by any other than peaceful and legal means.

Between the consulship of Curius and Cornelius Rufinus, and that of P. Dolabella and Cn. Domitius, when the Gaulish war broke out, there intervened a period of seven years, all the records of which have so utterly

Tumults and violent state of parties. The agrarian law is passed.

²³ When he only refused to violate the Licinian law, and to return two patrician consuls, because he himself would have been one of them. Otherwise he is represented as saying that he would have complied with the wishes of the patricians, and have broken the law.—Livy, X. 15.

²⁴ Δευντάτω κατὰ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς εἵπετο νέων

λογάδων πλῆθος ὁκτακοσίων, ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἔτοιμοι. καὶ βαρὺς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας.

This is a quotation made from Appian by Suidas, and is to be found in Suidas' lexicon, in ζῆλος, or in Schweighauser's Appian, Samnitic. Extract. V.

perished, that not a single event can be fixed with certainty in any one particular year. But with all the chronology of these years we have lost also the history; we cannot ascertain the real character of the events which followed, nor the relations of parties to each other, nor the conduct of particular persons.²⁵ Some of the tribunes²⁶ proposed a law for the abolition of all debts; whether before or after the passing of Curius' agrarian law we know not. Nor can we tell whether Curius held on with the popular party till the end of the contest; or whether, as often happens with the leaders of the beginnings of civil dissensions, he thought that the popular cause was advancing too far, and either left it, or even joined the party of its opponents. We only know that the demands of the people²⁷ rose with the continuance of the struggle; that political questions were added to those of debtor and creditor; that points which, if yielded in time, would have satisfied all the wishes of the popular party, were contested inch by inch, till, when gained, they were only regarded as a step to something farther; and that at last the mass of the people left Rome and established themselves on the Janiculum.²⁸ Even then, if Zonaras may be trusted, the aristocracy would not yield, and it was only the alarm of a foreign enemy,²⁹ perhaps some gathering of the forces of Etruria, which at this time was meditating on a real and decisive trial of strength with Rome, which induced the senate to put an end at any price to the existing dissensions.

Accordingly Q. Hortensius³⁰ was appointed dictator. He was

²⁵ For example, a speech of Curius has been recorded, in which he said, "that the man must be a mischievous citizen who was not contented with seven jugera of land." Pliny, Hist. Natur. XVIII. § 18. Ed. Sillig. But the application of this speech is most uncertain. According to Plutarch it was spoken to reprove some violent supporters of the popular party, who thought that Curius' agrarian law did not go far enough, and that the whole of the state's domains ought to be allotted to separate proprietors, without allowing any portion to be occupied in great masses as at present.—Apothegm. p. 194. E. But Valerius Maximus transfers the speech to Curius' second consulship, and makes it accompany his refusal of an unusually large portion of land which the senate proposed to allot to himself. IV. 3, § 5. Frontinus also makes it accompany his refusal of an offer made to himself; but he places it in his first consulship, after the Sabine war. Strategemat. IV. 3, § 12. It might also have been spoken against

the occupiers of large tracts of domain land, who would not be contented with an allotment of seven jugera as property, but wished to occupy whole districts. So impossible is it to see our way in the history of a period where the accounts are not only so meagre, but also at variance with one another.

²⁶ δημάρχων τινῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν εἰσηγήσαμένων.—Zonaras, VIII. 2. The words εἰσηγοιμένων τῶν δημάρχων are legible in a mutilated fragment of Dion Cassius relating to these times, which Mai has printed in such a state as to be in many parts absolutely unintelligible. Fragm. XLII.

²⁷ This appears from the legible part of the fragment of Dion Cassius just noticed: τελευτῶντες οὐδ' ἐθελόντων τῶν δυνατῶν πολλῶ πλείω τῶν κατ' ἀρχῆς ἐλπισθέντων σφίσιν ἀφείναι, συνηλλάγησαν.

²⁸ Livy, Epitom. XI.

²⁹ Zonaras, VIII. 2.

³⁰ Livy, Epitom. XI. Pliny, Histor. Natur. XVI. § 37. Ed. Sillig.

They are brought back by Q. Hortensius, who passes the Hortensian laws.

a man of an old plebeian family, for we find an Hortensius amongst the tribunes of the year 332;³¹ but individually, he is unknown to us, and we cannot tell what recommended him to the choice of the consuls on this occasion. He assembled the people, including under that name the whole nation, those who had stayed in Rome no less than those who had withdrawn to the Janiculum, in a place called "the Oak Grove,"³² probably without the walls of the city; and in that sacred grove were passed, and ratified probably by solemn oaths, the famous Hortensian laws.

These contained, in the first place, an abolition,³³ or at least a great reduction of debts; 2d, an agrarian law on an extensive scale, allotting seven jugera of the domain land to every citizen; and 3d, one or more laws affecting the constitution; of which the most important was that which deprived the senate of its veto, and declared the people assembled³⁴ in their tribes to be a supreme legislative power. Accidental mention has been preserved to us of another law, or possibly of a particular clause in the former law, by which the *nundinæ*³⁵ or weekly market days which had hitherto been days of business

³¹ Livy, IV. 42.

³² "Q. Hortensius, dictator, cum plebs secessisset in Janiculum, legem in esuleto tulit, ut quod ea jussisset omnes Quirites teneret." Pliny, Hist. Nat. XVI. § 37. Ed. Sillig.

³³ This is not stated in direct terms in the scanty notices of these events which alone have been preserved to us. But as the abolition of debts was the main thing required by the people, and as the fragment of Dion Cassius, above referred to, speaks of the people having their first demands granted and then going on to insist upon others, and as we have seen an abolition of debts carried once before in the disturbances of 413, it does not seem too much to conclude that a similar measure was carried on on the present occasion also. With regard to the agrarian law, it may have been passed two or three years earlier; but from the statement already quoted, (Auctor de Viris Illustribus, in M. Curio,) "that Curius granted fourteen jugera to each citizen, it is clear that an agrarian law proposed by him must have been carried at some time or other in the period between his consulship and the dictatorship of Hortensius. It may thus be numbered amongst the Hortensian laws, as belonging to the measures which the people at this period forced the aristocracy to concede to them.

³⁴ The statement in the text follows

Niebuhr, who, as is well known, supposed that the Hortensian laws differed from the Publilian, inasmuch as the Publilian abolished the veto of the *curiæ*, and the Hortensian did away the veto of the senate. The tribes in the forum and the senate were thus placed on a footing of equality; neither had a veto on the enactments of the other; and the tribunes had a veto upon both alike. Both also were considered as equal to laws; for "*senatus consultum legis vicem obtinet*;" (Gaius, Institut. I. § 4) and by the Hortensian law, "*plebiscita legibus exæquata sunt*." (Gaius, Institut. I. § 3.) It may be doubted whether the limits of these two powers were ever very definitely settled; although one point is mentioned as lying exclusively in the power of the tribes, namely, the right of admitting any strangers to the franchise of Roman citizens.—Livy, XXXVIII. 36.

³⁵ Macrobius, Saturnal. I. 16. The reason assigned by Macrobius for this enactment of the Hortensian law may also be admitted; that it was made to suit the convenience of the citizens from the country, who coming up to Rome on the market days, wished to be able to settle their legal business at the same time; but this could not be done, at least in the prætor's court, as there, according to the patrician usage, the market days were holydays, and consequently the court did not sit.

for the commons only, and sacred or holy days for the patricians, were now made days of business for the whole nation alike. Was the object of this merely to abolish a marked distinction between the two orders; or was it to enable the patricians to take part in the meeting of the tribes in the forum, which were held on the *nundinæ*, and had they hitherto belonged only to the tribes in that other but to us undiscoverable form, in which they voted at the *comitia* of centuries on the field of Mars?

Thus the sovereign legislative power of the assembly of the tribes in the forum was fully established; and consequently, when C. Flaminius brought forward another agrarian bill, about fifty years afterwards, for a division of the recently conquered country of the Senones, the senate, however strongly averse to it, could not prevent it from becoming a law. The only check, therefore, which now remained on the absolute legislative power of the tribes, consisted in the veto of their own tribunes; and to secure the negative of a tribune became accordingly the ordinary resource of the aristocracy in the contests of the seventh century.

Another important law is supposed to have been passed at the same period with the law of Hortensius, though our knowledge of all particulars respecting it is still more scanty. A law bearing the name of Mænian,³⁶ and proposed, therefore, either by the good dictator C. Mænius himself, or as is more probable by one of his family, took away the veto which the *curiæ* had hitherto enjoyed in the election of curule magistrates. They were now to sanction beforehand the choice of the centuries, on whomsoever it might happen to fall. And thus their share in the elections being reduced to an empty form, they soon ceased to be assembled at all; and in later times of the commonwealth they were represented merely by thirty lictors, who were accustomed for form's sake to confirm the suffrages of

The legislative power of the tribes established.

The Mænian law.

³⁶ What we know of the Mænian law comes chiefly from a passage of Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 14, § 55), in which he says of M. Curius, that he "*patres ante auctores fieri coegerit, quod fuit permagnum, nondum lege Mæniâ latâ.*" Livy must allude also to this law, when he says, "*hodie—priusquam populus suffragium inerat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt.*" I. 17. It must be observed that the power taken away by the Mænian law from the "*patres*" was taken away from the senate no less than from the *curiæ*; for the senate in its original form was only a select assembly of the *patres*, whose great assembly was the *comitia curiata*. And gradually the senate drew to itself both the name and the power of the

greater patrician assembly, so that what is said of the *patres* or patricians is commonly to be understood of the senate, and not of the *curiæ*, even although the senate had long ceased to be exclusively a patrician assembly. This view would coincide with Niebuhr's distinction between the Publilian and Hortensian laws. When the former were passed, the *curiæ* were still an efficient body, and the term "*patres*" therefore applied to them much more than to the senate. But in the fifty years that followed, the *curiæ* had dwindled away so much that the senate was become the principal assembly of the *patres*; and therefore the Hortensian law extended to the senate what had before been enacted by the Publilian law with respect to the *curiæ*.

the centuries, and to confer the imperium on the magistrates whom the centuries had elected.

But although supreme legislative power was now bestowed on the assembly of the tribes, and although the elections were freed from all direct legal control on the part of the aristocracy, yet we know full well that the Roman constitution was very far from becoming henceforward a democracy. To us, indeed, who are accustomed to enact more than five hundred new laws every year, and who see the minutest concerns of common life regulated by act of parliament, the possession of an independent legislative power by a popular assembly must seem equivalent to absolute sovereignty. But our own early history may teach us not to apply our present notions to other times and other countries. The legislative power, even in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts, was of small importance when compared with the executive and judicial. Now, the Hortensian law enabled the Roman people to carry any point on which they considered their welfare to depend; it removed all impediments, which after all do but irritate rather than hinder, out of the way of the strongly declared expression of the public will. But the public will was in the ordinary state of things quiescent, and allowed itself to be represented by the senate and the magistrates. It resigned to these even the power of taxation, and except in some rare or comparatively trifling cases, the whole judicial power also: those judges who were appointed by the prætor to try questions of fact, in all the most important civil and criminal cases, were taken exclusively from the order of senators. All the ordinary administration was conducted by the senate; and its decrees on all particular points, like the *ψηφίσματα* of the Athenian popular assembly, had undoubtedly the force of laws.

According to Theophilus,³⁷ this was a concession made by the people to the aristocracy, and embodied in the laws of Hortensius, that the decrees of the senate should be binding on the people, as the decrees or resolutions of the tribes were to be binding on the senate. At any rate it is certain that the senate retained high and independent powers of its own, which were no less sovereign than those possessed by the assembly of the tribes; and in practice each of these two bodies kept up for a hundred and fifty years a healthy and vigorous life in itself, without interfering with the functions of the other. Mutual good sense and good feeling, and the continual moderating influence of the college of tribunes, whose peculiar position as having

These laws did not make the constitution of Rome a democracy.

Their effects were lasting and beneficial.

³⁷ See Hugo, *Geschichte des Rom. Rechts*, p. 339. (9th Edit.) The passage in Theophilus is one which I have not verified, as I have not had an oppor-

tunity of consulting the book. But Hugo professes to quote it fully, and I have no doubt of his correctness.

a veto on the proceedings both of the senate and people disposed them to regulate the action of each, prevented any serious collision, and gave to the Roman constitution that mixed character, partly aristocratic and partly popular, which Polybius recognized and so greatly admired. And thus the event seems to have given the highest sanction to the wisdom of the Hortensian laws: nor can we regard them as mischievous or revolutionary, when we find that from the time of their enactment the internal dissensions of the Romans were at an end for a hundred and fifty years, and that during this period the several parts of the constitution were all active; it was a calm not produced by the extinction of either of the contending forces, but by their perfect union.

It may be conjectured that the sickness which had visited Rome during three or four successive years at the close of the Samnite war returned, partially at least, in the concluding year of these domestic troubles, for Q. Hortensius died before the expiration of his dictatorship; an event hitherto unexampled in the Roman annals, and regarded as of evil omen; so that Augustine³⁸ makes it a reproach to the impotence of the god Æsculapius, that although he had been so lately brought from Greece with the utmost solemnity, and had been received at Rome with due honours, that his presence might stay the pestilence, he yet suffered the very dictator of the Roman people to fall its victim. Nearly about the same time also, if we can judge from the place and apparent drift of one of the fragments of Dionysius,³⁹ Rome suffered from an earthquake. And scarcely were the Hortensian laws passed, when the prospect of foreign war on a most extensive scale presented itself. Tarentum, it is said, was busily organizing a new coalition, in which the Lucanians, Samnites, and Bruttians in the south were to unite with the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls in the north, and were again to try their combined strength against Rome.

In the mean time, before we trace the events of this great contest, we may bring together some few scattered notices of domestic affairs, relating to the state of Rome in the middle of the fifth century.

A new magistracy had its origin⁴⁰ somewhere between the years 461 and 466; that of the triumviri capitales, or commissioners of police. These officers were

Prospect of a new coalition against Rome.

Miscellaneous notices of domestic events.

Institution of the triumviri capitales.

³⁸ De Civitate Dei, III. 17. Augustine's notice of the secession to the Janiculum is probably taken from Livy, and may be given here, as it contains one or two particulars not mentioned in any other existing record. "Post graves et longas Romæ seditiones ad ultimum plebs in Janiculum hostile diremptione secesserat: cujus mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut ejus

rei causâ quod in extremis periculis fieri solebat, dictator crearetur Hortensius; qui plebe revocatâ in eodem magistratu expiravit, quod nulli dictatori ante contigerat."

³⁹ Ch. 39. Fragm. Dionys. apud Maium. Scriptor. Veter. Vatican. Collect. Vol. II. p. 501.

⁴⁰ Livy, Epitome, XI.

elected by the people, the comitia being held by the prætor. Their business was to enforce the payment of fines due to the state;⁴¹ to try by summary process all offenders against the public peace who might be taken in the fact; to have the care of the state prison, and to carry into effect the sentence of the law upon criminals. They resembled exactly in all these points the well known magistracy of the eleven at Athens.

The creation of this office seems to mark an increase of ordinary crimes against person and property; and such an increase was the natural consequence of the distress which prevailed about this time, and particularly of the severe visitations of pestilence which occurred at this period. It is well known that such seasons are marked by the greatest outbreaks of all sorts of crime; and that never is a strong police more needed than when the prospect of impending death makes men reckless, and eager only to indulge their passions while they may.

The census of the year 461 gave a return of 262,322 Roman citizens;⁴² that of year 466, notwithstanding the havoc caused in the interval by the double scourge of pestilence and war, exhibited an increase of 10,000⁴³ upon the preceding return. This was owing to the conquest of the Sabines, and their consequent admission to the Roman franchise in the year 464: for the census included, as is well known, not only those citizens who were enrolled in the tribes, but those also who enjoyed the private rights of citizenship without as yet partaking in the right of suffrage.

Amongst other traits of resemblance between the Spartan and the Roman aristocracies, we may notice the extreme moderation shown by each of them towards the faults of their distinguished citizens. It was not till after repeated proofs of his treasonable designs that the Spartan government would take any serious steps against Pausanias; and the forbearance of the Romans towards Appius Claudius was no less remarkable. Another memorable example of the same spirit occurred in the case of L. Postumius Megellus. He belonged to a family whose pride and hatred of the commons had been notorious in the political contests of the beginning of the fourth century;⁴⁴ and, as

The probable occasion of its institution.

Returns of the census at this period.

Story of L. Postumius Megellus.

⁴¹ Festus, in "Sacramentum." The appointment of the "triumviri capitales" was proposed, according to Festus, by L. Papirius, whom he calls "tribune of the commons." One cannot but suspect with Niebuhr, that the person meant was L. Papirius Cursor, who was prætor in the year 462 (Livy, X. 47); and then the appointment would coincide with the year when the plague was at its height, and when the deputation was sent to Epidaurus to invite Æsculapius to Rome. Varro,

de L. L. V. 81. Ed. Müller. Pomponius, de Origine Juris, Digest I. Tit. II. § 39. Livy, XXV. 1. XXXII. 26. Valerius Maximus, V. 4, § 7.

Etymologicon Magn. in ἑνδεκα. See Herman, Pol. Antiq. of Greece, § 137.

⁴² Livy, X. 47.

⁴³ Livy, Epitom. XI.

⁴⁴ See Chap. XIII. of this history, note 48.

Niebuhr has truly observed, the peculiar character of a Roman family was preserved from generation to generation, and it was rarely found that any of its members departed from it. He had been consul in 449, and again in 460, and had acquired in each of his commands the reputation of a brave and skilful soldier. But his conduct as a citizen was far less meritorious; and it was probably for some overbearing or oppressive behaviour in his second consulship that he was threatened with impeachment by one of the tribunes as soon as he went out of office. In the crisis of the Samnite war, however, military merit atoned for all other defects; the consul Sp. Carvilius named him one of his lieutenants,⁴⁵ and the trial was delayed till the campaign should be over; but when it had ended triumphantly, the popularity and brilliant victories of Sp. Carvilius pleaded strongly in favour of his lieutenant, and the trial never was brought forward. Two years afterwards, in 463, Postumius was again chosen consul, when the great victory obtained in the preceding year by Q. Fabius made it probable that the war might soon be brought to a triumphant issue.

His proud and bad nature was more irritated by having been threatened at first with impeachment, than softened by the favour shown to him afterwards; so that his conduct in his third consulship was that of a mischievous madman. His first act⁴⁶ was to insist on having Samnium assigned to him as his province, without referring the decision as usual to lot; and though his colleague, C. Junius Bubulcus, remonstrated against this arrogance, yet the nobility and powerful interest of Postumius prevailed, and C. Junius forbore to dispute what he perceived he could not resist with success.

Then followed, as usual, the levying of the legions for the service of the year; but the Samnites were so humbled that nothing more was to be feared from them, and Q. Fabius Gurges still commanded an army in Samnium as proconsul. It was not necessary therefore for the consul to begin active operations immediately; but he, notwithstanding, took the field with his army, and advanced towards the enemy's frontier. In the course of the late campaigns, he had become the occupier of a large tract of the territory conquered from the Samnites; but much of it was uncleared land, and as slaves at Rome were yet but few, labourers were not easily to be procured in these remote possessions in sufficient numbers. Postumius did not scruple to employ his soldiers as though they had been his slaves: he set two thousand⁴⁷ men to work in felling his woods, and in this manner he engaged for a considerable time a large portion of a Roman army.

⁴⁵ Livy, X. 46.⁴⁶ Dionysius, XVI. 15.⁴⁷ Dionysius, XVI. 15. Livy, Epitome, XI.

His quarrels with his colleague in his third consulship.

He employs his soldiers in clearing his own land.

When, at last, he was ready to commence active operations against the enemy, his pride displayed itself in a new form. His behaviour towards Q. Fabius Gurgēs. Q. Fabius Gurgēs was still, as we have seen, commanding an army in Samnium as proconsul; and he was now laying siege to Cominium, which, though taken and burnt by the Romans two years before, appears to have been again occupied by the Samnites as a fortress; for the massy walls of their towns could not easily be destroyed, and these exist in many instances to this day, encircling nothing but desolation within them. The consul wrote to Fabius,⁴⁸ ordering him to withdraw from Samnium: Fabius pleaded the authority of the senate, by which he had been continued in his command; and the senate itself sent a deputation to Postumius, requiring him not to oppose their decree. But he replied to the deputies, that so long as he was consul it was for him to command the senate, not for the senate to dictate to him; and he marched directly towards Cominium, to compel Fabius to obedience by actual force. Fabius did not attempt to resist him; and the consul, having taken the command of both armies, immediately sent Fabius home.

In actual war Postumius again proved himself an able soldier: He triumphs in spite of the prohibition of the senate. he took Cominium,⁴⁹ and several other places, and he conquered the important post of Venusia, and, well appreciating the advantages of its situation, he recommended that it should be made a Roman colony. The senate followed his advice, but would not appoint him one of the commissioners⁵⁰ for assigning the lands to the colonists, and superintending the foundation of the new settlement. He in his turn distributed all the plunder of the campaign amongst his soldiers, that he might not enrich the treasury; and he marched home and gave his soldiers leave of absence from their standards, without waiting for the arrival of his successor. Finally, when the senate refused to allow him to triumph,⁵¹ he, having secured the protection of three of the tribunes, celebrated his triumph in defiance of the prohibition of the other seven, and in contempt of the senate's refusal.

For such a course of outrageous conduct, he was prosecuted as soon as he went out of office, by two of the tribunes, and was condemned by all the three and thirty tribes unanimously. But his accusers did not prosecute him capitally, they only sued him for a fine; and although the fine was the heaviest to which any Roman had been hitherto sentenced, for it amounted to 500,000 ases,⁵² yet it was but small

⁴⁸ Dionysius, XVI. 16.⁴⁹ Dionysius, XVI. 17.⁵⁰ Dionysius, XVI. 17.⁵¹ Dionys. XVI. 18. Livy relates this story of Postumius' second consulship,

X. 37. But it agrees on every account better with his third consulship, of which it is related by Dionysius.

⁵² Dionysius, XVI. 18.

in comparison of the penalties imposed with far less provocation by the governments of Greece. It amounted, in Greek money, to no more than fifty thousand drachmæ, whereas Agis the king of Sparta had been condemned, even by the Spartans, to pay a fine of one hundred thousand⁵³ for a mere want of judgment in his military operations. Postumius, in addition to his own large possessions, would probably have many wealthy clients, who were bound to pay their patron's fine. His family, at any rate, was not ruined or disgraced by his sentence, for his son was elected consul a few years afterwards, in the third year of the first Punic war.

Of the miscellaneous particulars recorded of this period one of the most remarkable is the embassy sent to Greece in the year 462, to invite the god Æsculapius to Rome, in order that he might put a stop to the plague which had then been raging for three years. The head of the embassy was Q. Ogulnius,⁵⁴ the proposer of the law by which the commons had been admitted to the sacred offices of pontifex and augur, and who more recently, as curule ædile, had caused the famous group of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus to be placed by the sacred fig-tree in the comitium. The deputation arrived at Epidaurus, the peculiar seat of Æsculapius, and entreated permission to invite the god to Rome, and that they might be instructed how to offer him acceptable worship. This was no unusual request; for many cities, had, in like manner, received his worship from Epidaurus; Sicyon,⁵⁵ Athens, Pergamus, and Cyrene. Accordingly, one of the snakes which were sacred to the god crawled from his temple to the city of Epidaurus, and from thence made its way to the sea-shore, and climbed up into the trireme of the Roman ambassadors, which was as usual drawn up on the beach. It was under the form of a snake that Æsculapius was said to have gone to Sicyon,⁵⁶ when his worship was introduced there; and the Romans, instructed by the Epidaurians, considered that he was now going to visit Rome in the same form, and they immediately sailed away with the sacred snake to Italy. But when they stopped at Antium, on their way home, the snake, so said the story,⁵⁷ left the ship, and crawled out into the precinct of the temple of Æsculapius, for the god it seems was worshipped at Antium also, and coiled himself round a tall palm tree, where he remained for three days. The Romans anxiously waited for his return to the ship; and at last he went back, and did not move again till the ship entered the

Embassy sent to Epidaurus to invite the god Æsculapius to Rome.

⁵³ Thucydides, V. 63.

⁵⁴ Valerius Maximus, I. 8. Auctor "de Viris Illustribus," in "Æsculap. Rom. advect."

⁵⁵ Pausanias, II. 10, 26.

⁵⁶ Pausanias, II. 10.

⁵⁷ As given by Valerius Maximus, I. 8, by the author "de Viris Illustribus," and above all by Ovid, *Metamorphos.* XV. 622, &c.

Tiber. Then when she came to Rome, he again crawled forth, but instead of landing with the ambassadors, he swam to the island in the middle of the Tiber, and there went on shore and remained quiet. A temple was built, therefore, to the god in the spot which he had himself chosen; and the island to this day preserves the memory of the story, for the travertino, which was brought there to form the foundation of the temple of the god, has been cut into a rude resemblance of a trireme, because it was on ship-board that Æsculapius had first visited the Romans, and received their worship.

There is no reason to doubt that the Romans did bring back with them a snake from Epidaurus, for there was a breed of snakes there, said to be peculiar to that country,⁵⁸ and perfectly harmless, which were accounted sacred to Æsculapius. And so complete is the ascendancy which man's art has obtained over the brute creation, that it is very possible that they may have been trained to perform various feats at the bidding of their keepers; and if one of these, as is likely, went with the sacred snake to Rome, wonders may have really been exhibited to the Roman people, which they would have certainly supposed to be supernatural.

This, if we except the doubtful story of the embassy to Athens immediately before the decemvirate, and one or two deputations to consult the oracle of Delphi, is the earliest instance recorded by the Roman annalists of any direct communication between their country and Greece since the beginning of the commonwealth. Greek writers, as we have seen, mentioned an embassy sent to Alexander at Babylon, and a remonstrance made by Demetrius Poliorcetes against the piracies of the Antiatians, at a time when they were subject to the Romans. We may be sure, at any rate, that in the middle of the fifth century the two people were no strangers to each other: and whether it be true or not that Demetrius acknowledged the Romans to be the kinsmen of the Greeks, yet when the Epidaurians gave them their god Æsculapius, they would feel that they were not giving him to a people utterly barbarian, but to one which had for centuries paid divine honours to Greek heroes, which worshipped Hercules, and the twin gods Castor and Pollux; and which, within the memory of the existing generation, had erected statues in the comitium to the wisest and bravest of the men of Greece,⁵⁹ Pythagoras and Alcibiades. Nor

⁵⁸ Pausanias, II. 28.

⁵⁹ Pliny, *Histor. Natural.* XXXIV. § 26. Ed. Sillig. These statues were set up "bello Samniti," probably in the second war; and were erected in consequence of the command of the Delphian

oracle, which the Romans had probably consulted after their disaster at the pass of Caudium, as they did afterwards after the defeat at Cannæ. Livy, XXII. 57.

can we doubt that Q. Ogulnius was sufficiently acquainted with the Greek language to address the Epidaurians, as L. Postumius a few years later addressed the Tarentines, without the help of an interpreter.

We are now arrived, however, at the period when the histories of Greece and Rome unavoidably intermix with one another ; when the greatest prince and general of the Greek nation crossed over into Italy, and became the head of the last coalition of the Italian states against Rome. We must here then pause, and before we enter upon the new Samnite and Tarentine war, in which Pyrrhus so soon interfered, and before we notice those renewed hostilities with the Gauls, which owed their origin, in part at least, to the intrigues of the Tarentines, we must once more cross the sea, after an interval of more than a hundred years, and observe what was now the state of Greece and of the eastern world ; what new powers had succeeded to Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and the great king, who had inherited the fragments of the empire of Alexander, and what was the condition of the various states of the Grecian name in Greece itself and in Sicily. We must endeavour too to obtain some more lively notion of Rome and the Roman people at this same period, than could be gained from the imperfect record of political and military events ; to conceive what that city was which Cineas likened to a temple ; what was the real character of that people whose senate he described as an assembly of kings.

It becomes here necessary to describe the state of the east and the internal condition of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXV.

STATE OF THE EAST—KINGDOMS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS— SICILY—GREECE—KINGDOM OF EPIRUS, AND EARLY FORTUNES OF PYRRHUS.

“When he was strong the great horn was broken ; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.”—DANIEL, VIII. 8.

THE hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad witnessed, says Polybius,¹ the first revival of the Achæan league, and the deaths of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, of Lysimachus, of Seleucus Nicator, and of Ptolemy Ceraunus. The same period was also marked by the Italian expedition of Pyrrhus, and immediately afterwards followed the great inroad of the Gauls into Greece and Asia, their celebrated attack upon Delphi, and their establishment in the heart of Asia Minor, in the country which afterwards was called from them Galatia. This coincidence of remarkable events is enough of itself to attract attention ; and the names which I have just mentioned, contain, in a manner, the germ of the whole history of the eastern world ; all its interests and all its most striking points may be fully comprehended, when these names have been rendered significant, and we have formed a distinct notion of the persons and people which they designate.

¹ Polybius, II. 41. Some explanation may perhaps be required of the length of this chapter, devoted as it is to matters not directly connected with the Roman history of the fifth century of Rome. But it is impossible to forget that all the countries here spoken of will successively become parts of the Roman empire ; the wars in which they were engaged with Rome will hereafter claim our attention, and therefore their condition immediately before those wars cannot be considered foreign to my subject. Besides, the distinctness of the eastern empire from the

western was productive of the most important consequences ; and this distinctness arose from the spread of the Greek language and manners over Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, by Alexander's conquests, and the establishment of his successive kingdoms. As for the notices of Greece itself, of Sparta, of Thebes and of Athens, they cannot plead quite the same justification ; but I trust that they may be forgiven, as an almost involuntary tribute of respect and affection to old associations and immortal names, on which we can scarcely dwell too long or too often.

Forty years² had elapsed since the death of Alexander, when Seleucus Nicator, the last survivor of his generals, was assassinated at Lysimachia³ by Ptolemy Ceraunus. The old man, for Seleucus was more than seventy-five years old, had just before destroyed the kingdom of Lysimachus, the last survivor except himself of the immediate successors and former generals of Alexander; and after fifty years' absence, was returning as the sovereign of Asia to that country which he had left as an unknown officer in Alexander's army. But an oracle, it is said, had bidden him beware of Europe;⁴ for that the appointed seat of his fortunes was Asia. And scarcely had he landed on the Thracian Chersonesus, when he was assassinated by one of his own followers, by Ptolemy Ceraunus,⁵ the half brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus the reigning king of Egypt, who had first been a refugee at the court of Lysimachus, and, after his death, had been taken into the service of Seleucus, and had been treated by him with the greatest kindness and confidence. Seleucus' vast kingdom, which reached from the Hellespont to the Indus, was inherited by his son Antiochus;⁶ but his murderer seized upon the throne of Macedonia, which having been in rapid succession filled by various competitors, and having lastly been occupied by Lysimachus, now, in consequence of his overthrow and death, and of the murder of his conqueror, seemed to lie open to the first pretender.

Seleucus outlived by about two years⁷ his old ally and his protector in his utmost need, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, king of Egypt. With more unbroken good fortune than any other of his contemporaries, Ptolemy had remained master of Egypt, first as satrap and afterwards as king, from the first division of Alexander's empire down to the period of his own death. The distinct and almost unassailable position of Egypt saved it from the sudden conquests which often changed the fortune of other countries; the deserts of the Nile formed a barrier not easily to be overcome. To Egypt, Ptolemy had added the old commonwealth of Cyrene,⁸ where the domestic factions, according to the frequent fate of the Greek cities, had at last sacrificed their common independence to a foreign enemy. He was

Seleucus is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who seizes the throne of Macedonia.

Ptolemy the son of Lagus reigns in Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus.

² Alexander died Olymp. 114-1-2, B. C. 323. Seleucus was murdered Olymp. 124-4, B. C. 280. See Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*.

³ Appian, *Syriac*. 62. Porphyry, apud Eusebium, *Chronic*. p. 63. Ed. Scaliger.

⁴ Appian, *Syriac*. 63.

⁵ Ptolemy Ceraunus was the son of Ptolemy Soter, by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater; Ptolemy Philadelphus was his son by Berenice. Porphyry, apud Euseb. p. 63. Pausanias, I. 6.

⁶ Memnon apud Photium, p. 226. Ed. Bekker.

⁷ Ptolemy Soter, the son of Lagus, died just forty years after the death of Alexander, of whose actions he and Aristobulus were the earliest and most authentic historians. His death took place Olymp. 124-2, B. C. 283.

⁸ Diodorus, XVIII. 21.

also master of the rich island of Cyprus,⁹ and, after the defeat of Antigonus at Ipsus, he had extended his dominion in Syria, as far as the valley of the Orontes, the country known by the name of Cœle-Syria,¹⁰ or the vale of Syria. His dominion, next to that of Seleucus, was by far the most extensive, as it was, without any exception, the most compact and secure of all the kingdoms formed out of Alexander's empire.

When Alexander died at Babylon, only seven years had elapsed since his conquest of Persia, and not more than four since his victory over Porus and his campaign in India. That his conquests could not have been completely consolidated within so short a period is evident; but it affords a wonderful proof of the ascendancy of the Greek race over the Asiatics, that the sudden death of the great conqueror did not destroy his unfinished work; that not a single native chief ventured to assert the independence of his country, but every province continued in the unity of the Macedonian empire, and obeyed without dispute a Macedonian satrap.¹¹ Nor did the subsequent wars between the Macedonian generals destroy the spell of their superiority. Eumenes and Antigonus carried on their contest in Susiana and Media, and disposed at their will of all the resources of those countries; and, after the murder of the last of Alexander's children, fourteen years after his own death, when obedience was no longer claimed even nominally for the blood and name of the great conqueror, still the Greek dominion was unshaken; and Seleucus, by birth a simple Macedonian subject, sat undisturbed in Babylon, on the throne of Nebuchadnezzar, and held the country of Cyrus as one amongst his numerous provinces.

This continuance of the Macedonian power was owing, no doubt, in no small measure, to Alexander's comprehensive wisdom. He made a Macedonian soldier of his guard, Peucestes,¹² satrap of Persia; but the simple soldier, unfettered by any literary or philosophical pride, did not scruple to adopt the Persian dress, and to learn the Persian language; confirming his own and his nation's dominion by those very compliances which many of his more cultivated but less wise countrymen regarded as an unworthy condescension to the barba-

This was owing partly to his conciliatory policy towards the Asiatics.

⁹ Ptolemy reduced the several petty kings of the island, and made himself master of it, Olymp. 117-1, B. C. 312. [Diodorus, XIX. 79.] He afterwards lost it, in consequence of his great naval defeat by Demetrius near Salamis, Olymp. 118-2, [Diodorus, XX. 53.] and finally recovered it after the victory of Ipsus. [Plutarch, Demetr. 35.]

¹⁰ Diodorus, Fragm. Vatican. XXI. 1.

¹¹ See the account of the division of the provinces, and of the Macedonian gene-

rals appointed to be satraps over each, in Justin, XIII. 4, and Diodorus, XVIII. 3, 39. There is scarcely a single Asiatic name on the list; only Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, Alexander's queen, had the country of the Paropamisadæ; and Porus and Taxilas retained for a time their governments on the Hydaspes and the Indus.

¹² Arrian, de Expedit. Alexand. VI. 30.

rians.¹³ The youth of the Asiatic provinces¹⁴ were enlisted in the Macedonian army, were taught the discipline of the phalanx, and the use of the Greek shield and pike; the bravest of them were admitted into the more distinguished bodies of cavalry and infantry known by the name of the king's companions; and the highest of the Persian nobility were made, together with the noblest of the Macedonians, officers of the king's body-guard. Thus, where the insulting display of superiority was avoided, its reality was felt and acknowledged without murmuring; and when the king's officers became independent satraps, the Asiatics saw their Macedonian comrades preferred, almost without a single exception, to these dignities, and they themselves remained the subjects of men whom they had so lately seen nominally their equals.

Thus there was spread over Asia, from the shores of the Ægæan to the Indus, and over the whole of Egypt also, an outer covering at the least of Greek civilization, however thinly it might have been laid on here and there, on the solid and heterogeneous mass below. The native languages were not extirpated, they were not even driven, as afterwards in the western provinces of the Roman empire, to a few mountainous or remote districts; they remained probably in general use for all the common purposes of life: but Greek was every where the medium of communication between the natives of different countries; it was the language of the court, of the government, and of literature. Many new cities were also founded, where the predominant element of the population was Greek from the beginning: such as Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Seleucia in Syria,¹⁵ Seleucia on the Tigris, and many other places built also by the same founder, Seleucus, in the several provinces of his empire. From these an influence was communicated to other cities in their neighbourhood, which were older than the Greek conquest; and the Greek character was revived in places, which like Tarsus, claimed to be originally Grecian settlements,¹⁶ but in the lapse of years had become barbarized.

In this manner Asia Minor and Syria were pervaded in every part by the language and institutions of Greece, and retained the impression through many centuries down to the period of the Saracen and

Spread of the Greek language and manners. Foundation of Greek cities in Asia.

Upper Asia was soon lost to the Greek dominion, and was again governed by native princes, the Arsacidæ.

¹³ Arrian, VII. 6.

¹⁴ Arrian, VII. 6, 11.

¹⁵ Appian, Syriac. 57.

¹⁶ Κτίσμα τῶν μετὰ Τροίᾳ ὁλεμῶν πλανηθέντων Ἀργείων κατὰ ζήτησιν Ἰούδ. Strabo, XIV. p. 673. One should not pay much regard to such a story, were there not other grounds for believing that the Greeks at a very early period had settled on the coasts of Cilicia. See the remarkable statement preserved in the Armenian translation of Eusebius, and

copied by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor or Abydenus, that Sennacherib was called down from Nineveh by the news of a Greek descent on Cilicia, which he repelled after a very hard fought battle. Compare Niebuhr's *Kleine Schriften*, p. 203. Might not the sons of Javan, to whom the Phœnicians sold Israelitish captives at a much earlier period (Joel iii. 6), be the Greek settlers on the Cilician coast as well as the more remote inhabitants of Greece itself?

Turkish conquerors. Upper Asia, from the Euphrates to the Indus, was effected much more slightly ; and the connexion of these countries with Greece was finally broken about thirty years after the period at which we are now arrived, by the restoration of a native monarchy, in the line of the Arsacidæ.¹⁷ Seleucia on the Tigris then became the capital of a barbarian sovereign ; and although it with some of the other Greek cities founded by Seleucus¹⁸ in Media and Parthia had not lost their national character even in the time of Strabo, yet it was enough if they could retain it themselves ; there was no possibility of communicating it in any degree to the nations around them.

We may be excused however from extending our view beyond the Euphrates, and may return to a more minute examination of those countries of western Asia and Africa which were all destined to become successively provinces of Rome. And here although we at first sight see nothing but the two great monarchies of Syria and Egypt, yet a nearer view shows us some smaller kingdoms which had been overlooked by the strength of the first Macedonian kings, and established themselves boldly against the weakness of their successors : kingdoms ruled by a race of princes, partly or chiefly of barbarian descent, but where the Greek character notwithstanding gave the predominant colour to their people, and even to themselves. Such were the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus on the northern side of Asia Minor. Another distinct state, if so it may be called, was formed in the 125th Olympiad by the settlement of the Gauls to the south of Bithynia, and to the north-west of Cappadocia : and the kingdom of Pergamus grew up not long afterwards on the coasts of the Ægean and the Propontis ; but as yet it had not come into existence.

In the 124th Olympiad Zipætēs¹⁹ or Zibætēs was still, at the

¹⁷ In Olymp. 132-3, B. C. 250. This was in the reign of Antiochus Theos. See Justin. XLi. 4, who makes a mistake however, as to the reign, and Arrian, Parthic. apud Photium, p. 17. Ed. Bekker. See also Fynes Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, Vol. III. under the year B. C. 250, A. U. C. 404.

¹⁸ Περιοικεῖται (ἡ Μηδία) πόλεσιν Ἑλληνισι κατὰ τὴν ὁμήγησιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, φυλακῆς ἕνεκεν τῶν συγκυροῦντων αὐτῇ βαρβάρων. Polybius, X. 27.

¹⁹ He reigned from 336 B. C. to 278, and was born in 354. His father Bas was born in 397 B. C. Memnon apud Photium, p. 227, 228. Ed. Bekker.

This reference may perhaps require explanation for some readers. Photius, who was patriarch of Constantinople in the

latter half of the ninth century, has left a sort of catalogue raisonné, or rather an abstract, of the various books which he was in the habit of reading. In this work, which he called his library, there are preserved abridgments of many books which would otherwise have been altogether lost to us ; and amongst the rest there is an abstract of a history of Heraclea on the Euxine sea, written by one Memnon, who flourished at a period not certainly known, but which cannot be placed earlier than the times of the early Roman emperors. In speaking of Heraclea, Memnon was often led to notice the neighbouring kings of Bithynia, and thus we are enabled to give the succession and the dates of the reigns of those obscure princes. So capricious is the chance which has preserved some por-

age of more than seventy, reigning over the Bithynians. His father had seen the torrent of Alexander's invasion pass by him without touching his dominions; and whilst the conqueror was engaged in Upper Asia, the Bithynian prince had repelled with success the attack of one of his generals, who was left behind to complete the conquest of the countries which Alexander had merely overrun. After Alexander's death, European Thrace and the southern coast of the Euxine were assigned in the general partition of the empire to Lysimachus; but the Bithynian princes held their ground against him, and still continued to reign over a territory more or less extensive, till Lysimachus and his dominions were conquered by Seleucus in the battle on the plain of Corus in Phrygia. Zipætēs then was as jealous of Seleucus as he had been before of Lysimachus; and after Seleucus' death, he cherished the same feelings towards his son Antiochus, and continued to resist him with success till the end of his life.

Kingdom of Bithynia.

In the geography of Herodotus²⁰ the name of Cappadocia is applied to the whole breadth of Asia Minor eastward of the Halys, from the chain of Taurus to the shores of the Euxine. The government of all this country had been bestowed by Darius,²¹ the son of Hystaspes, on one of the Persian chiefs who had taken part with him in the conspiracy against Smerdis, and it had remained from that time forward with his posterity. But in the time of Xenophon,²² the tribes along the Euxine were practically independent of any Persian satrap, and the name of Cappadocia was then, as afterwards, restricted to the southern and more inland part of the country. The same state of things prevailed in the early part of the reign of Philip of Macedon; Scylax in his *Periplus* notices a number of barbarian tribes between Colchis and Paphlagonia: yet immediately to the eastward of Paphlagonia he placed what he calls Assyria; and Syria, as we know, was the name anciently given by the Greeks to that country which they afterwards learnt to call by its Persian name Cappadocia.²³ But while the southern part

Cappadocia and its divisions. Northern Cappadocia or Pontus.

tions of ancient history from oblivion, while it has utterly destroyed all record of others. But Photius' library, compiled in the ninth century, shows what treasures of Greek literature were then existing at Constantinople, which in the course of the six following centuries perished irrecoverably. In this respect the French and Venetian conquest in the thirteenth century was far more destructive than the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth.

²⁰ Herodot. I. 72, 76, compared with V. 49.

²¹ Polybius, V. 43. Diodorus, XIX

40. Appian, *Mithridat.* 9, 112, makes Mithridates to have been descended from Darius himself. We find no Mithridates or Ariobarzanes in either of the lists of the conspirators against Smerdis given by Herodotus and Ctesias.

²² Anab. VII. 8. In his time Mithridates was satrap of Cappadocia and Lycaonia.

²³ Herodot. I. 72. And in the *Periplus* of the Euxine ascribed to Marcianus of Heraclea (*Hudson, Geogr. Min.* p. 73), it said that the Cappadocians were called by some White Syrians, and that the old

of their old satrapy passed into other hands, the descendants of Darius' fellow-conspirator strengthened their hold on the northern part of their original dominion; and in the reign of Alexander, Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes, is called²⁴ by Diodorus, "king," and his kingdom extended along the coast of the Euxine from the confines of Bithynia to those of Colchis. Though a king, however, he was regarded as a vassal by Alexander's general, Antigonus, when he, after the death of Eumenes, became master of all Asia from the Euphrates to the Ægæan; and Antigonus suspecting his fidelity when he was on the eve of his decisive struggle against Cassander, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, caused him to be put to death.²⁵ His son, Mithridates, notwithstanding, succeeded to his father's dominions, retained them during the lifetime of Seleucus, and for a period of nearly eighteen years afterwards, and having lived to witness the irruption²⁶ of the Gauls and their settlements on the very borders of his kingdom, died, after a reign of thirty-six years, immediately before the beginning of the first Punic war, and was succeeded in his turn by his son Ariobarzanes.

Southern Cappadocia meanwhile had passed before the conquest of Alexander into the hands of a satrap named Ariarathes,²⁷ to whom Diodorus gives the title of king. Like every other prince and state in Asia, he had been unable to resist the power of the Macedonian invasion, but Alexander's death broke, as he supposed, the spell of the Greek dominion, and Ariarathes ventured to dispute the decision of the council of generals which had assigned Cappadocia to Eumenes, and to retain the possession of it himself. Such an example of resistance, if successful, might have at once dissolved the Macedonian empire, and Perdiccas hastened to put it down. He encountered Ariarathes,²⁸ defeated him, made him prisoner and crucified him; and then, according to the arrangement of the council, bestowed the government of Cappadocia on Eumenes. The nephew and heir of Ariarathes, who also bore his name, took refuge²⁹ in Armenia; and there waited for better times. He saw the Macedonian power divided against itself; Perdiccas, his uncle's conqueror, had been killed by his own soldiers; Eumenes, who had been made satrap of Cappadocia, had been put to death by Antigonus; and Antigonus, who had become sovereign of all Asia Minor, was engaged in war with Seleucus the ruler of Mesopotamia and the eastern provinces. Amidst their quarrels, Ariarathes, with the help of the prince of Armenia, made his way

geographers made Cappadocia extend as far as the coast of the Euxine.

²⁴ Diodorus, XVI. 90.

²⁵ Diodorus, XX. 111.

²⁶ Memnon, apud Photium, p. 220. Ed. Bekker. Diodorus, XX. 111.

²⁷ Diodorus, XXXI. Excerpt. Photii.

²⁸ Diodorus, XXXI. apud Photium, and XVIII. 16.

²⁹ Diodorus, XXXI. apud Phot.

back to his country, drove out the Macedonian garrisons by which it was occupied, and made himself king of Cappadocia.

The sovereignty of a native prince gratified the national feelings of the people, while from a Greek ruler they may have derived some improvements in art and civilization. But from neither were they like to receive the blessings of just and good government; and in this respect, probably, the Greek and barbarian rulers were perfectly on a level with each other. From time immemorial indeed, in Asia, government had seemed to have no other object than to exact from the people the largest possible amount of revenue, and the system of finance consisted merely in the unscrupulous practice of oppression and fraud. Never was there a more disgraceful monument of an unprincipled spirit in such matters, than that strange collection of cases of open robbery or fraudulent dealing, which was so long ascribed to Aristotle, and which still is to be found amongst his works, under the title of the second book of the Economics. Its real date and author are unknown; but it must have been written for the instruction of some prince or state in Asia, and it gives a curious picture of the ordinary ways and means of a satrap or dynast, as well as of the expedients by which they might supply their ordinary occasions. "A satrap's revenue," says the writer,³¹ "arises from six sources: from his tithes of the produce of all the land in his satrapy; from his domains; from his customs; from his duties levied on goods within the country, and his market duties; from his pastures; and, sixthly, from his sundries," amongst which last are reckoned a poll-tax,³² and a tax on manufacturing labour. And amongst a king's ways and means is expressly mentioned, a tampering with the currency, and a raising or lowering the value of the coin³³ as it might suit his purposes.

All the Asiatic governments, whether Greek or barbarian, were alike oppressive and corrupt.

But far above the kingdoms of Asia, whether Greek or semi-barbarian, were those free Greek cities which lined the whole coast of Asia Minor, from Trapezus, at the south-eastern corner of the Euxine, to Soli and Tarsus, with their Greek or half Greek population, at the mouth of the Gulf of Issus, and almost on the frontier of Syria. Of these Greek cities, Sinope and Heraclea were the most famous on the north coast; the shore of the Ægean was covered with towns whose names had been famous from remote ages; but the noblest state, not of Asia Minor only, but almost of the whole world, was the great and free and high-minded commonwealth of Rhodes.

³⁰ See the article on this subject in Niebuhr's *Kleine Schriften*, p. 412, and another by Mr. Lewis, in the first volume of the *Philological Museum*.

³¹ ἔστι δὲ εἶδη ἐξ τῶν προσόδων ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἰδίῳ γενομένων, ἀπὸ ἐμπο-

ρίων, ἀπὸ τελῶν, ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων. (Economic. II. 1.)

³² ἔκτη δὲ, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπικεφάλαιόν τε καὶ χειρωνακίον προσαγορευομένη.

³³ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα λέγουσιν, ποῖον καὶ πότε τίμιον ἡ εὐωνον ποιητέον.

The island of Rhodes, till nearly the end of the Peloponnesian war, was divided between the three Dorian cities, Lindus,³⁴ Ialysus, and Camirus. But in the 93d Olympiad, about three years before the battle of Ægospotami, the three states agreed to found a common capital,³⁵ to which they gave the name of the island, and from that time forwards the city of Rhodes became eminent amongst the cities of the Greek name. It was built on the northern side of the island, after a plan given by Hippodamus of Miletus,³⁶ the most famous architect of his age, and it stood partly on the low ground nearly at the level of the sea, and partly, like Genoa, on the side of the hill, which formed a semicircle round the lower part of the town. Rhodes was famous alike in war and peace; the great painter, Protogenes, enriched it with pictures of the highest excellence, and which were universally admired; the famous colossal figure of the sun, more than a hundred feet in height, which bestrode the harbour's mouth, was reputed one of the wonders of the world; and the heroic resistance of the Rhodians against Demetrius Poliorcetes was no less glorious than the defence of the same city against the Turks in later times by the knights of St. John. But Rhodes could yet boast of a better and far rarer glory, in the justice and mutual kindness which distinguished her political institutions, and the social relations of her citizens;³⁷ and, above all, in that virtue so rare in every age, and almost unknown to the nations of antiquity, a spirit of general benevolence, and of forbearance even towards enemies. The naval power of Rhodes was great, but it was employed, not for purposes of ambition, but to put down piracy.³⁸ And in the heat of the great siege of their city, when Demetrius did not scruple to employ against them the pirates³⁹ whose crimes they had repressed, and when a thousand ships, belonging to merchants of various nations, had come to the siege, like eagles to the carcase, to make their profit out of the expected plunder of the town, and out of the sale of its citizens as slaves, this noble people rejected with indignation the proposal of some ill-judging orators, to pull down the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius,⁴⁰ and resolved that their present hostility to those princes should not tempt them to destroy the memorials of their former friendship. The Rhodians, in the midst of a struggle for life and death, allowed the statues of their enemies to stand uninjured in the heart of their city. The Romans, after all danger to themselves was over,

³⁴ Thucydides, VIII. 44.

³⁵ Diodorus, XIII. 75.

³⁶ Compare Strabo, XIV. p. 654, and Aristot. Politic. II. 6, and Diodorus, XIX. 45.

³⁷ Strabo, XIV. p. 652, 653. πολιτευομένη

κάλλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, is the character given of Rhodes by Diodorus, XX. 81.

³⁸ Diodorus, XX. 81. Strabo, XIV. p. 652.

³⁹ Diodorus, XX. 82, 83.

⁴⁰ Diodorus, XX. 93.

could murder in cold blood the Samnite general, C. Pontius, to whom they owed not only the respect due to a brave enemy, but gratitude for the generosity with which he had treated them in his day of victory.

I have thus attempted to give a sketch of the state of Asia in the 125th Olympiad; but it should be remembered, The literature of this period has almost wholly perished. that although the Greek literature of this period was very voluminous, yet it has so entirely perished, that hardly a single writer has escaped the wreck. Thus we know scarcely more of Greece and Asia in the middle of the fifth century of Rome, than we know of Rome itself; that is, we have in both cases the skeleton of political and military events, but we have no contemporary pictures of the real state of either nation. Almost the sole remains of the Greek literature of this period are, perhaps, that treatise on public economy or finance, which has been falsely ascribed to Aristotle,⁴¹ and the corrupt fragments of Dicæarchus, a scholar of Aristotle, and a friend of Theophrastus, on the topography of Greece. And not only the contemporary, but the later literature, which might have illustrated these times, has also for the most part perished; the entire and connected history of Diodorus ends for us with the 119th Olympiad, and the history of the subsequent years can be gleaned only from scattered and meagre sources; from one or two of the lives of Plutarch, from Justin's abridgment, from the mere sketches contained in Appian, and from the fragments of the chronologers, which are exclusively chronological, preserved to us by Eusebius.

The names of Sicily, of Syracuse, and of Agathocles, are never once mentioned in the ninth and tenth books of Livy, while he is giving the history of the second and third Samnite wars; nor would any one suspect Sicily. The Romans must have regarded with anxiety the great power of Agathocles. from his narrative, that there had existed during a period of twenty-eight years, from 436 to about 464 or 465,⁴² separated from Italy only by a narrow strait, one of the greatest powers and one of the

⁴¹ That it is not Aristotle's work seems to me certain; but I do not think that it can be much later than Aristotle's age, for the writer appears to regard the dominion of Alexander as still being one governed by the king, with his satraps in the several provinces, a notion which certainly may have outlasted the life of Alexander himself, for his generals for several years professed to be the subjects of his infant son, but which must have passed away, at any rate within a few years, when the generals assumed severally the kingly diadem.

⁴² The beginning of Agathocles' dominion is placed by Diodorus in Olymp. 115-

4, which, according to his synchronism, is the year of the consulship of M. Foslius and L. Plautius, and the ninth year of the second Samnite war. His death cannot be determined exactly, because of the confusions and different systems of the Roman chronology. It would fall in Olymp. 122-4, or B. C. 289; but whether that year would coincide with the consulship of M. Valerius and Q. Cædicius, one year after the end of the third Samnite war, or with one of the two succeeding consulships, it is impossible to fix certainly. Agathocles reigned in all twenty-eight years. See Diodorus, XXI. 12. Fragm. Hoeschel

most remarkable men to be found at that time in the world. But this is merely one of the consequences of the absence of all Roman historians contemporary with the fifth century. Livy did and could only copy the annalists of the seventh, or of the middle of the sixth century, and the very oldest of these, separated by an interval of a hundred years from the Samnite wars, and having no original historian older than themselves, did but put together such memorials of the past as happened to be still floating on the stream of time, stories which had chanced to be preserved in particular families, or which had lived in the remembrance of men generally. Thus, as I have before observed, the military history of the Samnite wars is often utterly inexplicable: the detail of marches, the objects aimed at in each campaign, the combinations of the generals, and the exact amount of their success, are lost in oblivion; but particular events are sometimes given in great detail, and anecdotes of remarkable men have been preserved, while their connexion with each other has perished. Agathocles never made war with the Romans, and his name therefore did not occur in the triumphal *Fasti* of any great Roman family. What uneasiness his power gave to the Senate; how gladly they must have seen his arms employed in Africa;⁴³ how anxiously they must have watched his movements when his fleet invaded and conquered the Liparæan islands,⁴⁴ or when he crossed the Ionian gulf, and defended Corcyra with success against the power of Cassander;⁴⁵ above all, when he actually landed in Italy, with Etruscan and Ligurian soldiers in his service, and formed an alliance with the Apulians and Peucetians or Pediculans,⁴⁶ to assist him in his conquest of Bruttium: this no Roman tradition recorded, and therefore no later annalist has mentioned; but they who can represent to themselves the necessary relations of events, can have no difficulty in conceiving its reality.

It is mentioned also that Agathocles⁴⁷ in his African wars had many Samnite soldiers in his army as well as Etruscans, and in the year 446 or 447 an Etruscan fleet of eighteen ships⁴⁸ came to his relief at Syracuse, when he was blockaded by the Carthaginians, and enabled him to defeat the enemy and effect his passage once more to Africa. This was three or four years before the end of the second Samnite war, and just after the submission of the principal Etruscan states to Rome,

⁴³ During four years, from Olymp. 117-3 to Olymp. 118-2 inclusive; that is, during the Etruscan campaigns of Q. Fabius in the second Samnite war.

⁴⁴ In Olymp. 119-1, the last year of the second Samnite war. Diodorus, XX. 101.

⁴⁵ In the 120th Olympiad, but the exact year is not known, and therefore, somewhere about the beginning of the third

Samnite war. Diodorus, XXI. 2. *Fragm.* Hoeschel. Compare also *Fragm.* Vatican XXI. 2.

⁴⁶ About the same period, just after his expedition to Corcyra. Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel, XXI. 3, 4.

⁴⁷ Diodorus, XX. 11, 64.

⁴⁸ Diodorus, XX. 61. In Olymp. 118-2.

in consequence of the great successes of Q. Fabius. We are told also, that at one time the Tarentines⁴⁹ applied to him to command their forces against the Messapians and Lucanians, and that he went over to Italy accordingly, which, though the date is not mentioned, must have taken place in the latter part of his reign, when he was making war upon the Bruttians; that is, as nearly as we can fix it, in the 120th or 121st Olympiad, whilst the third Samnite war was raging. It is strange that neither the Samnites nor the Etruscans ever asked him to aid them against Rome, or, if they did, that he should not have been tempted to engage in so great a contest. But the nearer interest of humbling the Carthaginians, and of establishing his power on the south coast of Italy, prevented him from penetrating through the straits of Messina, and sending a fleet to the mouth of the Tiber. And, no doubt, if he had attacked the Romans, they would have formed a close alliance with Carthage against him, as they did shortly afterwards against Pyrrhus; nay, it is probable that the renewal of the old league between the two countries, which took place in 448,⁵⁰ may have been caused in some degree by their common fear of Agathocles, who had at that period finally evacuated Africa, but had not yet made peace with Carthage.

Agathocles died in the last year of the 122d Olympiad, about three years after the end of the third Samnite war. Had he lived fifty years earlier, he, like Dionysius, would have been known by no other title than that

Distracted state of Sicily during his government. Misery of his later years.

of tyrant; but now the successors of Alexander had accustomed men to tolerate the name of king, in persons who had no hereditary right to their thrones; and Agathocles certainly as well deserved the title as Lysimachus, or the ruffian Cassander. Polybius accused Timæus of calumniating him; but surely his own character of him must be no less exaggerated on the other side, when he says,⁵¹ that although in the beginning of his career he was most bloody, yet when he had once firmly established his power, he became the gentlest and mildest of men. Like Augustus, he was too wise to indulge in needless cruelty; but his later life was not so peaceful as that of Augustus, and whenever either cruelty or treachery seemed likely to be useful, he indulged in both without scruple. The devastation and misery of Sicily during his reign must have been extreme. Dinocrates, a Syracusan exile,⁵² was at the head of an army of 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse, and had made himself master of several cities, and so well was he satisfied with his buccaneer condition, that he rejected Agathocles' offer of allowing him to return to Syracuse, and of abdicating his own dominion that the exiles might return freely. Then Agathocles called the Carthaginians

⁴⁹ Strabo, VI. p. 280.

⁵⁰ Livy, IX. 43.

⁵¹ Polybius, IX. 23.

⁵² Diodorus, XX. 77, 78.

over to put Dinocrates down; and gave up to them as the price of their aid all the cities which they had formerly possessed in Sicily. The exiles were afterwards defeated, and Dinocrates was now glad to make his submission;⁵³ and from this time, A. U. C. 449, we hear of no further civil wars or massacres in Sicily, till the period immediately preceding Agathocles' death, which took place sixteen or seventeen years later. But his last days were full of misery. His son Agathocles⁵⁴ was murdered by his grandson Archagathus, and the old tyrant, who was now reduced almost to the brink of the grave by a painful and hopeless disorder, dreaded lest Archagathus should murder the rest of his family as soon as he should himself be no more. Accordingly he resolved to send his wife Texena,⁵⁵ with his two young sons, and all his treasure, to Egypt, her native country, whilst he himself should be left alone to die. On his death the old democracy⁵⁶ was restored without a struggle, his property was confiscated, and his statues thrown down. But it was a democracy in name only, for we find that the same man, Hicetas, was continued in the office of captain-general for the next nine years⁵⁷ successively; and so long a term of military command in times of civil and foreign war was equivalent to a despotism or tyranny.

At the moment of Agathocles' death, there was a Syracusan army⁵⁸ in the field, consisting as usual chiefly of mercenaries, and commanded by the tyrant's grandson, Archagathus. But Mænon, who is said in Diodorus' account to have poisoned Agathocles, and who was now with the army of Archagathus, contrived to murder Archagathus and to get the army into his own hands. He then attempted to get possession of Syracuse and to make himself tyrant, and finding himself resisted by the new government and the captain-general Hicetas, he too called in the Carthaginians. Syracuse was quite unable to resist, and submitted to the terms which they imposed. They gave 400 hostages, and consented to receive back all the exiles, under which term all Mænon's army were included. What was become of Mænon himself we know not; but the mercenaries, being mostly Samnite or Lucanian foreigners, were still looked upon as an inferior caste to the old Syracusan citizens; and as these last formed the majority of the people, none of the new citizens could ever get access to any

⁵³ Diodorus, XX. 89, 90.

⁵⁴ Diodorus, XXI. 12. Fragm. Hoeschel.

⁵⁵ Justin, XXIII. 2. The account of the parting between Agathocles and his family is given by Justin with much simplicity and good feeling, and it is much to his credit that he preferred this story to the horrible and incredible tales about the

last days of Agathocles which Diodorus has copied apparently from Timæus.

⁵⁶ Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXI. 12.

⁵⁷ Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXII. 6. His expressions are, 'Ἰκέτας ἐννέα ἔτη δυναστεύσας—ἐκβάλλεται τῆς τυραννίδος.

⁵⁸ Diodorus, Frag. Hoeschel. XXI. 12, 13.

public office. This led to fresh disturbances, but at last the strangers agreed to sell their properties within a certain time, and to leave Sicily. They accordingly came to Messina⁵⁹ in order to cross the strait and return to Italy; but being admitted into the city they rose by night and massacred the principal inhabitants, and kept the women and the city for themselves. From this time forwards the inhabitants of Messina were known by the name of Mamertini, sons of Mamers or Mars, that being the name by which these Italian soldiers of fortune had been used to call themselves.

While Messina had thus fallen into the hands of a barbarian soldiery, the condition of the rest of Sicily was scarcely happier. Hicetas had the power of a ty- Tyrants in the several cities of Sicily. rant in Syracuse, Phintias⁶⁰ was tyrant in Agrigentum, Tyndarion in Tauromenium, Heraclides in Leontini, and other men whose names have not reached posterity exercised the same dominion in the smaller cities. Hicetas and Phintias made war upon each other, made plundering inroads into each other's territories, and mutually reduced the frontier districts to a state of utter desolation. Gela was destroyed by Phintias, and its inhabitants removed to a new town which he founded on the coast near the mouth of the Himera, and called after his own name. And the Mamertines availed themselves of all this misery to extend their own power, even to the opposite side of the island; they sacked Camarina and Gela,⁶¹ which had been again partially inhabited after its destruction by Phintias, and obliged several of the Greek cities to pay them tribute. Thus the Greek power in Sicily, which had been so formidable under Agathocles, was now quite prostrated, and the whole island seemed likely to become the spoil of the Carthaginians and Mamertines. This course of events on one side of the strait, and the extension of the Roman dominion a few years later to the extreme coast of Bruttium on the other side, tended inevitably to bring about a collision between Rome and Carthage, such as Pyrrhus foretold when he found it impossible to revive and consolidate the Greek interest, and restore in a manner the dominion of Agathocles.

And now, before I speak of Pyrrhus himself and the fortunes of his early years, we must turn our eyes to Greece, the worn out and cast off skin from which the living serpent had gone forth to carry his youth and vigour to other lands. Greek power, Greek energy, Greek genius, might now be found indeed any where rather in Greece. Drained of all its noblest spirits, for so hopeless was the prospect at home, that any foreign service⁶² offered a temptation to the

Greece. Its degraded condition. Attempt of the Greeks to throw off the Macedonian yoke after the death of Seleucus.

⁵⁹ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXI.
13. Polybius, I. 7.

⁶¹ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIII.
2. Polybius, I. 8.

⁶⁰ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXII.

⁶² Diodorus, XX. 40.

Greek youth to enter it; yet exposed to the miseries of war, and eagerly contended for by rival sovereigns, because its possession was still thought the most glorious part of every dominion; mocked by every despot in turn with offers of liberty, yet as soon as it was delivered from the yoke of one, condemned under some pretence to receive the garrison of another into its citadels; Greece, in the middle of the fifth century of Rome, seemed utterly exhausted and lay almost as dead. Demetrius Poliorcetes had retained his hold upon it after his Asiatic dominion had been lost by the event of the battle of Ipsus; and even when he himself engaged in his last desperate attempt upon Asia, and whilst he was passing the last years of his life as a prisoner in the hands of Seleucus, Greece was still, for the most part, under the power of his son Antigonus Gonatas. But upon the death of Seleucus Nicator, when Antigonus was disputing the sovereignty of Macedonia with Ptolemy Ceraunus, Seleucus' murderer, the Greeks made⁶³ a feeble attempt to assert their liberty. Sparta once more appeared at the head of the national confederacy, and Areus the Spartan king was intrusted with the conduct of the war. The Greeks attacked Ætolia, which appears at this time to have been in alliance with Antigonus, but they were repulsed with loss; and then, as usual, jealousy broke out, and the confederacy was soon dissolved. Yet, almost immediately afterwards, there was formed the first germ of a new confederacy, which existed from this time forwards till the total extinction of Grecian independence, and in which there was revived a faint image of the ancient glory of Greece, the pale martinmas summer of her closing year. This confederacy was the famous Achaian or Achæan league.

The Achaian name is conspicuous in the heroic ages of Greece, and in her last decline, but during the period of her greatness is scarcely ever brought before our notice. The towns of Achaia were small and unimportant, and the people lived for many generations in happy obscurity; but after the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus, when dread of a Gaulish invasion kindled a general spirit of exertion, and when Antigonus was likely to have sufficient employment on the side of Macedonia, four Achæan cities,⁶⁴ Dyme, Patræ, Tritæa, and Pharæ, formed a federal union for their mutual defence. According to the constitution of the league, each member was to appoint in succession, year by year, two captains-general,⁶⁵ and one secretary, or civil minister, to conduct the affairs of the union. These four states, like the forest cantons of Switzerland, were the original members, and in a manner the founders of the confederacy; and at the period of Pyrrhus' invasion of Italy, it consisted of these alone.

Formation of the
Achæan league.

⁶³ Justin, XXIV. 1.

⁶⁴ Polybius, II. 41.

⁶⁵ Polybius, II. 43.

It is not possible to discover the condition of the several states of Greece, however much their ancient fame must excite an interest even for their last decay. But generally they were subjected to the Macedonian king Antigonos,⁶⁶ either directly, by having a Macedonian garrison in their citadels, or indirectly, as being ruled by a tyrant from among their own people, who for his own sake upheld the Macedonian supremacy. Sicyon⁶⁷ had been governed by various tyrants ever since it had been taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes, when he destroyed the lower town, and removed the whole population within the precincts of the old citadel. Megalopolis⁶⁸ about this time must have been under the dominion of its tyrant Aristodemus of Phigalea, who owed his elevation to factions in the oligarchy by which the city had been before governed. In Argos⁶⁹ Aristippus had the ascendancy, through the support of king Antigonos. The Acropolis of Corinth⁷⁰ was held by one Alexander (we know not when or by what means he won it), and the strength of the place enabled him to enjoy a certain degree of independence; so that, after his death, Antigonos was obliged to employ stratagem in order to get it for himself out of the hands of Alexander's widow, Nicæa. Society was generally in a state of disorder, robbery and plundering forays were almost universal, and Greece could no longer boast that she had banished the practice of carrying arms in peace;⁷¹ for men now went armed so commonly, that conspirators could meet and arm themselves in open day without exciting any suspicion.

The cities of Peloponnesus mostly held in subjection by tyrants.

Something more of life was to be seen in the states to the north of the isthmus of Corinth. When the Gauls invaded Greece in the second year of the 125th Olympiad, Athens, Megara, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, and Ætolia sent a confederate army to Thermopylæ to oppose them; and the Bœotian force⁷² amounted to 10,000 heavy-armed infantry, and 500 horse, a number equal to that which won the battle of Delium against the whole power of Athens in the Peloponnesian war. Thebes had twice revolted from Demetrius Poliorcetes, and had been twice reduced by him,⁷³ and after his second conquest of it he had pulled down its walls⁷⁴ and left it defenceless. An-

Northern Greece
State of Bœotia.
Disorders at Thebes.

⁶⁶ Polybius, II. 41. IX. 29.

⁶⁷ Diodorus, XX. 102. Plutarch, Aratus, 9. He says that when Aratus delivered Sicyon in 251 B. C. some of the exiles whom he then restored had been in banishment fifty years. And Cicero, copying from the same source however, namely, Aratus's own memoirs, says the same thing. De Officiis, II. 23.

⁶⁸ Pausanias, VIII. 27. He puts Aristodemus however too early, when he says that he became tyrant soon after the La-

mian war, and confounds Acrotatus, son of Areus, with Acrotatus, son of Cleomenes. In 318 B. C. Megalopolis was governed by a strict oligarchy. See Diodorus, XVIII. 68. Compare Polybius, X. 25.

⁶⁹ Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 30.

⁷⁰ Plutarch, Aratus, 16, 17.

⁷¹ Plutarch, Aratus, 6.

⁷² Pausanias, X. 20.

⁷³ Plutarch, Demetrius, 39, 40.

⁷⁴ Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXI. 10.

tigonus Gonatas retained possession of it till he succeeded in establishing himself in Macedonia; then his hold upon southern Greece was relaxed, except on those cities where he still kept a garrison of his soldiers, or where a tyrant who looked to him for protection governed almost as his officer. But Bœotia seems to have been left to itself, with nearly its old constitution; according to which Thebes enjoyed a certain supremacy over the other cities, but nothing like that dominion which she had claimed in the days of her greatness. The country was safe and flourishing when compared with Peloponnesus, and Tanagra is mentioned⁷⁵ as a place at once prosperous and deserving its prosperity; its citizens were wealthy yet simple in their manners, just, and hospitable. Thebes on the contrary is described as a scene of utter anarchy; acts of violence were constantly committed with impunity, and justice was so evaded or overborne by violence, that twenty-five, or even thirty years⁷⁶ sometimes elapsed before the injured party could obtain a hearing for his cause before the magistrates. This was owing principally to the numerous societies or clubs which existed, avowedly for mere objects of convivial entertainments; but which becoming extremely wealthy, for men without children, and even some who had children, often left all their property to their club, were enabled no doubt to corrupt justice in order to screen the outrages of their members. A strong but not improbable picture of the worst abuses of such clubs, which even in their best state, and in the healthiest condition of society, are always fraught with evil either politically or morally.

Forty years had now passed since Athens had lost Demosthenes. His death, as was most fitting, coincided exactly with the period of his country's complete subjection; within a month⁷⁷ after Antipater had established a Macedonian garrison in Munychia, Demosthenes escaped his vengeance by a sudden and painless death⁷⁸ in the island of Calauria.

Athens. The democracy overthrown by Antipater.

⁷⁵ Dicæarchus, Stat. Græc. p. 13. Ed. Hudson. The inscriptions of this period show that there was still a government for all Bœotia, κοινὸν Παμβοιωτῶν συνέδριον, and Bœotarchs, as in ancient times; there was also a magistrate called ἄρχων ἐν κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν, or ἄρχων Βοιωτοῖς, who seems to have been the head of the Bœotarchs, and of whom there is no mention I believe in the older constitution. Böckh thinks that it was one of the prerogatives of Thebes, that this magistrate should be always a Theban. Corpus Inscriptt. Vol. I. p. 729.

⁷⁶ Polybius, XX. 6. Dicæarchus, Stat. Græc. p. 15, et seqq. Hudson. The text in these fragments of Dicæarchus is often hopelessly corrupt; but they seem also, independently of such faults, to have been

interpolated by some more modern writer, or rather their substance to have been given by him in his own language, not without many additions. We know the manner in which old topographical accounts are copied by one writer after another, each of whom adds something to them of his own; and thus the work of Dicæarchus seems to have formed the groundwork of the existing fragments, which have been wrought up by a later writer, and altered both in their language and matter.

⁷⁷ Plutarch, in Demosth. 28.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 30. The common story was that Demosthenes killed himself by a poison which he carried about him; but his nephew, Demochares, expressed his belief

The shade of Xerxes might have rejoiced to see that his own people had a share in the humiliation of his old enemy ; for in the army with which Antipater crushed the Greek confederates in the Lamian war there were Persian archers, slingers, and cavalry,⁷⁹ who had been brought to his aid from Asia by Craterus, and who thus strangely found, in their actual subjection to a Greek power, an opportunity of revenging the fatal days of Salamis and Plataea. That great democracy, with all its faults by far the noblest example of free and just government which the world had then witnessed, was again destroyed by Antipater, after a duration of seventy-one years since its restoration by Thrasybulus. All citizens whose property fell short of 2000 drachmæ were deprived of their political rights ; and more than half of the Athenian people were thus disfranchised. Lands in Thrace were offered to them, and they migrated thither in great numbers ;⁸⁰ whilst the remnant, who were now exclusively the Athenian people, were left in mockery to the enjoyment of Solon's laws, while a Macedonian garrison occupied Munychia, and commanded the entrance into the harbour of Piræus.

Then followed a period of fifteen years, during which Athens remained subject, first to Antipater and then to Cassander his son ; and although the qualification of a citizen was reduced by Cassander⁸¹ to 1000 drachmæ, only half of the sum fixed by his father, and thus the internal government became somewhat more popular, yet still, whilst Munychia and Piræus were in the power of a foreign prince, Athens could have no independent national existence. In the year of Rome 447, three years before the end of the second Samnite war, Cassander's garrisons were driven out by Demetrius Poliorcetes,⁸² the old democracy was restored, and the Athenians were declared to be free. But it was only a shadow of the " fierce democratie," and of the real freedom of the days of Pericles and Demosthenes. The utmost baseness of flattery was lavished on Demetrius, such flattery as was incompatible with any self-respect, and which confessed that Athens was dependent⁸³ for the greatest national blessings not on itself, but on foreign aid.

And nominally restored by Demetrius Poliorcetes.

that his death was natural ; or rather, in his own language, " that the gods in their care for him had rescued him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and gentle death."

⁷⁹ Diodorus, XVIII. 16.

⁸⁰ Diodorus, XVIII. 18.

⁸¹ Diodorus, XVIII. 74.

⁸² Diodorus, XX. 45, 46.

⁸³ Who can help remembering Mr. Wordsworth's beautiful lines ?

. . . " So ye prop,

Sons of the brave who fought at Marathon !

Your feeble spirits. Greece her head hath bowed,

As if the wreath of Liberty thereon

Would fix itself as smoothly as a cloud,

Which, at Jove's will, descends on Pelion's top.

* * * * *

Ah ! that a conqueror's word should be so dear !

Ah ! that a boon could shed such rapturous joys !

A few years afterwards, when his fortune was ruined by the event of the battle of Ipsus, the Athenians refused to receive him into their city; and this so stung him that when his affairs began to mend, he laid siege to Athens, and having obliged it to surrender, he not only occupied Piræus and Munychia, but put a garrison into the city itself, converting the hill⁸⁴ of the Museum into a Macedonian citadel. It was recovered again, when he had been driven out of Macedonia by Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, by one of the last successful efforts of Athenian valour. Olympiodorus,⁸⁵ who had already acquired the reputation of a soldier and a general, led the whole population of Athens into the field; he defeated the Macedonians, stormed the Museum, and delivered Piræus and Munychia. This was in the second year of the 123d Olympiad: so that when Pyrrhus sailed for Italy seven years afterwards, Athens was really independent, for she had gained her freedom, not by the gift of another but by her own sword.

Demetrius himself occupies Athens, and the Athenians drive out his garrisons.

This, however, was almost a solitary gleam of light amidst the prevailing darkness. In general there were neither soldiers, statesmen, nor orators now to be found in Athens. The great tragedians had long since become extinct; and Thucydides has neither in his own country, whether free or in subjection, nor in any other country or age of the world, found a successor to rival him. Plato's divine voice was silent, and the "Master of the Wise"⁸⁶ had left none to inherit his acuteness, his boundless knowledge, and his manly judgment, at once so practical and so profound. The theatre, indeed, could boast of excellence, but it was only in the new comedy, the sickliest refinement of the drama, and a sure mark of a declining age. Still there was intellectual life of no common kind existing at this time in Athens. There were now living and teaching within her walls, two men whose doctrines in philosophy were destined to influence most widely and lastingly the characters and conduct of their fellow-creatures, the founders of the two great rival sects of the later age of the Roman republic,—Epicurus and Zeno.

But Bœotia and Athens were no longer the principal powers of northern Greece; the half-barbarous Ætolians had risen to such an eminence, that we find them able, at a somewhat later period, to contend single-handed with the kingdom of Macedon. Their country was still, as in the days of Thucydides, separated from Acarnania⁸⁷ by the Achelous, and

Ætolia. Its bands of adventurers or "Pirates."

A gift of that which is not to be given
By all the blended powers of earth and
heaven."

⁸⁵ Plutarch, Demetr. 46. Pausanias, I.

26.

⁸⁶ "Vidi 'l maestro di color che sanno
Seder tra filosofica famiglia."

DANTE, Inferno, IV.

⁸⁴ Plutarch, Demetr. 30, 34. Pausanias, I. 25.

⁸⁷ It had, however, acquired severa

stretched in length from the shores of the Gulf of Corinth to those of the Malian Bay, at the back of Locris, Doris, and Phocis. But a sort of federal government succeeded, in later times, to the multitude of scattered and independent villages which formerly composed the Ætolian nation; a general assembly of deputies from all the Ætolian towns met every year at Thermum to elect a captain-general,⁸⁸ a master of the horse, and a secretary for the general government of the confederacy; great fairs⁸⁹ and festivals, to which the people came up from all parts of the country, were held at the same place; and Thermum thus grew in wealth and magnificence, and its houses became noted for the magnificence of their furniture, as the inhabitants, on these great occasions, opened their doors to receive all comers, with a hospitality not common in Greece since the heroic ages. But there were other points in which the Ætolians equally retained the habits of an early state of society; in the best days of Grecian civilization, when life and property were scarcely less secure at Athens than they are at this day in the best governed countries of Europe, the Ætolians went always armed;⁹⁰ and the character of a robber was still deemed honourable amongst them, as it had been in all parts of Greece in the Homeric age. As the nation became more powerful, this spirit was displayed on a larger scale, and Ætolian adventurers, countenanced, but not paid or organized, by the national government, made plundering expeditions on their own account both by land and sea, and were not very scrupulous in their choice of the objects of their attack. These adventurers were called "pirates," *πειραταί*, a name⁹¹ which occurs in the written language

towns situated in its neighbourhood which had formerly been independent. The date of these several acquisitions is difficult to fix precisely. The Ætolians had occupied the famous Cirrhæan plain just after the death of Seleucus; a repetition of the old Phocian sacrilege, which was the cause or pretence of a general attack upon them by the Peloponnesian Greeks under the supremacy of Sparta. But in this new sacred war, the authors of the sacrilege were more fortunate than the Phocians of old, and the Ætolians repelled their assailants with great loss. Justin, XXIV. 1. About the same time, in the year before the Gaulish invasion, the Ætolians obtained possession of Heraclea in Trachinia. (Pausanias, X. 20, § 9.) At a later period, Naupactus was become an Ætolian town, but we do not know when it was conquered.

⁸⁸ Polybius, V. 8. XXII. 15, § 10. The captain-general and secretary were officers also of the Achæan league. Whether the Ætolian league was formed

on the Achæan model, or whether it existed earlier, we cannot tell.

⁸⁹ *ἀγοραί καὶ πανηγύρεις*. Polyb. V. 8. These fairs and religious festivals, held along with the assemblies for political purposes, remind us of the great Etruscan assemblies at the temple of Voltumna. The fairs seem to imply that the towns in Ætolia were still little better than villages, so as to have but few shops for the regular supply of commodities.

⁹⁰ Thucydides, I. 5.

⁹¹ Polybius, IV. 3. 6. Valckenaer says that the word *πειρατής* occurs, for the first time in the surviving Greek literature, in the Septuagint translation of the Bible. There it is to be found in Job XXV. 3 and Hosea VI. 10; in both instances, I think, signifying a robber by land rather than by sea. And so *πειρατήριον* is used in Genesis XLIX. 19. Thus the Scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. 62, says that *πειραταί* properly means *οἱ ἐν ὁδοῖς κακουργοῦντες*. See Valckenaer on Ammonius, p. 194. The Greek translators of the Bible could not

of Greece for the first time about this period, when the long wars between Alexander's successors and the general decline of good government had multiplied the number of such marauders.

The Ætoli-^{Political relations of Ætolia.}ans will play an important part hereafter in this history, when their quarrels with Macedon and the Achæan league led them to conclude an alliance with Rome, and to array themselves with the Roman armies, on their first crossing the sea to carry on war in Greece. At present their place in the Greek political system seems not to have been definitely fixed; they were in alliance with Antigonus Gonatas⁹² before he obtained possession of Macedon, at the time when their occupation of the Cirrhæan plain involved them in a sacred war with Peloponnesus, and they were also the allies of Pyrrhus and the Epirots; but their peculiar hostility to Macedon and to the Achæans had not as yet been called into existence. Polybius, from whom we derive most of our knowledge of them, was too much their enemy to do them full justice; and on the great occasion of the Gaulish invasion of Greece, they performed their duty nobly, and no state served the common cause more bravely or more effectually. Yet a people who made plunder their glory can have had little true greatness; and it must have been an evil time for Greece, when the Ætoli-^{Epirus. Its various tribes, their manner of living, and early history and traditions.}ans became one of the most powerful and most famous of the Grecian states.

Northward of the Ambracian gulf, and lying without the limits of ancient as of modern Greece, the various Epirot tribes occupied the coast of the Ionian sea as far as the Acroceraunian promontory, reaching inland as far as the central mountains which turn the streams eastward and westward, and from the western boundary of Thessaly and Macedonia. Within these limits the Molossians, Thesprotians, Chaonians, and many other obscurer people, had from the earliest times led the same life, and kept the same institutions. They lived mostly in villages⁹³ or in small village-like towns, scattered over the mountains, in green glades opening amidst the forests, or along the rich valleys by which the mountains are in many places intersected, going always armed, and, with the outward habits, retaining also much of the cruelty and faithlessness of barbarians, attended by their dogs, a breed of surpassing excellence,⁹⁴ and

have got the word from old Greece, but the robber population of Isauria and Cilicia, who made the name of pirate so famous about two centuries afterwards, had probably already begun to be troublesome, and to molest the Egyptian merchant vessels.

⁹² Justin, XXIV. 1. Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Peiresc.* XXXIX.

⁹³ οἰκοῦσι κατὰ κώμας, is the character given by Scylax of the Chaonians, Thes-

protians, and Molossians equally. Periplus, p. 11, 12. Ed. Hudson. But we hear of some towns among them, although of none of any considerable size or importance.

⁹⁴ The ancient character of the Molossian dogs is well known. Mr. Hughes found them as numerous and as fierce as they were in ancient days; the breed, he thinks, has in no respect degenerated. He describes them as "varying in colour

maintaining themselves chiefly by pasturage, their oxen⁹⁵ being amongst the best of which the Greeks had any knowledge. In the heart of their country stood the ancient temple of Dodona, a name famous for generations before Delphi was yet in existence; the earliest seat of the Grecian oracles, whose ministers, the Selli, a priesthood of austere life, received the answers of the god through no human prophet, but from the rustling voice of the sacred oaks which sheltered the temple. These traditions ascend to the most remote antiquity: but Epirus had its share also in the glories of the heroic age, and Pyrrhus the son of Achilles was said to have settled in the country of the Molossians after his return from Troy,⁹⁶ and to have been the founder of the line of Molossian kings. The government, indeed, long bore the character of the heroic period; the kings, on their accession, were wont, it is said, to meet their assembled people⁹⁷ at Passaron, and swore to govern according to the laws, while the people swore that they would maintain the monarchy according to the laws. In later times Epirus had become connected with Macedonia by the marriage of Olympias, an Epirot princess, with Philip the father of Alexander. Her brother, Alexander of Epirus, was killed, as we have seen, in Italy, where he had carried on war in defence of the Greek Italian cities against the Lucanians; and on his death his first cousin⁹⁸ Æacides succeeded to the throne. Æacides married Pthia, the daughter of Menon of Pharsalus, a distinguished leader in the last struggle between Greece and Macedon after the death of Alexander, and the children of this marriage were two daughters, Troias and Deidamia, and one son, Pyrrhus.

Æacides had taken part with his cousin Olympias,⁹⁹ when Cassander wanted to destroy all the family of Alexander in order to seat himself on the throne of Macedonia. But Cassander had tampered with some of the Epirot chiefs; the cause of Olympias was not popular, and the Epirots did not wish to be involved in a quarrel with the party which was likely to be the ruling power in Macedon. They accordingly met in a general assembly, and deposed and banished their king. Æacides himself was out of their power, as he was still in

Early fortunes of Pyrrhus. He is brought up in exile in Illyria.

through different shades from a dark brown to a bright dun, their long fur being very soft, and thick and glossy; in size they are about equal to an English mastiff: they have a long nose, delicate ears finely pointed, magnificent tail, legs of a moderate length, with a body nicely rounded and compact," *Travels in Albania, &c.* Vol. I. p. 483.

⁹⁵ See Kruse's *Hellas*, Vol. I. p. 368, and the authorities there quoted.

⁹⁶ Pausanias, I. 11.

⁹⁷ Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 56.

⁹⁸ For the family of Pyrrhus, see Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* I. Pausanias, I. 11. Diodorus, XVI. 72, and XIX. 51. See also Justin, XVII. 3; but in his account there are some things which might mislead; as for instance he confounds Tharyntas or Tharypus, the great grandfather of Æacides, with Arybas his father, and makes Æacides and Alexander brothers instead of cousins, unless by the term "frater" he means *frater patruelis* and not "*frater germanus*."

⁹⁹ Diodorus, XIX. 36.

the field on the frontiers of Macedonia with the few soldiers who remained true to him, and his daughter Deidamia was with Olympias. But Pyrrhus, then an infant, had been left at home, and the rebel chiefs¹⁰⁰ having murdered many of his father's friends, sought for him also to destroy him. He was hurried off in his nurse's arms by a few devoted followers, and carried safely into Illyria, where Glaucias, one of the Illyrian kings, protected him, and as his father was killed in battle soon afterwards,¹⁰¹ Pyrrhus remained under Glaucius' care, and was brought up by him along with his own children.

Ten or eleven years afterwards, when the power of Cassander in Greece seemed to be tottering, and Demetrius Poliorcetes had re-established the democracy at Athens, Glaucias¹⁰² entered Epirus with an armed force, and restored Pyrrhus to the throne. But again the face of affairs changed; the great league between Cassander, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus was formed, and Demetrius was obliged to loosen his hold on Greece, that he might help his father in Asia; thus Cassander's party recovered their influence in Epirus, and Pyrrhus, who was still only seventeen years old, was driven a second time into exile. He now joined Demetrius, who, besides their common enmity to Cassander, had married Deidamia his sister; and with him he crossed over into Asia, and was present at the battle of Ipsus. After that great defeat he still remained faithful to Demetrius, and went as a hostage for him¹⁰³ into Egypt, when Demetrius had concluded a separate peace with Ptolemy Soter. Here fortune first began to smile upon him; he obtained the good opinion and regard of Ptolemy's queen, Berenice, and received in marriage Antigone, her daughter by a former husband. By Berenice's assistance he was supplied with men and money, and returned once more to Epirus. His kinsman, Neoptolemus, the son apparently of Alexander, who had died in Italy, had been placed on the throne, when he himself had been driven from it; but Neoptolemus was become unpopular, and Pyrrhus found many partisans. Dreading, however, lest Neoptolemus should apply to some foreign prince for aid, he entered into a compromise with him,¹⁰⁴ and the two rivals agreed to share the regal power between them. The end of such an arrangement could not be doubtful; suspicions arose, and Pyrrhus accusing Neoptolemus of forming designs against his life, did himself what he charged his rival with meditating, and having treacherously murdered him, after having invited him to his table as a guest, he remained the sole sovereign of Epirus.

¹⁰⁰ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 2.

¹⁰¹ Diodorus, XIX. 74.

¹⁰² Plutarch, Pyrrh. 3.

¹⁰³ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 5.

His old enemy Cassander died in the first year of the 121st Olympiad, five years after the battle of Ipsus. Not one of Alexander's successors had gained his power by more or worse crimes than Cassander; and as his house had been founded in blood, by the murder of Alexander's family, so now in its own blood was it to perish. His sons Antipater and Alexander¹⁰⁵ quarrelled for his inheritance. Antipater murdered his own mother Thessalonica, the daughter of the great Philip of Macedon, and half-sister of Alexander; and now the last survivor of the old royal family of the race of Hercules. Alexander his brother applied to Pyrrhus for aid, and purchased it by ceding to him all that the Macedonian kings had possessed on the western side of Greece; Tymphæa and Parauæa,¹⁰⁶ just under the central ridge which turns the streams to the two opposite seas, and Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphiloehia, on the northern and southern shores of the Ambracian gulf. These were added permanently to the kingdom of Pyrrhus, and he fixed his capital at Ambracia.

The price was thus paid, and Alexander drove out his brother, by Pyrrhus' help, and became king of Macedonia. Antipater fled to Lysimachus for protection, and was afterwards put to death by him.¹⁰⁷ Alexander was in his turn murdered by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who after all his reverses thus established his family on the throne of Macedon; and the bloody house of Cassander utterly perished.

Six or seven years afterwards the restless ambition of Demetrius leagued his old enemies, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, once more against him, and they encouraged Pyrrhus to invade Macedonia. Pyrrhus dethroned Demetrius,¹⁰⁸ and obtained possession of a part of his dominions, the other part being claimed by Lysimachus.

¹⁰⁵ Porphyry and Dexippus; apud Euseb. Chronic. Ed. Scaliger. p. 58, 63. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 6. The present text reads τὴν τε Νυμφαίαν καὶ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας. Palmer had corrected Στυμφαίαν or Τυμφαίαν instead of Νυμφαίαν, and Niebuhr with no less certainty has restored Παραναίαν for παραλίαν. Rom. Geschichte, Vol. III. p. 536. He observes that παραλίαν could only mean the coast between Dium and the Strymon, which it is absurd to suppose ceded to Pyrrhus. Tymphæa and Parauæa, Niebuhr adds, are mentioned together by Arrian, Exped. Alexand. I. 7, as countries which Alexander passed by on his march from Illyria into Thessaly. The Parauæans are reckoned along with the Epirot tribes by Thucydides, II. 80, and it appears that Alexan-

der was but restoring to Pyrrhus countries which geographically belonged more to Epirus than to Macedon, and some of which had in earlier times been connected with it politically.

In Stephanus Byzant. in Χαονία, there is a quotation from Proxenus, (an historian who wrote about Pyrrhus; see Dionys. Halic. XIX. 11, Fragm. Mai, and Fynes Clinton, Fasti Hellen. Vol. III. 563,) enumerating the people of Chaonia. It runs, Τυμφαῖοι, Ταραῦλιοι, Ἀμύμονες, where K. O. Muller corrects Τυμφαῖοι, Παραναῖοι. "Über die Makedoner. N. 33." His correction and Niebuhr's mutually confirm one another.

¹⁰⁷ Porphyry and Dexippus, apud Euseb. pp. 58-63. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 7. Demetrius, 36.

¹⁰⁸ Plutarch, Demetrius, 44. Pyrrh. 11.

He interferes in the quarrels between the sons of Cassander.

Extinction of Cassander's family.

Pyrrhus wins Macedonia and loses it. He reigns over Epirus and parts of the neighbouring countries in peace for about six years.

But at the end of seven months¹⁰⁹ Lysimachus made himself master of the whole of Macedonia, and drove Pyrrhus across the mountains into his native kingdom of Epirus. There he reigned in peace for about six years, his dominions including not Epirus only, but those other countries which had been the price of his first interference in the quarrels of Cassander's sons, Tymphæa and Parauæa on the frontiers of Macedonia, and the coasts on both sides of the Ambracian gulf. He united himself in an alliance with his neighbours the Ætolians, which was renewed in the reign of his son. And thus he had leisure to ornament his new capital, Ambracia, which he enlarged by adding to it a new quarter¹¹⁰ called after his own name, and decorated it with an unusual number of statues and pictures.

But although Pyrrhus himself was reigning peaceably in Epirus, yet the period which elapsed between his expulsion from Macedonia and his Italian expedition was marked by great revolutions elsewhere. Ptolemy, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty in Egypt, died after a reign or dominion of forty years from the death of Alexander. Demetrius Poliorcetes ended his days about the same time after a two years' captivity in Syria. Lysimachus was killed soon afterwards, as has been already mentioned, in a battle with Seleucus, and Seleucus himself, the last survivor of Alexander's immediate successors, was murdered seven months after his victory by Ptolemy Ceraunus. The murderer, who was half-brother to Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second of the Macedonian kings of Egypt, took possession of the vacant throne of Macedonia, and became immediately involved in war with Antiochus, son of Seleucus, and with Antigonos, the son of Demetrius;¹¹¹ the first of whom wished to revenge his father's death, while the other was trying to recover Macedonia, which, as having been held by his father during six or seven years, he regarded as his lawful inheritance. In the mean time, he was actually the sovereign of Thessaly, and exercised a great power over all the states of Greece; and was in alliance with Pyrrhus and the Ætolians. The Greeks, as we have seen, made a fruitless attempt to assert their independence, by attacking his allies the Ætolians; but they were easily beaten, and Antigonos seems to have reigned without farther molestation in Thessaly and Bœotia, whilst Ptolemy Ceraunus still held his ill-gotten power in Macedonia.

Things were in this state when ambassadors¹¹² from Tarentum entreated Pyrrhus to cross over into Italy, to protect both themselves and the other Greek cities of Italy from a barbarian enemy far more formidable than the

Revolutions during that period in other countries.

Pyrrhus is invited by the Tarentines into Italy.

¹⁰⁹ Porphyry and Dexippus, apud Euseb. pp. 58-63.

¹¹⁰ See Polybius, XXII. 10, 13.

¹¹¹ Justin, XXIV. 1. Memnon, apud Photium, p. 226. Ed. Bekker.

¹¹² Plutarch, Pyrrh. 13.

Lucanians, the old enemies of his kinsman Alexander. Times were now so changed that the Lucanians and Samnites were leagued in one common cause with the Greeks, with whom they had been so long at enmity ; the Etruscans had taken part also in the confederacy ; yet the united efforts of so many states were too weak to resist the new power which had grown up in the centre of Italy, and was fast arriving at the dominion of the whole peninsula. To conquer these fierce barbarians, and to save so many Greek cities from slavery, was a work that well became the kinsman of the great Alexander, the descendant of Achilles and Æacus.

The prayer of the Tarentines suited well with the temper and the circumstances of Pyrrhus. He promised them his aid, and began forthwith to prepare for his passage to Italy, and for his war with the Romans.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ROME AND THE ROMAN PEOPLE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR WITH THE TARENTINES AND WITH PYRRHUS.

“ Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum ; nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton,
Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico
Sumtu jubentes et deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.”

HORAT. Carmin. II. 15.

THE preceding chapter has been compiled from materials which in their actual state are often fragmentary, and even when they are perfect, are not original. But yet they were derived from original sources ; for although the contemporary histories of Alexander's successors have long since perished, yet they did once exist, and were accessible to the writers whom we read and copy now. We cross the Adriatic to inquire into the state of Italy, and not only are our existing materials the merest wreck of a lost history, not only would they tell their story to us at second hand, if they had been preserved entire ; but even these very accounts could have been taken from no contemporary historians, for none such ever existed. In this absolute dearth of direct information, it is impossible that the following sketch should be other than meagre, and it must also rest partly on conjecture. Unsatisfactory as this is, yet the nature of the case will allow of nothing better ; and I can but encourage myself, while painfully feeling my way amid such thick darkness, with the hope of arriving at length at the light, and enjoying all the freshness and fulness of a detailed contemporary history.

In the middle of the fifth century, the Roman people was di-

vided into three and thirty tribes;¹ and the total number of citizens, which included, besides those enrolled in the tribes, the *æ*rarians, and the people of those foreign states, which had been obliged to receive the *civitas sine suffragio*, amounted to 272,000.² What proportion of these were enrolled in the tribes, or, in other words, enjoyed the full rights of citizenship, we cannot tell, nor have we any means of estimating the number of the *æ*rarians; nor again, can we draw any inference as to the population of the city of Rome, as distinguished from the country tribes; nor can we at all compute the proportion of slaves at this time to freemen. The class of *æ*rarians, however, must have been greatly diminished, since freedmen and persons engaged in retail trade or manufactures had been enrolled in the tribes; and it could have only contained those who had forfeited their franchise, either in consequence of their having incurred legal infamy, or by the authority of the censors.

The divisions of the Roman people.

The members of the country tribes, of those at least which had been created within the last century, lived on their lands, and probably only went up to Rome to vote at the elections, or when any law of great national importance was proposed, and there was a powerful party opposed to its enactment. They were also obliged to appear on the Capitol on the day fixed by the consuls for the enlistment of soldiers for the legions.³ Law business might also call them up to Rome occasionally, and the Roman games, or any other great festival, would no doubt draw them thither in great numbers. With these exceptions, and when they were not serving in the legions, they lived on their small properties in the country; their business was agriculture, their recreations were country sports, and their social pleasures were found in the meetings of their neighbours at seasons of festival; at these times there would be dancing, music, and often some pantomimic acting, or some rude attempts at dramatic dialogue,

Manner of life of the citizens of the country tribes.

¹ That is to say, twenty tribes are known to have existed in the earliest period of the commonwealth, and another was added soon afterwards. The number of twenty-one continued till after the Gaulish invasion, when four more were added on the right bank of the Tiber, in 368; namely, the *Stellatine*, the *Tromentine*, the *Sabatine*, and the *Arniensian*. Two more were added in 397 for the inhabitants of the old *Volscian* lowlands near the *Pomptine* marshes, the *Pomptine* and the *Publian*. Two more were added after the *Latin* war in 422, the *Mæcian* and the *Scaptian*, for the *Lanuvians* and some other people of *Latium*. In the second *Samnite* war, in 436-7, the *Ufentine* and *Falerian* tribes were created,

which included the *Privernatians*, and the settlers in the *Falernian* plain. And, lastly, after the *Æquian* war, two more were added in 455, the *Aniensian* and the *Terentine*, in which were enrolled the *Æquians*.

All these are clearly local tribes, and their situation is well known. The same may be said of the four city tribes, the *Colline*, the *Esquiline*, the *Palatine*, and the tribe of *Subura*. But to the remaining seventeen, which are mostly named after some noble Roman family, as the *Æmilian*, the *Cornelian*, the *Fabian*, &c., it is extremely difficult to assign their proper locality.

² Livy, *Epit* XI.

³ Polybius, VI. 19.

one of the simplest and most universal amusements of the human mind. This was enough to satisfy all their intellectual cravings ; of the beauty of painting, sculpture, or architecture, of the charms of eloquence and of the highest poetry, of the deep interest which can be excited by inquiry into the causes of all the wonders around us and within us, of some of the highest and most indispensable enjoyments of an Athenian's nature, the agricultural Romans of the fifth century had no notion whatsoever.

But it was not possible that an equal simplicity should have existed at Rome. Their close and constant intercourse with other men sharpens and awakens the faculties of the inhabitants of cities ; and country sports being by the necessity of the case denied to them, they learn earlier to value such pleasures as can be supplied by the art or genius of man. Besides, the conduct of political affairs on a large scale, much more when these affairs are publicly discussed either in a council or in a popular assembly, cannot but create an appreciation of intellectual power and of eloquence ; and the multiplied transactions of civil life, leading perpetually to disputes, and these disputes requiring a legal decision, a knowledge of law became a valuable accomplishment, and the study of law, which is as wholesome to the human mind as the practice of it is often injurious, was naturally a favourite pursuit with those who had leisure, and who wished either to gain influence or to render services. Thus the family of the Claudii seem always to have aspired after civil rather than military distinction. Appius Claudius, the censor, was a respectable soldier, but he is much better known by his great public works and by his speech against making peace with Pyrrhus, than by his achievements in war ; nay, it is said, that his plebeian colleague in the consulship, L. Volumnius, taunted him with his legal knowledge and his eloquence, as if he could only talk⁴ and not fight. The Claudii, however, were distinguished by their high nobility, independently of any personal accomplishments ; but the family of the Coruncanii owed its celebrity entirely, so far as appears, to their acquaintance with the law. Ti. Coruncanius⁵ was consul with P. Lævinus in the year when Pyrrhus came into Italy, and was named dictator more than thirty years afterwards for the purpose of holding the comitia. He left no writings behind him, but was accustomed to the very latest period of his life, to give answers on points of law to all that chose to consult him ; and his reputation was so high that he was the first plebeian⁶ who was ever appointed to the dignity of pontifex maximus. The Ogulnii also appear to have been a family distinguished for knowledge and accomplishments. Two brothers

⁴ Livy. X. 19.

⁵ Pomponius, de Origine Juris, § 35, 38.
Cicero, Brutus, 14. Cato Major, 9.

⁶ Livy, Epit. XVIII.

of this name were, as we have seen, the authors of the law which threw open the offices of augur and pontifex to the commons, and afterwards in their ædileship they ornamented the city with several works of art; and one of them, besides his embassy to Epidauros, already noticed, was sent as one of three ambassadors⁷ to Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, soon after the retreat of Pyrrhus from Italy.

There was as yet no regular drama, for Livius Andronicus did not begin to exhibit his plays till after the first Punic war;⁸ but there were pantomimic dances performed by Etruscan actors,⁹ there were the *saturæ*¹⁰ or medleys, sung and acted by native performers; and there were the comic or satirical dialogues on some ludicrous story (*fabellæ atellanæ*), in which the actors were of a higher rank, as this entertainment was rather considered an old national custom, than a spectacle exhibited for the public amusement. There were no famous poets, nor any Homer, to embody in an imperishable form the poetical traditions of his country; but there were the natural elements of poetry, and the natural love of it; and it was long the custom at all entertainments¹¹ that each guest in his turn should sing some heroic song, recording the worthy deeds of some noble Roman. So also there was no history, but there was the innate desire of living in the memory of after-ages; and in all the great families, panegyrical orations were delivered at the funeral of each of their members, containing a most exaggerated account of his life and actions.¹² These orations existed in the total absence of all other statements, and from these chiefly, the annalists of the succeeding century compiled their narratives; and thus every war is made to exhibit a series of victories, and all the most remarkable characters in the Roman story are represented as men without reproach, or of heroic excellence.

But whilst literature was unknown, and poetry, and even the drama itself, were in their earliest infancy, the Romans enjoyed with the keenest delight the sports of the circus, which resembled the great national games of Greece.

⁷ Dionysius, XX. 4. Fragm. Vatic. Valer. Maxim. IV. 3, § 9.

⁸ Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, Vol. III. p. 25, B. c. 240.

⁹ Livy, VII. 2,

¹⁰ I am not venturing to determine the etymology of this word, but giving merely a description of the thing. "Olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat, satyra vocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius." Diomedes, III. 9. Livy speaks of the *saturæ* or *satyræ*, as an intermediate state in the dramatic art between the

acting of regular stories with a plot, and the mere rude *sparring* with coarse jests, "*versum incompositum temere ac rudem alternis jaciebant*," which used to go on between two performers. The *saturæ* appear then to have been comic songs in regular verse, in which a great variety of subjects were successively noticed, without any more connexion than as being each of them points on which the hearers could be readily excited to laughter.

¹¹ Cicero, Brutus, 19.

¹² Cicero, Brutus, 16. Livy, VIII. 40.

Total absence of all literature.

Public amusements. The great games of the circus.

Every year in the month of September¹³ four days were devoted to the celebration of what were called indifferently, the Great or the Roman Games. Like all the spectacles of the ancient world, they were properly a religious solemnity, a great festival in honour of the three national divinities of the Capitoline temple, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. On the first day of the festival, the whole people went in procession¹⁴ from the Capitol through the forum to the circus; there the sacrifice was performed, and afterwards the exhibition of the various games began, which was so entirely a national ceremony, that the magistrate of highest rank who happened to be in Rome gave the signal for the starting of the horses in the chariot race. The circus itself was especially consecrated to the sun, and the colours by which the drivers of the chariots were distinguished, were supposed to have a mystical allusion to the different seasons.¹⁵ Originally there were only two colours, white and red, the one a symbol of the snows of winter, the other of the fiery heat of summer; but two others were afterwards added, the spring-like green, and the autumnal gray or blue. The charioteers, who wore the same colours, were called the red or white, or green or blue band (*factio*), and these bands became in later times the subject of the strongest party feeling; for men attached themselves either to the one or to the other, and would have as little been induced to change their colour in the circus as their political party in the commonwealth. It does not appear that these colours were connected with any real differences, social or political; there were no ideas of which they were severally the symbols; and thus, while the commonwealth lasted, the bands of the circus seem to have excited no deeper or more lasting interest than the wishes of their respective partisans for their success in the chariot race. But afterwards, when the emperor was known to favour any one colour more than another, that colour would naturally become the badge of his friends, and the opposite colour

¹³ The fullest work on the games of the circus, is, I suppose, that of Onuphrius Panvinus, (Onofrio Panvini, a Veronese, who flourished in the latter part of the 16th century), published in the ninth volume of Grævius' Collection of Roman Antiquities. The view of the circus and the Palatine, given in Panvinus' work, is curious, as showing how greatly Rome has changed in the last 250 years. A shorter account may be found in Rosini and Dempster's work on Roman antiquities; and the topography of the circus is given in Bunsen and Platner's description of Rome, Vol. III. p. 91. Gibbon has given one of his lively and comprehensive sketches of the games of the circus, in his account of the reign of Justinian: which notices every important point in the sub-

ject. A representation of the circus is given on several coins, which may be seen in Panvinus' work, and which enables us to form a sufficient notion of its appearance. The bands or factions of the drivers are noticed in numerous inscriptions.

¹⁴ Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, VII. His enumeration of the several parts of the great procession is full and lively. "*De simulacrorum serie, de imaginum agmine, de curribus, de thensis, de armamaxis, de sedibus, de coronis, de exuviis, quanta præterea sacra, quanta sacrificia præcedant, intercedant, succedant, quot collegia, quot sacerdotia, quot officia moveantur, sciunt homines illius urbis in quâ dæmoniorum conventus consedit.*"

¹⁵ Tertullian, *ibid.* VIII. IX.

the rallying point of his enemies ; and when a real political feeling was connected with these symbols, it was not wonderful that the bands of the circus became truly factions, and that their quarrels in the lower empire should have sometimes deluged Constantinople with blood.

The Romans in the fifth century enjoyed the games as keenly as their descendants under the emperors ; but the lavish magnificence of the imperial circus was as yet altogether unknown. Wooden boxes¹⁶ supported on poles, like the simplest form of a stand on an English race-course, were the best accommodation as yet provided for the spectators ; and it was only in the fifth century that the carceres¹⁷ were first erected, a line of buildings of the common volcanic tufo of Rome itself, extending along one end of the circus, each with a door opening upon the course, from which the horses were brought out to take their places, before they started on the race. But although the works of this period were simple, yet they now began to be very numerous, and some of them were on a scale of very imposing grandeur. Livy has recorded the building of seven new temples¹⁸ within ten years, between 452 and 462 ; for the period immediately following we have no detailed history, but the foundation of the temple of Æsculapius, about two years later, is noticed in the epitome of Livy's eleventh book ; and many others may have been founded, of which we have no memorial. It is mentioned also that C. Fabius¹⁹ ornamented one of these temples, that of Deliverance from Danger, with frescoes of his own execution, in consequence of which he obtained the surname of Pictor. The date of the Greek artists, Damophilus and Gorgasus,²⁰ who painted the frescoes of the temple of Ceres, close by the circus, we have no means of determining, but several notices show that a taste for the arts was beginning at this time to be felt at Rome. The colossal bronze of the statue of Jupiter, set up by Sp. Carvilius in the Capitol, in the year 461, has been already noticed, as well as the famous group of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, which was placed in the comitium three years before. And at the same time a statue of Jupiter in a chariot drawn by four horses,²¹ the work of an Etruscan artist, and wrought in clay, was erected on the summit of the Capitol.

¹⁶ Livy, I. 35.

¹⁷ Livy, VIII. 20. Suetonius in Claud. 21. There are representations of the carceres in one or two of the engravings of Panvinus' work, copied from antiques.

¹⁸ Namely, a temple of Bellona, vowed by Appius Claudius in 458 (Livy, X. 19) ; another of Jupiter the Victorious, vowed by Q. Fabius in the great battle of Sentinum (X. 29) ; a third near the circus,

dedicated to Venus (X. 31) ; a fourth dedicated to Victory (X. 33) ; a fifth to Jupiter the Slayer of Flight (X. 37) ; a sixth to Fortis Fortuna (X. 46) ; and a seventh to Salus, or Deliverance from Danger, which was the temple painted by Fabius Pictor (Livy, X. 1).

¹⁹ Pliny, Hist. Natur. XXXV. § 19.

²⁰ Pliny, Hist. Natur. XXXV. § 45.

²¹ Pliny, Hist. Natur. XXXV. § 158.

The temple of Bellona, built by Appius Claudius²² in fulfilment of a vow made on the field of battle, was decorated with a row of shields or escutcheons, on which were represented his several ancestors with scrolls recording the offices which they had filled, and the triumphs which they had won. Whoever of these had been the father of a family was represented with all his children by his side, as in some of our old monuments. In these and in all similar works, an exact likeness²³ was considered of much greater importance than any excellence of art; for the object desired was to transmit to posterity a lively image of those who had in their generation done honour to their name and family. For this purpose waxen busts, the scorn of the mere artist, were kept in cases ranged along the sides of the court in the houses of all great families; these were painted to the life, and being hollow, were worn like a mask²⁴ at funerals by some of the dependents of the family, who also put on the dress of the office or rank of him whose semblance they bore; so that it seemed as if the dead were attended to his grave by all the members of his race of past generations, no less than by those who still survived. None were so represented who had not in their lifetime filled some honourable public station, and thus the number of images worn at any funeral was the exact measure of the family's nobility.

No other aqueduct had yet been added to that constructed by Appius Claudius in his famous censorship; nor had any later road rivalled the magnificence of the Appian. This was paved with lava in the year 461, from the temple of Mars,²⁵ a little on the outside of the city walls, to Bovillæ, at the foot of the Alban hills.

The city itself was still confined within the walls of Servius Tullius. The Capitol and the Quirinal hills formed its northern limit, and looked down immediately on the open space of the Campus Martius, now covered with the greatest part of the buildings of modern Rome. Art or caprice had not yet effaced the natural features of the ground, by cutting down hills and filling up valleys, nor had the mere lapse of time as yet raised the soil by continued accumulations to a height far

The Appian road paved as far as Bovillæ.

Extent and aspect of the city.

²² Pliny (Hist. Nat. XXXV. § 2, 3) ascribes these shields to the first Appius Claudius, who was consul with P. Servilius in 259. But unless the words "qui consul cum Servilio fuit anno urbis CCLIX." are an unlucky gloss of some ignorant reader, as is most probable, they seem to show an extraordinary carelessness in Pliny himself; for to say nothing of the direct testimony, which ascribes the foundation of the temple of Bellona to Appius the Blind in 458, Pliny's own statement says, that

Appius caused the figures of his ancestors, and scrolls recording the offices which they had filled, to be affixed to this temple: but who could have been the ancestors of the first Appius, and what offices could they have filled at Rome, when he himself was the first of his family who became a Roman?

²³ Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXV. § 4, 6.

²⁴ Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXV. § 6. Polybius, VI. 53.

²⁵ Livy, X. 47.

above its original level. The hills, with their bare rocky sides, and covered in many parts with sacred groves, the remains of their primeval woods, rose distinctly and boldly from the valleys between them; on their summits were the principal temples and the houses of the noblest families; beneath were the narrow streets and lofty houses,²⁶ roofed only with wood, of the more populous quarters of the city, and in the midst, reaching from the Capitoline hill to the Palatine, lay the comitium and the Roman forum.

A spot so famous well deserves to be described, that we may conceive its principal features, and image to ourselves the scene as well as the actors in so many of the great events of the Roman history. From the foot of the Capitoline hill²⁷ to that of the Palatine, there ran an open space of unequal breadth, narrowing as it approached the Palatine, and enclosed on both sides between two branches of the Sacred Way. Its narrower end was occupied by the comitium, the place of meeting of the populus or great council of the burghers in the earliest times of the republic, whilst its wider extremity was the forum, in the stricter sense, the market-place of the Romans, and therefore, the natural place of meeting for the commons, who formed the majority of the Roman nation. The comitium was raised a little above the level of the forum, like the dais or upper part of our old castle and college halls, and at its extremity nearest the forum stood the rostra, such as I have already described it, facing at this period towards the comitium, so that the speakers addressed, not indeed the patrician multitude as of old, but the senators, who had in a manner succeeded to their place, and who were accustomed to stand in this part of the assembly, immediately in front of the senate house, which looked upon the comitium

Description of the
forum.

²⁶ Pliny, XVI. § 36, quoting from Cornelius Nepos.

²⁷ The whole of the following description of the forum is taken from Bunsen's article in the third volume of the "*Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*." The substance of this article has been given by its author in another form, in a letter to the Chevalier Canina, written in French. (Rome, 1837.) He has also prefixed to some impressions of his German article, which have been printed separately, all the passages in the ancient writers which throw any light on the topography of the forum.

Since this chapter was written, I have seen Nibby's latest work on the topography of Rome, which was published in 1839. His plan of the forum differs topographically from Bunsen's; he places it farther to the west, and arranges the buildings differently. But historically his views are so

imperfect, and he follows so contentedly the old popular accounts, without the slightest knowledge, so far as appears, of the light which Niebuhr has thrown on the Roman history, that his topography is necessarily rendered of less value. Bunsen has had every advantage of local knowledge no less than Nibby, but with his local knowledge he combines other qualities which Nibby is far from possessing equally.

However, the general correctness of the description of the forum in the fifth century of Rome, as given in the text, is independent of the question whether the position of the forum is to be fixed a certain number of yards more to the eastward or to the westward. And most of those buildings, the site of which has been so much disputed, were not in existence at the period to which this sketch relates.

from the northern side of the Via Sacra. The magnificent basilicæ, which at a later period formed the two sides of the forum, were not yet in existence, but in their place there were two rows of solid square pillars of peperino, forming a front to the shops of various kinds, which lay behind them. These shops were like so many cells, open to the street, and closed behind, and had no communication with the houses which were built over them. Those on the north side of the forum had been rebuilt or improved during the early part of the fifth century, and were called in consequence the new shops, a name which, as usual in such cases, they retained for centuries. On the south side, the line of shops was interrupted by the temple of Castor and Pollux, which had been built, according to the common tradition, by the dictator, A. Postumius, in gratitude for the aid afforded him by the twin heroes in the battle of the lake Regillus. On the same side also, but farther to the eastward, and nearly opposite to the senate-house, was the temple of Vesta, and close to the temple was that ancient monument of the times of the kings which went by the name of the court of Numa.

In the open space of the forum might be seen an altar which marked the spot once occupied by the Curtian pool, the subject of such various traditions. Hard by grew the three sacred trees²⁸ of the oldest known civilization, the fig, the vine, and the olive, which were so carefully preserved or renewed that they existed even in the time of the elder Pliny. Farther towards the Capitol, at the western extremity of the Forum, were the equestrian statues of C. Mænius and L. Camillus, the conquerors of the Latins.

Nor was the interior of the comitium destitute of objects entitled to equal veneration. There was the black stone which marked, according to one tradition, the grave of Faustulus the foster-father of Romulus, according to another that of Romulus himself. There was the statue of Attius Navius the famous augur; and there too was the sacred fig-tree, under whose shade the wolf had given suck to the two twins, Romulus and Remus. A group of figures representing the wolf and twins had been recently set up in this very place by the ædiles Q. and Cn. Ogulnius, and the fig-tree itself had been removed by the power of Attius Navius, so said the story,²⁹ from its original place under the Palatine, that it might stand in the midst of the meetings of the Roman people. Nor were statues wanting to the comitium any more than to the forum. Here were the three sibyls, one of the oldest works of Roman art; here also

Statues, &c. in the forum.

Statues and other objects of interest in the comitium.

²⁸ Pliny, Hist. Natur. XV. § 78.

²⁹ The passage in Pliny which mentions this story, XV. § 77, is clearly corrupt, and various corrections of it have been attempt-

ed. Bunsen has given one in a note to his article on the forum, Beschreib. der Stadt Rom. III. p. 62.

were the small figures of the Roman ambassadors who had been slain at Fidenæ by the Veientian king Tolumnius; and here too, at the edge of the comitium where it joined the forum, were the statues which the Romans, at the command of the Delphian oracle, had erected in honour of the wisest and bravest of the Greeks, the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades.

The outward appearance of the forum in the fifth century was very different from its aspect in the times of the Cæsars, and scarcely less different was the population by which it was frequented at either period. Character of the population; the shops, &c. Rome was not yet the general resort of strangers from all parts of the world; the Tiber was as yet not only unpolluted by the Syrian Orontes, but its waters had received no accession from the purer streams of Greece; and the crowd which thronged the forum, however numerous and busy, consisted mainly of the citizens, or at least of the inhabitants of Rome. The shops of the silversmiths had lately superseded those of a less showy character on the north side of the forum; but, on the other side, the butchers' and cooks' shops still remained, as in the days of Virginius, and it marks the manners of the times, that the wealthier citizens used to hire cooks³⁰ from these places to bake their bread for them, having as yet no slaves who understood even the simplest parts of the art of cookery.

The names of the principal families, as well as of the most distinguished men of this period, have naturally been mentioned already in the course of the narrative. Great families of this period. It is enough to remark that Appius Claudius was still alive, though now old and blind, that M. Valerius Corvus was also living, but his public career had been for some time ended; and that Q. Fabius, the hero of the third Samnite war, had died not long after its conclusion. Q. Publilius Philo was also dead, and with him expired the nobility of his family. But there were ready to meet Pyrrhus, the two victorious generals of the great campaign of 461, L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius Maximus; M'. Curius Dentatus was still in the vigour of life, and Q. Fabius and P. Decius had both left sons to uphold the honour of their name. The great Cornelian house contributed eminent citizens for their country's service from three of its numerous branches; among the consuls of the fourth Samnite war we find a Cornelius Lentulus, a Cornelius Rufinus, and a Cornelius Dolabella. Two other names will demand our notice for the first time, those of C. Fabricius and L. Cæcilius Metellus, the first pre-eminent in the purest personal glory, but a glory destined to pass away from his family after one generation, "no son of his succeeding;" while L. Cæ-

³⁰ Pliny, *Histor. Natur.* XVIII. § 108. house, and dress his daughter's wedding

So in the *Aulularia* of Plautus, the cooks dinner.
are hired in the forum to go to Euclio's

cilius, if he did not attain himself to the highest distinction, was yet "the father of a line of more than kings," of those illustrious Metelli who, from the first Punic war to the end of the commonwealth, were amongst the noblest and the best citizens of Rome.

Against a whole nation of able and active men the greatest individual genius of a single enemy must ever strive in vain. The victory of Pyrrhus at Heraclea was endangered by a rumour that he was slain, for in his person lay the whole strength of his army and of his cause. But had the noblest of the Fabii or Cornelii fallen at the head of a Roman army, the safety of the commonwealth would not have been for a single moment in jeopardy. This contrast alone was sufficient to ensure the decision of the great war on which we are now about to enter.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FOREIGN HISTORY FROM 464 TO 479—WARS WITH THE ETRUSCANS, GAULS, AND TARENTINES—FOURTH SAMNITE WAR—PYRRHUS KING OF EPIRUS IN ITALY—BATTLES OF HERACLEA, ASCULUM, AND BENEVENTUM.

Non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
Defuerint; alius Latio jam partus Achilles.

VIRGIL, *Æn.* VI. 87.

THE third Samnite war ended in the year 464, and Pyrrhus invaded Italy exactly ten years later, in the year 474. The events of the intervening period, both foreign and domestic, are, as we have seen, involved in the deepest obscurity; but as I have attempted to present an outline of the internal state of Rome, so I must now endeavour to trace the perplexed story of her foreign relations, from the first seeds of war, which the jealousy of the Tarentines either sowed or earnestly fostered, to the organization of that great coalition, in which the Gauls at first, and Pyrrhus afterwards, were principal actors.

On the side of Etruria there had been for a long time past neither certain peace nor vigorous war. Jealousies between city and city, and party revolution in the several cities themselves, were, as we have seen, for ever compromising the tranquillity and paralyzing the exertions of the Etruscan nation. In 461 the cities of southern Etruria had taken up arms, and had persuaded the Faliscans to join them; and in 462 we hear of victories obtained over the Faliscans by the consul, D. Junius Brutus.¹ No farther particulars are known of the progress of the contest, but it appears from the epitome of Livy's eleventh book, that at some time or other within the next eight years, the people of Vulsinii took a principal part in it, and in 471 the whole or nearly the whole of the Etruscan nation were engaged in it once again.

Zonaras, VIII. 1.

Farther to the north "the Senonian Gauls remained quiet," says Polybius,² "for a period of ten years after the battle of Sentinum." If we take this statement to the letter, we must fix the renewal of the Gaulish war in 469; yet we cannot trace any act of hostility till the year 471. The Gauls appear first to have engaged as mercenaries in the Etruscan service, and afterwards to have joined the new coalition in their own name.

To the south of Rome, Lucania during the third Samnite war had remained faithful to the Romans, and in the year 460 we expressly read of Lucanian cohorts serving with the Roman legions.³ Of Tarentum nothing is recorded after its short war with the Lucanians and Romans in 451, which appears to have been ended, as I have already observed,⁴ by an equal treaty.

Italy was in this state when the Lucanians attacked the Greek city of Thurii. We know not the cause or pretext of the quarrel, but those unfortunate Greek cities of Italy were at this time the prey of every spoiler; Agathocles had made repeated expeditions to that coast in the latter years of his reign, and had taken Croton and Hipponium,⁵ while the Italian nations of the interior had from time immemorial regarded them as enemies. Thurii itself had been taken by Cleonymus in 452,⁶ when he was playing the buccaneer along all the coasts of Italy; and a Roman army had then come to its aid, but too late to prevent its capture. This was perhaps remembered now, when the city was threatened by the Lucanians, and the Romans were implored once again to bring help to the people of Thurii. The request was not at first granted; as far as we can make out the obscure story of these times, the first attacks must have been made about the period of the domestic troubles at Rome, when the commons occupied the Janiculum, and obliged the senate to consent to the Hortensian laws. During two successive summers, the Lucanians ravaged the territory of Thurii,⁷ and so

² Polybius, II. 19.

³ Livy, X. 33.

⁴ See page 315 of this volume.

⁵ Diodorus, XXI. 4, 8, *Fragm.* Hoeschel.

⁶ Livy, X. 2.

⁷ The data for the arrangement of all these events in order of time are as follows: 1. The interposition of the Romans in behalf of the Thuriens is mentioned in the epitome of the eleventh book of Livy, and the twelfth book began apparently with the consulship of Dolabella and Domitius in the year 471. 2. M'. Curius obtained an ovation or smaller triumph for his victories over the Lucanians. (*Auctor de*

Viris Illustribus, in M'. Curio.) This must either have been in the year after his consulship, when he was perhaps prætor, or else in 471, when we know that he was appointed prætor after the defeat and death of L. Cæcilius. 3. But when C. Ælius carried his resolution for a war with the Lucanians, the Lucanian general Statilius had *twice* assailed the Thuriens ("his infestaverat," Pliny *Hist. Natur.* XXXIV. § 32), which I think implies that he had ravaged their lands for two successive years; but the peace with the Samnites was only concluded in the year when Curius was consul; and throughout the war

far as appears, there was no power of resistance in the inhabitants themselves, and no foreign sword was drawn to defend them.

Meanwhile the Hortensian laws were passed, and with them, or shortly before, an agrarian law had been passed also. The power of the assembly of the tribes had been acknowledged to be sovereign, and the popular party for some years from this time, feeling itself to have the disposal of all that the state might conquer, appears to have been as fond of war as ever was the Athenian democracy under Pericles, while the aristocratical party, for once only in the history of Rome, seems to have adopted the peaceful policy of Cimon and Nicias. C. Ælius, one of the tribunes, proposed and carried in the assembly of the tribes what Pliny⁸ calls a law against Stenius Statilius⁹ the captain-general of the Lucanians; in other words, he moved that war should be declared against Stenius Statilius and all his followers and abettors; and the tribes gave their votes for it accordingly. The people of Thurii voted to Ælius, as a mark of their gratitude, a statue and a crown of gold, and probably a Roman army was sent to their aid, and relieved them from the present danger; but the Lucanians were not subdued, and it was evident that they would not be left to contend against Rome single-handed.

The people in their tribes vote for war with the Lucanians.

the Lucanians were in alliance with Rome, nor were they likely then to meddle with the Thurians. 4. C. Ælius passed his resolution as tribune: but before the Hortensian laws were carried, such a resolution was not likely to have been brought forward by a tribune, nor would it have been carried had the senate been opposed to it; and had they not been opposed to it, it would have been moved probably by one of the consuls with their authority. 5. There is a C. Ælius recorded in the consular Fasti, as having been consul in 468; we do not know whether this is the same person with the tribune; but if he were, his tribuneship as preceding his consulship must have taken place before the year 468. 6. The date of the Hortensian laws is unknown, but several modern writers place it in the very year 468, when C. Ælius was consul. On the whole, I would arrange these events in the following order:

A. U. C. 464. End of the third Samnite war.

A. U. C. 466, 467. Lucanians attack the Thurians.

A. U. C. 467. The Hortensian laws. C. Ælius, tribune, carries his motion in the assembly of the tribes for a war with the Lucanians.

A. U. C. 468. C. Ælius, consul, chosen

perhaps as a reward for his popular conduct in his tribuneship.

A. U. C. 471. M'. Curius prætor. His ovation over the Lucanians.

A. U. C. 472. C. Fabricius consul. He defeats the Lucanians, and raises the siege of Thurii.

If it be thought that this scheme leaves too great an interval between the declaration of war against the Lucanians, and any recorded events of the war, (although in the total absence of all details of this period, this objection is not of much weight,) then we must suppose that C. Ælius the tribune and C. Ælius the consul were different persons; and we might then place the resolution against the Lucanians a year or two later. But it seems more probable that the consul and the tribune were one and the same man, and then I think the above scheme offers fewer difficulties than any other.

⁸ Histor. Natur. XXXIV. § 32.

⁹ It was probably a rogatio to the following effect, "Vellent juberentne cum Stenio Statilio Lucanorum prætore, quique ejus sectam secuti essent, bellum iniri." If their was a Roman party still predominant in any part of Lucania, it would explain why the rogatio should have rather specified Statilius personally than declared war against the whole Lucanian people.

These events appear to have taken place about six years after the conclusion of the third Samnite war, in the year 470, when C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus were consuls. Whatever was the cause, the Tarentines¹⁰ at this period were most active in forming a new coalition against Rome. They endeavoured to excite the Samnites to renew the war, and the Samnites, with the Lucanians, Apulians, and Bruttians, were to form a confederacy in the south of Italy, of which Tarentum was to be the head. The Romans sent C. Fabricius to the several Samnite and Apulian cities, to persuade them, if possible, to remain true to their alliance with Rome. But the states to whom he was sent laid hands on him and arrested him, and then despatched an embassy with all speed into Etruria, to secure, if possible, the aid of the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls. Fabricius, we may suppose, was made a hostage for the safety of those Samnite hostages who had been demanded by the Romans after the late peace, and his release was probably the stipulated price of theirs.

General war. The Etruscans and Gauls besiege Arretium, which remains faithful to Rome.

In the following year, 471, the Roman consuls were P. Cornelius Dolabella and Cn. Domitius Calvinus. The storm broke out against Rome in every direction. In the south the Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, and probably the Apulians, were now in a state of declared hostility; while in the north the mass of the Etruscans were in arms, and had engaged,¹¹ it seems, large bodies of the Senonian Gauls in their service, although the Senonians as a nation still professed to be at peace with Rome. In Arretium, however, the Roman party was still predominant; the Arretines would not join their countrymen against Rome; and accordingly Arretium¹² was besieged by an Etruscan army, of which a large part consisted as we have seen of Gaulish mercenaries.

A. U. C. 471. A. C. 283.

The new consuls came into office at this period about the middle of April; so that the season for military operations had begun before they could be ready to take the field. Thus L. Cæcilius Metellus, the consul of the preceding year, had been left apparently with his consular army in Etruria during the winter; and when the Etruscans began the siege of Arretium, he marched at once to its relief. According to the usual practice of this period, he was elected prætor for the year following his consulship, and he seems to have just entered upon his new office when he led his army against the enemy. We know nothing of the particulars of the battle, but the result was most disastrous to the Romans.¹³ L. Metellus himself,

L. Cæcilius Metellus is defeated and slain in a battle near Arretium.

¹⁰ Zonaras, VIII. 2, and Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Ursin.* CXLIV.

¹¹ Appian, *de Rebus Gallic.* XI. Samnitic. VI.

¹² Polybius, II. 19.

¹³ Orosius, III. 22, and Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, III. 17. Orosius dedicated his history to Augustine, and the exact

seven military tribunes, and 13,000 men were killed on the field ; and the remainder of the army were made prisoners.

The consternation caused by such a disaster at such a moment must have been excessive. M'. Curius Dentatus was appointed prætor in the room of Metellus, and sent off with all haste with a fresh army to maintain his ground if possible. At the same time an embassy was sent to the Gauls to complain that their people were serving in the armies¹⁴ of the enemies of Rome, while there was peace between the Gauls and Romans, and to demand that the prisoners taken in the late battle might be released. But the Gauls were at once elated and rendered savage by their late victory. The Romans assuredly had not sold their lives cheaply ; many brave Gauls had fallen, and amongst the rest one of their noblest chiefs, Britomaris. His son, the young Britomaris, called for vengeance for his father's blood ; and the Roman ambassadors, the sacred *feciales* themselves, were murdered by the barbarians, and their bodies hewed in pieces, and the mangled fragments cast out without burial.

The consul P. Dolabella had already left Rome with the usual consular army, and was on his march into northern Etruria,¹⁵ when he received the tidings of this outrage. Immediately he resolved on vengeance, and instead of advancing into Etruria, he turned to the right, marched through the country of the Sabines into Picenum, and from thence led his army into the territory of the Gauls. The flower of their warriors were absent in Etruria ; those who were left, and endeavoured to resist the invaders, were defeated with great slaughter : no quarter was given to any male able to bear arms : the women and children were carried off as slaves, the villages and houses were burnt, and the whole country was made a desert. Meanwhile the Gauls in Etruria, maddened at these horrors, and hoping to enjoy a bloody revenge, urged the Etruscans to seize the opportunity, and to march straight upon Rome. But Cn. Domitius, with the other consular army,¹⁶ was covering the Roman territory ; perhaps M'. Curius had joined him, or was hanging on the rear of the enemy during their march through Etruria, and was so at hand to co-operate in the battle. At any rate, the victory of the Romans was complete ; and the Gauls who survived the battle slew themselves in despair. It was resolved by the senate to occupy their country without delay, and to plant in it a Roman colony.

These events had passed so rapidly that the season for military

similarity of the notices about the defeat of L. Metellus in both writers shows that both are taken from a common source, which doubtless was Livy. They vary from the account given by Polybius, in representing the murder of the Roman ambassadors as preceding the defeat of Me-

tellus. Appian, copying from Dionysius, agrees with Polybius.

¹⁴ Appian, Samnitic. *Fragm.* VI. Gallic. XI.

¹⁵ Appian, Samnitic. VI. Gallic. XI.

¹⁶ Appian, Samnitic. VI. Gallic. XI.

The Gauls massacre the Roman ambassadors.

Great victories obtained over the Senonian Gauls.

And also over the Boian Gauls and Etruscans. Battle of the lake Vadimon.

operations was not yet nearly at an end. The Boian Gauls,¹⁷ the neighbours of the Senonians, enraged and alarmed at the total extermination of their countrymen, took up arms with the whole force of their nation, poured into Etruria, and encouraged the party adverse to Rome to try the fortune of war once again. What the Samnites and Lucanians were doing at this moment we know not; but probably a prætorian or proconsular army with the whole force of the Campanians, and perhaps of the Marsians and Pelignians, was in the field against them; and after the loss of C. Pontius we hear of no Samnite leader whose ability was equal to the urgency of the contest. Thus Dolabella and Domitius were enabled to turn their whole attention to the Etruscans and Gauls. Again, however, all details were lost, and we only know that the scene of the decisive action¹⁸ was the valley of the Tiber just below its junction with the Nar, and the neighbourhood of the small lake of Vadimon, which lay in the plain at no great distance from the right bank of the river.

The victory of the Romans was complete;¹⁹ the flower of the Etruscan army perished, while the Gauls suffered so severely that a very few of their number were all that escaped from the field.

The consuls of the ensuing year were C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus. Again the Etruscans and Gauls renewed their efforts, but one consular army was now thought enough to oppose to them, and Æmilius alone defeated them utterly, and obliged the Gauls to conclude a separate peace.²⁰ The Etruscans who seemed to "like nor peace nor war," would not yet submit; or perhaps some states yielded while others continued the contest; but there remained only the expiring embers of a great fire; and the Roman party in the several cities was gradually gaining the ascendancy, and preparing the way for that lasting treaty which was concluded two years afterwards.

In the south, C. Fabricius was no less successful. He defeated

¹⁷ Polybius, II. 20.

¹⁸ Polybius, II. 20. Dion Cassius, Mai Scriptor. Vatican t. II. p. 536. Florus, II. 13. The lake Vadimon was esteemed sacred. See Pliny, Epist. VIII. 20, where he gives a description of it.

¹⁹ Polybius, II. 20. One of the fragments of Dion Cassius, published by Mai in his Scriptor. Veter. Vatican. Collect. Vol. II. p. 536, states that Dolabella attacked the Etruscans as they were crossing the Tiber, and that the bodies of the enemy carried down by the stream brought the news of the battle to Rome before the arrival of the consul's messenger. The same story is told of one of the battles

fought between Tarquinius Priscus and the Sabines; but there at any rate the scene of the action was within a very few miles of Rome. Livy, I. 37.

²⁰ Polybius, II. 20. It must have been Æmilius who defeated the Gauls, because we know that Fabricius was employed in the south: but the fragments of the Fasti Capitolini for this year contain only thus much:

" . . . eisque III. Non. Mart." Dionysius, however, says expressly that Æmilius the colleague of Fabricius commanded against the Etruscans in this year. XVIII. 5.

the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians in several great battles,²¹ and penetrated through the enemy's country to the very shores of the Ionian sea, where Thurii was at that very time besieged by Statilius at the head of a Lucanian and Bruttian army. Fabricius defeated the enemy, stormed their camp, and raised the siege of Thurii;²² for which service the Thuriens expressed their gratitude as they had done two years before to the tribune C. Ælius, by voting that a statue should be made and given to him, to be set up by him in Rome. Thus the coalition which the Tarentines had formed seemed to be broken to pieces, while its authors had not yet drawn the sword, and were still nominally at peace with the Romans.

Victories of Fabricius in the south over the Lucanians.

Fabricius left a garrison in Thurii, and led his army back to Rome with so rich a treasure of spoil,²³ that after having made a liberal distribution of money amongst his soldiers, and returned to all the citizens the amount of the war-taxes which they had paid in that year, he was still able to put four hundred talents into the treasury. In the mean time, as the army was withdrawn from Lucania, a fleet was sent to protect the Thuriens, and to watch probably the movements of the Tarentines, whose dispositions must, ere this, have become sufficiently notorious. Accordingly, L. Valerius,²⁴ one of the two officers annually chosen to conduct the naval affairs of the commonwealth, with a fleet of ten ships of war, sailed on to the eastward of Thurii, and unexpectedly made his appearance before the walls of Tarentum,²⁵ and seemed to be preparing to force his way into the harbour.

A Roman fleet is sent to cruise on the coast of the Tarentines.

²¹ Dionysius, XVIII. 5.

²² Dionysius, XVIII. 5. Valerius Maximus, I. 8, § 6. Pliny, Hist. Natur XXXIV. § 32. Mr. Fynes Clinton by mistake refers the account in Valerius Maximus to Fabricius' second consulship in 476. But the mention of the relief of Thurii shows clearly that it belongs to his first consulship.

The story in Valerius Maximus relates a wonderful appearance of a warrior of extraordinary stature, who led the Romans to the assault of the enemy's camp, and who was not to be found the next day when the consul was going to reward him with a mural crown. This, it was said, was no other than Mars himself, who fought on this day for his people. Compare the story in Herodotus of the gigantic warrior whose mere appearance struck the Athenian Epizelus blind at Marathon, VI. 117.

²³ Dionysius, XVIII. 16.

²⁴ Appian calls him "Cornelius," Samnitic. Fragm. VII. Dion Cassius, Fragm.

Bekker. e libro IX. calls him "Valerius," and so does Zonaras who copies Dion, VIII. 2.

²⁵ The harbour of Tarentum was a deep gulf or land-locked basin running far into the land, and communicating with the open sea by a single narrow passage. It is now called the Mare Piccolo. The ancient city formed a triangle, one side of which was washed by the open sea, and another by the waters of the harbour: the base was a wall drawn across from the sea to the harbour, and the point of the triangle came down to the narrow passage which was the harbour's mouth. Here at the extreme point of the city was the citadel, the site of which is occupied by the modern town. An enemy entering the harbour of Tarentum would therefore be as completely in the heart of the city, as in the great harbour of Syracuse; and Cicero's description will apply even more strongly to Tarentum than to Syracuse; "quo simul atque adisset non modo a latere sed etiam a tergo magnam partem urbis relinqueret."—Verres,

It was the afternoon²⁶ of the day, and as it was the season of the Dionysia, when the great dramatic contests took place and the prizes were awarded to the most approved poet, the whole Tarentine people were assembled in the theatre, the seats of which looked directly towards the sea. All saw a Roman fleet of ships of war, in undoubted breach of the treaty existing between the two states, which forbade the Romans to sail to the eastward of the Lacinian headland, attempting to make its way into their harbour. Full of wine, and in the careless spirits of a season of festival, they readily listened to a worthless demagogue named Philocharis, who called upon them to punish instantly the treachery of the Romans, and to save their ships and their city. Wiser citizens might remember, that by the Greek national law, ships of war belonging to a foreign power appearing under the walls of an independent city, in violation of an existing treaty²⁷, were liable to be treated as enemies. But explanations and questionings were not thought of now: the Tarentines manned their ships, sailed out to meet the Romans, put them instantly to flight, sunk four of their ships without resistance, and took one with all its crew. L. Valerius the duumvir was killed, and of the prisoners, the officers and soldiers serving on board were put to death, and the rowers were sold for slaves.

Thus fully committed, the Tarentines determined to follow up their blow. They taxed the Thurians²⁸ with preferring barbarian aid to that of Tarentum, a neighbouring and a Greek city, and with bringing a Roman fleet into the Ionian sea. They attacked the town, allowed the Roman garrison to retire unhurt, on condition of their opening the gates without resistance, and having thus become masters of Thurii, they drove the principal citizens into exile, and gave up the property of the city to be plundered.

The Romans immediately sent an embassy to demand satisfaction for all these outrages. L. Postumius was the principal ambassador²⁹, and the instant that he and his colleagues landed, they were beset by a

The Tarentines attacked and defeat it.

They expel the Romans from Thurii.

And insult the ambassadors, who are sent to demand satisfaction for these aggressions.

Act. II. V. 38. See Keppel Craven, *Tour through the southern provinces of Naples*, p. 174, and Gagliardo, *Descrizione di Taranto*.

²⁶ Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Ursin.* CXLV. Zonaras, VIII. 2.

²⁷ The Corcyraeans agreed to receive a single Athenian or Lacedaemonian ship into their harbour, but if a greater number appeared they were to be treated as enemies. Thucyd. III. 71. And when the Athenian expedition coasted along Iapygia on its way to Syracuse, Tarentum would

neither allow them to enter the city, nor even to bring their vessels to shore under the walls. Thucyd. VI. 44. So again the Camarinæans, although they had been in alliance with Athens a few years before, refused to admit more than a single ship of the Athenian armament within their harbour. VI. 52.

²⁸ Appian, *Samnitic. Fraggm.* VII.

²⁹ Zonaras, VIII. 2. Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Ursin.* CXLV. Who this L. Postumius was is not known. He may have been one of the Postumii Albini, although

disorderly crowd, who ridiculed their foreign dress, the white toga wrapped round the body like a plaid, with its broad scarlet border. At last they were admitted into the theatre, where the people were assembled, but it was again a time of festival, and the Tarentines were more disposed to coarse buffoonery and riot than to serious counsel. When Postumius spoke to them in Greek, the assembly broke out into laughter at his pronunciation, and at any mistakes in his language; but the Roman delivered his commission unmoved, gravely and simply, as though he had not so much as observed the insults offered to him. At last a worthless drunkard of known profligacy came up to the Roman ambassador, and purposely threw dirt in the most offensive manner upon his white toga. Postumius said, "We accept the omen; ye shall give us even more than we ask of you," and held up the sullied toga before the multitude, to show them the outrage which he had received. But bursts of laughter pealed from every part of the theatre, and scurril songs, and gestures, and clapping of hands, were the only answer returned to him. "Laugh on," said the Roman, "laugh on while ye may; ye shall weep long enough hereafter, and the stain on this toga shall be washed out in your blood." The ambassadors left Tarentum, and Postumius carefully kept his toga unwashed, that the senate might witness with their own eyes the insult offered to the Roman name.

He returned to Rome with his colleagues late in the spring of the year 473, after the new consuls, L. Æmilius Barbula and Q. Marcius Philippus had already entered upon their office. Even now the Romans were reluctant to enter on a war with Tarentum, whilst they had so many enemies still in arms against them, and the debates in the senate lasted for several days. It was resolved³⁰ at last to

A. U. C. 473. A. C. 281. The Romans declare war against the Tarentines.

the L. Postumius Albinus, who was consul in 520, was the son and grandson of two Auli Postumii. But it may have been the consul who had been fined for his mad conduct in 464, for with all his faults he was an able and resolute man, and the ambassadors sent to so great a city as Tarentum were likely to have been men of consular dignity.

³⁰ Dionysius, XVII. 10. Reiske has made Dionysius say just the contrary to this, by altering *οὔτοι* into *αἱ*. He gives no reason for the alteration, but merely says, "*αἱ* de meo dedi, pro vulg. *οὔτοι*." The old reading, however, is quite correct in grammar, and perfectly intelligible, and seems to be recommended by the general structure of the passage. It may be thought that it is inconsistent with Appi-

an's account, who says that the consul Æmilius was already in Samnium when he received orders to march against the Tarentines (Samnitic. Fragm. VII. 3), whereas Dionysius makes him to have been present in the senate when the question of war or peace was debated; and had immediate war been then resolved upon, would he not, it may be said, have been ordered to attack Tarentum at once, instead of being sent into Samnium, and receiving a subsequent order to march against Tarentum? This, however, would not necessarily follow; for the senate may have thought it unsafe to hazard an army at the extremity of Italy till measures had been taken to secure it against an attack of the Samnites on its rear. When this was provided for, the

declare war ; but still, when the consuls took the field as usual with their two consular armies, Q. Marcius was sent against the Etruscans, and L. Æmilius was ordered, not immediately to attack Tarentum, but to invade Samnium and subdue the revolted Samnites.

But whether the exhausted state of Samnium assured Æmilius that no great danger was to be apprehended there, or whether a prætorian army was sent to keep the Samnites in check, and to leave the consul at liberty for a march into southern Italy, it appears that instructions were sent to L. Æmilius soon after his arrival in Samnium,³¹ to advance at once into the territory of Tarentum, and after offering once again the same terms which Postumius had proposed before, to commence hostilities immediately if satisfaction should still be refused. The terms were again rejected by the Tarentines, and Æmilius began to ravage their territory with fire and sword. But knowing that the aristocratical party in Tarentum, as elsewhere, were inclined to look up to Rome for protection, he showed much tenderness to some noble prisoners who fell into his hands,³² and dismissed them unhurt. Nor did the result disappoint him, for the presence of the Roman army struck terror into the democratical party, while the mildness shown to those who had taken no part in the shameful outrages offered to the Romans, induced moderate men to hope that peace with Rome was a safer prospect for their country, than an alliance with Pyrrhus. Agis, one of the aristocratical party, was chosen captain-general, and it was likely that the Tarentines would now in their turn offer that satisfaction which hitherto they had scornfully refused.

But before any thing could be concluded, the popular party regained their ascendancy. An embassy to Pyrrhus king of Epirus had been sent off early in the summer,³³ inviting him over to Italy in the name of all the Italian Greeks, to be their leader against the Romans. All the nations of southern Italy, he was assured, were ready to join his standard ; and he would find amongst them a force of 350,000 infantry, and 20,000 cavalry able to bear arms in the common cause.

Every Greek looked to foreign conquest only as a means of

consul might safely be ordered to advance upon Tarentum.

³¹ The consuls came into office in April, and Æmilius was in the Tarentine territory before the corn was cut, for the Fragment of Dionysius, XVII. 12, clearly relates to this invasion : ἀρούρας τε ἀκμαῖον ἦδη τὸ σιτικὸν θέρος ἐχούσας πρὶ διδοῦς. In

1818, Mr. Keppel Craven found the harvest going on briskly a little to the southwest of Tarentum on the 1st of June.—Tour through the southern provinces of Naples, p. 197.

³² Zonaras, VIII. 2.

³³ Zonaras, VIII. 2. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 13.

establishing his supremacy over Greece itself, the proudest object of his ambition. Victorious over the Romans,³⁴ thence easily passing over into Sicily, and from thence again assailing more effectually than Agathocles the insecure dominion of the Carthaginians in Africa, Pyrrhus hoped to return home with an irresistible force of subject allies, to expel Antigonus from Thessaly and Bœotia, and the ruffian Ptolemy Ceraunus from Macedonia, and to reign over Greece and the world, as became the kinsman of Alexander and the descendant of Achilles. He promised to help the Tarentines; but the force needed for such an expedition could not be raised in an instant; and when the invasion of the Roman army, and the probable ascendancy of their political adversaries, made the call of the popular party for his aid more urgent, he sent over Cineas,³⁵ his favourite minister, to assist his friends by his eloquence and address, and shortly afterwards Milo, one of his generals, followed with a detachment of 3000 men, and was put in possession of the citadel. A political revolution immediately followed;³⁶ Agis was deprived of his command, and succeeded by one of the popular leaders who had been sent on the embassy to Pyrrhus; all prospect of peace was at an end, and the democratical party held in their hands the whole government of the commonwealth.

He sends over Milo to occupy the citadel of Tarentum. The popular party recovers the ascendancy.

The Tarentines were masters of the sea, and the arrival of an experienced general and a body of veteran soldiers gave a strength to their land-forces, which in numbers were in themselves considerable. Winter was approaching, and Æmilius proposed to retreat into Apulia, to put his army into winter quarters in those mild and sunny plains. He was followed by the enemy,³⁷ and as his road lay near the sea, the Tarentine fleet prepared to overwhelm him with its artillery, as his army wound along the narrow road between the mountain sides and the water. Æmilius, it is said, put some of his Tarentine prisoners in the parts of his line of march most exposed to the enemy's shot, and as the Tarentines would not butcher their helpless countrymen, they allowed the Romans to pass by unmolested. The Roman army wintered in Apulia, and both parties had leisure to prepare their best efforts for the struggle of the coming spring.

The Roman army retreats from the Tarentine territory.

It was still the depth of winter³⁸ when Pyrrhus himself arrived at Tarentum. His fleet had been dispersed by a storm on the passage, and he himself had been obliged to disembark on the Messapian coast with

Pyrrhus arrives at Tarentum. His strict discipline is irksome to the Tarentines.

³⁴ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 14.

³⁵ ³⁶ Zonaras, VIII. 2.

³⁷ Zonaras, VIII. 2. Frontinus, Strategem. I. 4, § 1.

³⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 2. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 15, 16. Appian, Samnitic. Fragm. VIII.

only a small part of his army, and to proceed to Tarentum by land. After a time, however, his scattered ships reached their destination safely, and he found himself powerful enough to act as the master rather than the ally of the Tarentines. He shut up the theatre, the public walks, and the gymnasia, obliged the citizens to be under arms all day, either on the walls or in the market-place, and stopped the feasts of their several clubs or brotherhoods, and all revelry and all riotous entertainments throughout the city. Many of the citizens, as impatient of this discipline as the Ionians of old when Dionysius of Phocæa tried in vain to train them to a soldier's duties, left the city in disgust; but Pyrrhus, to prevent this for the future, placed a guard at the gates, and allowed no one to go out without his permission. It is farther said that his soldiers were guilty of great excesses towards the inhabitants, and that he himself put to death some of the popular leaders, and sent others over to Epirus; and this last statement is probable enough, for the idle and noisy demagogues of a corrupt democracy would soon repent of their invitation to him, when they experienced the rigour of his discipline; and if they indulged in any inflammatory speeches to the multitude, Pyrrhus would consider such conduct as treasonable, and would no doubt repress it with the most effectual severity.

So passed the winter at Tarentum. But the Italian allies, Amount of the forces of Pyrrhus. overawed perhaps by the Roman army in Apulia, were slow in raising their promised contingents,³⁹ and Pyrrhus did not wish to commence offensive preparations till his whole force was assembled. What number of men he had brought with him or received since his landing from Greece itself, it is not easy to estimate: 3000 men crossed at first under Milo; the king himself embarked with 20,000 foot, 3000 horse,⁴⁰ 2000 archers, 500 slingers, and 20 elephants, and Ptolemy Ceraunus is said to have lent him for two years the services of 5000 Macedonian foot, 4000 horse, and 50 elephants.⁴¹ The Macedonian foot may have been included in the 20,000 men whom he himself brought into Italy, the cavalry and elephants of course cannot have been so, if the numbers are correctly given; but we find his cavalry afterwards spoken of as amounting only to 3000, and we can hardly think that he had at any time so many as 70 elephants. Some deductions must also be made in all probability for losses sustained by shipwreck, when the armament was dispersed by a storm in its passage. Yet still the Greek army with which Pyrrhus was ready to take the field from Tarentum in the spring of the year 474, must have been more numerous, both in

³⁹ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 16.

⁴⁰ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 15. Zonaras agrees as to the number of elephants; of the

numbers of the infantry and cavalry he gives no account.

⁴¹ Justin, XVII. 2.

foot, horse, and elephants, than that with which Hannibal, about sixty years later, issued from the Alps upon the plain of Cisalpine Gaul.

The Romans, on their part, finding that not Tarentum only, but so great a king and good a soldier as Pyrrhus was added to their numerous enemies, made extraordinary exertions to meet the danger. Even the proletarians,⁴² or the poorest class of citizens, who were usually exempt from the military service, were now called out and embodied, and these probably formed a great part of the reserve army kept near Rome for the defence of the city. The new consuls were P. Valerius Lævinus and Ti. Coruncanius, of whom the latter was to command one consular army against the Etruscans, while the former was to oppose Pyrrhus in the south. No mention is made of the army of L. Æmilius, which had wintered in Apulia, so that we do not know whether it joined that of Lævinus, or was employed to watch the doubtful fidelity of the Apulians, and to prevent the Samnites from joining the enemy's army. We learn accidentally,⁴³ that a Campanian legion was placed in garrison at Rhegium, and other important towns were no doubt secured also with a sufficient force; but the whole disposition of the Roman armies in this great campaign cannot be known, from the scantiness of our remaining information respecting it.

It is briefly stated in the narrative of Zonaras⁴⁴ that the Romans chastised some of their allies who were meditating a revolt, and that some citizens of Præneste were suddenly arrested and sent to Rome, where they were imprisoned in the vaults of the ærarium on the Capitol, and afterwards put to death. If even the Latin city of Præneste could waver in its fidelity, what was to be expected from the more remote and more recent allies of Rome, from the Vestinians, Marsians, Pelignians, Sabines, and even from the Campanians, whose faith in the second Samnite war, little more than thirty years before, had been found so unstable? Yet one of the consuls for this year, Ti. Coruncanius, was a native of Tusculum, and those Latin, Volscian, and Æquian towns which had received the full rights of Roman citizenship were incorporated thereby so thoroughly into the Roman nation, that no circumstances could rend them asunder. Still the senate thought it best on every ground to keep the war, if possible, at a distance from their own territory, and Lævinus therefore marched into Lucania, to separate Pyrrhus from his allies, and to force him to a battle whilst he had only his own troops and the Tarentines to bring into the field.

"Lævinus," says Zonaras,⁴⁵ "took a strong fortress in Luca-

⁴² Orosius, IV. 1.

⁴³ Orosius, IV. 3. Polybius, I. 7.

⁴⁴ Zonaras, VIII. 3.

⁴⁵ VIII. 3.

And of the Romans.
A. U. C. 474. A. C.
280.

State of the allies of
Rome.

Lævinus, the Roman consul, marches against Pyrrhus.

nia, and having left a part of his army to overawe the Lucanians, he advanced with the remainder against Pyrrhus." Yet Pyrrhus after all, fought, we are told, with an inferior army;⁴⁶ nor indeed can we conceive that so able a general would have exposed himself to the unavoidable disadvantage of seeming to dread an encounter with the enemy, had the number of his troops been equal to theirs. But a Roman consular army never contained more than 20,000 foot soldiers, and 2400 horse; and the army which Pyrrhus brought with him from Epirus was more numerous than this, without reckoning the Tarentines, and allowing that Milo and his detachment of 3000 men still garrisoned the citadel of Tarentum. It is clear then, either that Lævinus had taken with him the whole or the greater part of the consular army which had wintered in Apulia, or that a prætorian army had marched under his command from the neighbourhood of Rome, so that his force cannot be estimated at less than 30,000 foot and 3600 horse.

Pyrrhus endeavours to gain time till his allies should have joined him.

Pyrrhus not thinking himself strong enough to meet the enemy with the army actually at his disposal, endeavoured to gain time by negotiation. He wrote to Lævinus,⁴⁷ offering his mediation between the Romans and his Italian allies, and saying that he would wait ten days for the consul's answer. But his offer was scornfully rejected; and, in the same spirit, when one of his spies was detected in the Roman camp, Lævinus is said to have allowed the spy to observe his whole army on their usual parade,⁴⁸ and then to have sent him back unharmed, with a taunting message, that if Pyrrhus wished to know the nature of the Roman army, he had better not send others to spy it out secretly, but he should come himself in open day, and see it and prove it.

The Romans attack him. Battle of Heraclea.

Thus provoked, or more probably fearing to lose the confidence of his allies if he should seem to have crossed the sea only to lie inactive in Tarentum, Pyrrhus with his own army and with the Tarentines took the field and advanced towards the enemy. The Romans lay encamped on the right or southern bank of the Siris not far from the sea, and Pyrrhus having crossed the Aciris between the towns of Pandosia and Heraclea, encamped in the plain⁴⁹ which lies between the two rivers, and which was favourable at once for the operations of his

⁴⁶ Justin, XVIII. 1.

⁴⁷ Dionysius, XVII. 15, 16.

⁴⁸ Dionysius, XVIII. 1. Zonaras, VIII. 3.

⁴⁹ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 16. At present a thick forest covers the western part of this plain, extending along the left bank of the Siris for several miles upwards from its mouth, as far as the point where the hills

begin. See Keppel Craven, p. 203, and Zannoni's map. But in ancient times it is probable that the whole plain between the two rivers was open, and mostly corn land. The plain rises in a gradual slope from Policoro, supposed to be the site of the ancient Heraclea, for about three miles, and is for the most part highly cultivated.

heavy infantry, and for his cavalry and elephants. A nearer view of the strength of the Roman army determined him still to delay the battle, and he stationed a detachment of troops on the bank of the Siris, to obstruct, if possible, the passage of the stream. But the river, though wide, is shallow,⁵⁰ and while the legions prepared to cross directly in front of the enemy, the cavalry⁵¹ passed above and below, so that the Greeks, afraid of being surrounded, were obliged to fall back towards their main body. Pyrrhus then gave orders to his infantry to form in order of battle in the middle of the plain, while he himself rode forward with his cavalry, in hopes of attacking the Romans before they should have had time to form after their passage of the river. But he found the long shields of the legionary soldiers advancing in an even line from the stream, and their cavalry in front ready to receive his attack. He charged instantly, but the Romans and their allies, although their arms were very unequal to those of the Greek horsemen, maintained the fight most valiantly, and a Frentanian captain⁵² was seen to mark Pyrrhus himself so eagerly, that one of his officers noticed it, and advised the king to beware of that barbarian on the black horse with white feet. Pyrrhus, whose personal prowess was not unworthy of his hero-ancestry, replied, "What is fated, Leonatus, no man can avoid; but neither this man nor the stoutest soldier in Italy shall encounter with me for nothing." At that instant, the Frentanian rode at Pyrrhus with his levelled lance, and killed his horse; but his own was killed at the same instant, and while Pyrrhus was remounted instantly by his attendants, the brave Italian was surrounded and slain.

Finding that his cavalry could not decide the battle, Pyrrhus at length ordered his infantry to advance and at-
 tack the line of the Roman legions.⁵³ He himself, Panic occasioned by the supposed death of Pyrrhus. knowing the importance of his own life to an army in which his personal ascendancy was all in all, gave his own arms, and helmet, and scarlet cloak to Megacles, one of the officers of his guard, and himself put on those of the officer in exchange. But Megacles bought his borrowed splendour dearly: every Roman marked him, and at last he was struck down and slain, and his helmet and mantle carried to Lævinus, and borne along the Roman ranks in triumph. Pyrrhus feeling that this mistake was most dangerous, rode bareheaded along his line to show his soldiers that he was still alive; and the battle went on so furiously that either

⁵⁰ Keppel Craven, p. 204. Mr. Keppel Craven forced it below the point where the Roman army effected its passage.

⁵¹ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 16.

⁵² Plutarch, Pyrrh. 16. Dionysius, XVIII. 2-4. Part of this story of the

Frentanian captain has been copied by Plutarch from Dionysius, but he has some other particulars which are not to be found in Dionysius, and which he got probably from Hieronymus.

⁵³ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 17.

army seven times,⁵⁴ it is said, drove the enemy from the ground, and seven times was driven from its own.

Lævinus, true to the tactic of his country, proposed to win the battle by keeping back his last reserve⁵⁵ till all the enemy's forces were in action. His triarii it seems were already engaged, and their long spears might enable them to encounter, on something like equal terms, the pikes of the phalanx; but Lævinus held back a chosen body of his cavalry, hoping that their charge might at last decide the day. They did charge, but Pyrrhus met them with a reserve still more formidable, his elephants. The Roman horses could not be brought to face monsters strange and terrible alike to them and to their riders; they fell back in confusion—the infantry were disordered by their flight; and Pyrrhus then charged with his Thessalian cavalry, and totally routed the whole Roman army. The vanquished fled over the Siris,⁵⁶ but did not attempt to defend their camp, which Pyrrhus entered without opposition. They retreated to a city in Apulia,⁵⁷ which Niebuhr supposes must have been Venusia, with a loss variously estimated as usual by different writers,⁵⁸ but sufficient at any rate

⁵⁴ Τροπὰς ἐπὶ λέγεται φευγόντων ἀνάπαλιν καὶ διωκόντων γενέσθαι. Plutarch. Pyrrh.

17. From this and other circumstances related of this battle, it appears certain that only a very small part of Pyrrhus' infantry could have had the arms and array of the regular phalanx. For as the ground was open and level, and the two armies met front and front, if Pyrrhus' heavy-armed infantry had been numerous, they must have had the same advantage which the phalanx had at Cynocephalæ and at Pydna as long as it kept its line unbroken; and the Roman infantry could not have maintained the contest. While, on the other hand, if the phalanx did not keep its order, so that the Romans were able to penetrate it in several places, then they would have obtained an easy victory, as the phalanx when once broken became wholly helpless. But it would seem that the Greek infantry in this battle consisted mostly of peltastæ, or troops not formed in the close array of the phalanx: such were the Epirots generally, and such would be also the Ætolians and Illyrians, some of whom it is said [Dion Cassius, *Fragm.* Peiresc. XXXIX.] were serving at this time in Pyrrhus' army. Thus the infantry in both armies were armed and formed in a manner not very different from each other; and this would account for the length and obstinacy of the action, and the number of slain on both sides.

⁵⁵ Zonaras, VIII. 3. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 17.

⁵⁶ The destruction of the Roman army was prevented, according to Orosius, by an accident. One Minucius, a soldier of the fourth legion, cut off with his sword the trunk of one of the elephants; which made the animal turn, and run back upon his own army. The confusion and delay thus occasioned, enabled the Romans to escape over the Siris with the bulk of their army. Orosius, IV. 1.

⁵⁷ Zonaras, VIII. 3.

⁵⁸ Hieronymus, a contemporary, who in his account of the loss sustained in the battle of Asculum is known to have copied Pyrrhus' own commentaries, makes the Roman loss in the first battle to have amounted to 7000 men, and that of Pyrrhus to less than 4000. Dionysius stated the Roman loss at 15,000 and that of Pyrrhus at 13,000, copying probably from the exaggerated accounts of some of the Roman annalists, perhaps from Valerius Antias himself. See Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 17. Orosius, copying from Livy, who in his turn probably followed Fabius, reckons the Roman loss at 11,880 killed, and 310 prisoners; while of their cavalry 243 were killed and 802 taken. He says also that twenty-two standards were taken. But what is curious, and which shows that neither he himself nor Livy could have at all consulted the Greek writers on this

to cripple their army, and to leave Pyrrhus undisputed master of the field.

His Italian allies now joined him;⁵⁹ and though he complained of the tardiness of their aid, he distributed to them a share of the spoils of his victory. The Effects of the victory. The allies of Rome began to waver; and the Roman garrisons in distant cities, cut off from relief, were placed in extreme jeopardy. The Locrians rose upon the garrison of their city, and opened their gates to Pyrrhus.⁶⁰ At Rhegium⁶¹ the garrison, which consisted of the eighth legion, composed of Campanian soldiers, acted like the garrison of Enna, in similar circumstances in the second Punic war: they anticipated the inhabitants by a general massacre of all the male citizens, and made slaves of the women and children. For this alone they might have received reward rather than punishment from the Roman government; and the Roman annalists would have pleaded necessity as a sanction for the act. But the Campanians, looking to the example of their Mamertine countrymen on the other side of the strait, and thinking that Rome was in no condition to enforce their allegiance any more, held the city in their own name, and refused to obey the consul's orders. Thus Rhegium, no less than Locri, was for the present lost to the Romans.

The Roman garrison seizes Rhegium and massacres the inhabitants.

Pyrrhus, however, had not won his victory cheaply. Nearly four thousand of his men had fallen, and amongst these a large proportion of his best officers and personal friends; for the Greek loss must have fallen heavily on the cavalry, and when the king exposed his own life so freely, those immediately about his person must have suffered in an unusual proportion. The weather also, if we may trust some stories in Orosius,⁶² was very unfavourable, and the state of the roads may have retarded the advance of the victorious army, and particularly of the elephants. Besides, so complete a victory, won by Pyrrhus with his own army alone, before the mass of his allies had joined him, might dispose the Romans to peace without the risk of a second battle. Accordingly, whilst the army advanced slowly from the shores of the Ionian Sea towards central Italy, Cineas was sent to Rome with the king's terms of peace and alliance.⁶³

Pyrrhus resolves to send an embassy to Rome.

The conditions offered were these:—peace, friendship, and

war, he asserts that of the loss on Pyrrhus' side no record had been preserved.

⁵⁹ Zonaras, VIII. 3. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 17.

⁶⁰ Justin, XVIII. 1.

⁶¹ Appian, Samnitic. Fragn. IX. Dion Cassius, Fragn. Peiresc. XL.

⁶² Orosius, IV. 1. One of the Roman

foraging parties soon after the battle was overtaken by so dreadful a storm, that thirty-four men were knocked down, and twenty-two left nearly dead; and many oxen and horses were killed or maimed.

⁶³ Appian, Samnitic. Fragn. X. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 18.

He proposes terms of peace. alliance between Pyrrhus and the Romans;⁶⁴ but the Tarentines were to be included in it, and all the Greek states in Italy were to be free and independent. Further, the king's Italian allies, the Lucanians, Samnites, Apulians, and Bruttians, were to recover all towns and territories which they had lost in war to the Romans. If these terms were agreed to, the king would restore to the Romans all the prisoners whom he had taken without ransom.

Cineas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus on this memorable occasion, was in the versatility and range of his talents worthy of the best ages of Greece. He was a Thessalian,⁶⁵ and in his early youth he had heard Demosthenes speak; and the impression made on his mind by the great orator was supposed to have enkindled in him a kindred spirit of eloquence: the tongue of Cineas, it was said, had won more cities than the sword of Pyrrhus. Like Themistocles, he was gifted with an extraordinary memory; the very day after his arrival at Rome, he was able to address all the senators⁶⁶ and the citizens of the equestrian order by their several proper names. He had studied philosophy, like all his educated countrymen, and appears to have admired particularly the new doctrine of Epicurus;⁶⁷ which taught that war and state affairs were but toil and trouble, and that the wise man should imitate the blissful rest of the gods, who, dwelling in their own divinity, regarded not the vain turmoil of this lower world. Yet his life was better than his philosophy; he served his king actively and faithfully in peace and in war, and he wrote a military work,⁶⁸ for which he neither wanted ability nor practical knowledge. He excited no small attention as he went to Rome, and his sayings at the places through which he passed were remembered and recorded.⁶⁹ Some stories said that he was the bearer of presents to the influential senators, and of splendid dresses⁷⁰ to win the favour of their wives; all which, as the Roman traditions related, were steadily

⁶⁴ Appian, Samnitic. Fragm. X. These terms showed sufficient respect on the part of Pyrrhus for the power and resolution of the Romans; but they would not satisfy the Roman vanity, and accordingly, Plutarch says that "the king merely asked for peace for himself and indemnity for the Tarentines, and offered to aid the Romans in conquering Italy." Pyrrh. 18.

⁶⁵ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 14.

⁶⁶ Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* VII. § 88.

⁶⁷ Cicero, *de Senectut.* 13. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 20.

⁶⁸ At least Cicero in writing to Pætus says, "Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Ci-

neæ video lectitasse." *Ad Familiar.* IX. 25. Now the commentaries of Pyrrhus are referred to by Plutarch, and it would seem therefore that the allusion to the writings of Cineas is also to be taken literally.

⁶⁹ At Aricia on the Appian Way, Cineas had remarked the luxuriance of the vines, as they festooned on the very summits of the elms, and at the same time complained of the harshness of the wine,—"The mother which bore this wine well deserves," he said, "to be hung on so high a gibbet." Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* XIV. § 12.

⁷⁰ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 18.

refused. But his proposals required grave consideration, and there were many in the senate who thought that the state of affairs made it necessary to accept them.

Appius Claudius, the famous censor, the greatest of his countrymen in the works of peace, and no mean soldier in time of need, was now, in the thirtieth year after his censorship, in extreme old age, and had been for many years blind. But his active mind triumphed over age and infirmity; and although he no longer took part in public business, yet he was ready⁷¹ in his own house to give answers to those who consulted him on points of law, and his name was fresh in all men's minds, though his person was not seen in the forum. The old man heard that the senate was listening to the proposals of Cineas, and was likely to accept the king's terms of peace. He immediately desired to be carried to the senate-house, and was borne in a litter by his slaves through the forum. When it was known that Appius Claudius was coming, his sons and sons-in-law⁷² went out to the steps of the senate-house to receive him, and he was by them led into his place. The whole senate kept the deepest silence as the old man arose to speak.

Appius Claudius is led to the senate, and speaks against the peace.

No Englishman can have read thus far without remembering the scene in all points so similar, which took place within our fathers' memory in our own house of parliament. We recollect how the greatest of English statesmen, bowed down by years and infirmity like Appius, but roused like him by the dread of approaching dishonour to the English name, was led by his son and son-in-law into the house of lords, and all the peers with one impulse arose to receive him. We know the expiring words of that mighty voice, when he protested against the dismemberment of this ancient monarchy, and prayed that if England must fall, she might fall with honour. The real speech of Lord Chatham against yielding to the coalition of France and America, will give a far more lively image of what was said by the blind Appius in the Roman senate, than any fictitious oration which I could either copy from other writers, or endeavour myself to invent; and those who would wish to know how Appius spoke should read the dying words of the great orator of England.

Similar scene in English history.

When he had finished his speech, the senate voted that the proposals of Pyrrhus should be rejected, that no peace⁷³ should be concluded with him so long as he

The senate rejects the terms proposed.

⁷¹ Cicero, de Senectut. 6, 11. Tusculan. Disp. V. 38.

⁷² Plutarch, Pyrrh. 18. He had four sons and five daughters, but how many of his daughters were married, we know not. See Cicero de Senect. 11. A speech was extant in Cicero's time purporting to

be that which Appius spoke on this occasion. De Senectut. 6. Brutus, 16. But Cicero does not seem to have regarded it as genuine.

⁷³ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 19. Appian, Samnitic. X. 2. Zonaras, VIII. 4.

remained in Italy, and that Cineas should be ordered to leave Rome on that very day.

Even whilst the senate had been considering the king's proposals, there had been no abatement of the vigour of their preparations for war. Two new legions,⁷⁴ which must have been at least the ninth and tenth in number, were raised while Cineas was at Rome by voluntary enlistment, proclamation being made, that whoever wished to offer his services to supply the place of the soldiers who had fallen in battle, should enrol himself immediately. Niebuhr supposes that this was the period of P. Cornelius Rufinus' dictatorship, and that he superintended the recruiting of the armies. The new legions were sent to reinforce Lævinus, who, as Pyrrhus began to advance northwards, followed him hanging upon his rear, but not venturing to engage in a second battle.

Cineas returned to the king, to tell him that he must hope for nothing from negotiation. He expressed, according to the writers⁷⁵ whom we are obliged to follow, the highest admiration of all that he had seen. "To fight with the Roman people was like fighting with the hydra, so inexhaustible were their numbers and their spirit." "Rome was a city of generals, nay rather of kings," or according to another and more famous version of the story, "The city was like a temple, the senate was an assembly of kings." Did we find these expressions recorded by Hieronymus of Cardia, who wrote before Rome was the object of universal flattery, we might believe them; but from the later Greek writers they deserve no more credit, than if reported merely by the Romans themselves; and nothing is more suspicious than such statements of the language of admiration proceeding from the mouth of an enemy. But be this as it may, Pyrrhus now resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. At the head of a large army,⁷⁶ for the Italian allies had now joined him, he advanced through Lucania and Samnium into Campania. The territory of the allies of Rome had now for some years been

⁷⁴ Appian Samnitic. X. 3. The Campanian legion which garrisoned Rhegium had been the eighth. Orosius, IV. 3. But perhaps the proletarians raised to form the army of reserve had already formed a ninth and tenth legion, in which case those now raised would be the eleventh and twelfth. We cannot account for four legions in the two consular armies, two more under the proconsul L. Æmilius; one or two, we know not which, forming the reserve army under the walls of Rome, and one in garrison at Rhegium. The legions of Lævinus had suffered so greatly in the battle that their numbers were no doubt very incomplete; but the reinforce-

ments formed two fresh legions, and did not merely serve to recruit the old ones, as appears both by Appian's express language, and also by what is afterwards said of the punishment of the legions which had fought on the Siris, for it would have been very hard to have involved in their sentence the newly-raised soldiers who had no share in the defeat.

⁷⁵ Plutarch, in Pyrrh. 19. Appian, Samnit. X. 3. Florus, I. 18. Dion Cassius apud Maium, Script. Veter. Collect. tom. II. p. 538.

⁷⁶ Zonaras, VIII. 4. Eutropius, II. Florus, I. 18.

free from the ravages of war,⁷⁷ and its scattered houses, its flourishing cultivation, and luxuriant fruit trees, were a striking contrast to the wasted appearance of Samnium and Lucania. All was ravaged and plundered without mercy, by the Italians in revenge, by the Greeks to enrich themselves and force their enemy to submission, but in some instances it only provoked a firmer resistance, and Neapolis and Capua⁸⁸ were attacked, but refused to surrender, nor could Pyrrhus make himself master of either of them.

From Campania he ascended the valley of the Liris, and followed the Latin road towards Rome. Fregellæ,⁷⁹ wrested formerly from the Volscians by the Samnites, and the occupation of which by the Romans had led to the second Samnite war, now yielded to the Greek conqueror. The Hernicans, who, under the name of Roman citizens, without the right of suffrage, were in fact no better than Roman subjects, received Pyrrhus readily, and Anagnia,⁸⁰ their principal city, opened its gates to him. Still advancing, he at last looked out upon the plain of Rome from the opening in the mountains under Præneste; and Præneste itself,⁸¹ with its almost impregnable citadel, fell into his hands, for the Prænestines remembered the execution of their principal citizens a few months before, and longed for vengeance. Præneste is barely twenty-four miles distant from Rome, but Pyrrhus advanced yet six miles farther,⁸² and from the spot where the road descends from the last roots of the mountains to the wide level of the Campagna he cast his eyes upon the very towers of the city.

One march more would have brought him under the walls of Rome, where, as he hoped, there was nothing to oppose him but the two legions, which at the beginning of the campaign had been reserved for the defence of the capital. But at this moment he was informed that the whole Etruscan nation had concluded a peace⁸³ with Rome, and Ti. Coruncanius with his consular army was returned from Etruria, and had joined the army of reserve. At the same time Lævinus was hanging on his rear, and before he could enter Rome, both consuls would be able to combine their forces, and he would have to deal with an army of eight or nine Roman legions, and an equal number of their Latin

And through the Hernican country. He takes Præneste, and advances within eighteen miles of Rome.

The Etruscans suddenly make peace with Rome, and the second consular army is employed against Pyrrhus. He retreats to Campania.

⁷⁷ Dion Cassius, *Fragm.* 50. *Script. Veter. Collect.*

⁷⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 4.

⁷⁹ Florus, I. 18.

⁸⁰ Appian, *Samnitic.* X. 3.

⁸¹ Florus, I. 18. Eutropius, II.

⁸² "Milliario ab urbe octavodecimo." Eutropius. If this statement is correct, Pyrrhus must have passed beyond Zagaro-

lo, and reached the spot where the road descends to the level of the Campagna, close by what is called the lake of Regillus, and just at the junction of the modern road from La Colonna. (Labici.)

⁸³ Zonaras, VIII. 4. See also Appian, X. 3, although his statement is not quite accurate as to time.

and other allies. Besides his own army was feeling the usual evils of a force composed of the soldiers of different nations; the Italians complained of the Greeks,⁸⁴ and charged them with plundering the territory of friends and foes alike; the Greeks treated the Italians with arrogance, as if in themselves alone lay the whole strength of the confederacy. Pyrrhus retreated, loaded with plunder, and returned to Campania; Lævinus fell back before him, but it is said that when Pyrrhus⁸⁵ was going to attack him, and ordered his soldiers to raise their battle cry, and the Greeks to strike their spears against their brazen shields, and when the elephants, excited by their drivers, uttered at the same time their fearful roarings, the Roman army answered with a shout so loud and cheerful, that he did not venture to bring on an action. Neither party made any further attempts at active operations; the Samnites and Lucanians wintered in their own countries, Pyrrhus himself returned to Tarentum, and the Romans remained within their own frontiers,⁸⁶ excepting only the legions which had been beaten in the first battle, and which were ordered to remain in the field during the winter in the enemy's country, with no other supplies than such as they could win by their own swords.

As soon as the campaign was over, the senate despatched an embassy to Pyrrhus to request that he would either allow them to ransom his Roman prisoners, or that he would exchange them for an equal number of Tarentines and others of his allies who were prisoners at Rome.⁸⁷ The ambassadors sent to Pyrrhus were C. Fabricius, Q. Æmilius, and P. Dolabella, all of them men of the highest distinction, but Fabricius was the favourite hero of Roman tradition, and the stories of this embassy spoke of him alone. That Pyrrhus was struck with the circumstance of his being at once so eminent among his countrymen, and yet so simple in his habits, and even, according to a king's standard of wealth, so poor, is perfectly probable: he may have asked him to enter into his service, for the Greeks of that age thought it no shame to serve a foreign king;

⁸⁴ Dion Cassius, *Fragm.* 50. *Script. Veter. Collect.*

⁸⁵ Zonaras, VIII. 4. Dion Cassius, *Fragm.* LI.

⁸⁶ Frontinus, *Strategem.* IV. 1. § 24. The name of the place to which Lævinus' army was sent is corrupt. Oudendorp and the Bipont edition read "Firmum," which of course must be wrong, as Firmum was far away from the seat of war. Niebuhr conjectures Samnium or Ferentinum, supposing that Ferentinum the Hernican town had revolted, and that these legions were employed in reducing it. But nothing can be decided with certainty.

⁸⁷ Appian, *Samnitic. Fragg.* X. 4, 5. The names of the Roman ambassadors, and long speeches put into the mouths of Pyrrhus and of Fabricius, are to be found in the fragments of Dionysius, XVIII. 5—26. The famous anecdotes, how Fabricius was neither to be bribed by the king's money, nor frightened by the sudden sight of one of his elephants, which at a signal given stretched out its trunk immediately over his head, are given by Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 20. Speeches of Pyrrhus and of Fabricius in answer, declining the king's offers, are also preserved in the Vatican Fragments of Dion Cassius, LIII. LIV.

and if the Thessalian Cineas was his minister, he could not suppose that a similar office would be refused by the barbarian Fabricius. It was the misfortune of Pyrrhus to live in a state of society where patriotism was become impossible; the Greek commonwealths were so fallen, and their inner life so exhausted, that they could inspire their citizens neither with respect nor with attachment, and the military monarchies founded by Alexander's successors could know no deeper feeling than personal regard for the reigning monarch; loyalty to his line could not yet have existed, and love for the nation under a foreign despotism is almost a contradiction. In Rome, on the other hand, the state and its institutions were in their first freshness and vigour, and so surpassed any individual distinction, that no private citizen could have thought of setting his own greatness on a level with that of his country, and the world could offer to him nothing so happy and so glorious as to live and die a Roman. But the particular anecdotes recorded of the king and Fabricius are so ill attested and so suspicious, and the speeches ascribed to them both are so manifestly the mere invention of the writers of a later age, that I have thought it best to exclude them from this history, and merely to give a slight mention of them in a note, on account of their great celebrity.

Pyrrhus would neither ransom nor exchange his prisoners, unless the Romans would accept the terms of peace proposed to them by Cineas.⁸⁸ But to show how little he wished to treat them with harshness, he allowed Fabricius to take them all back with him to Rome to pass the Saturnalia, their winter holydays, at their several homes, on a solemn promise that they would return to him when the holydays were over, if the senate still persisted in refusing peace. The senate did persist in its refusal, and the prisoners returned to Pyrrhus; the punishment of death having been denounced by the Roman government against any prisoner who should linger in Rome beyond the day fixed for their return. And thus both parties prepared to try the fortune of war once again.

The new consuls were P. Sulpicius Saverrio, whose father had been consul in the last year of the second Samnite war, and P. Decius Mus, the son of the Decius who had devoted himself at Sentinum, and the grandson of him who had devoted himself in the great battle with the Latins. The legions required for the campaign were easily raised,⁸⁹ every citizen being eager to serve in such a season of

His generous treatment of the Roman prisoners.

A. U. C. 475. A. C. 279. Second campaign. Both consuls are opposed to Pyrrhus in Apulia.

⁸⁸ Appian, Samnitic. Fragm. X. 4, 5. Zonaras, following Dion Cassius, and Dionysius also, place at this period the free release of all the Roman prisoners by Pyrrhus without ransom. And so also does the epitome of Livy, XIII. Plutarch

agrees with Appian, and their account is so much the more probable of the two that I have not hesitated to follow it.

⁸⁹ Dion Cassius, Fragm. Vatic. LV. Orosius, IV. 1.

danger, and C. Fabricius acted as lieutenant to one of the consuls; but beyond this we know nothing of the number or disposition of the Roman armies, nor of their plan of operations, nor of the several generals employed in different quarters. Nor do we know whether any of the places which had revolted to Pyrrhus during his advance upon Rome, continued still to adhere to him after his retreat; nor, if they did, how much time and what forces were required to subdue them. We are only told that Pyrrhus took the field in Apulia, and reduced several places in that quarter;⁹⁰ and that he was employed in besieging Asculum when both consuls with their two consular armies advanced to relieve it and to offer him battle.

The ancient Asculum, if its site was exactly the same with that of the modern Ascoli, stood on a hill of inconsiderable size⁹¹ on the edge of the plains of Apulia; but geologically speaking it belongs to the plains, for the hill is composed only of beds of sand and clay, and the range of the limestone mountains sweeps round it at some distance on the west and south. The country is for the most part open, and must have been favourable for the operations of the king's phalanx and elephants, as the soil, which after the winter rains is stiff and heavy, must, later in the year, have recovered its hardness. When the armies were opposed to each other, a rumour spread among Pyrrhus' soldiers⁹² that the consul Decius intended to follow the example of his father and grandfather, and to devote himself together with the enemy's army to the powers of death, whenever they should join battle. The men were uneasy at this report, so that Pyrrhus thought it expedient to warn them against yielding to superstitious fears, and to describe minutely the dress worn by any person so devoting himself. "If they saw any one so arrayed," he said, "they should not kill him, but by all means take him alive:" and he sent a message to the consuls, warning them that if he should take any Roman practising such a trick, he would put him to an ignominious death as a common impostor. The consuls replied, that they needed no such resources, and trusted to the courage of Roman soldiers for victory.

The first encounter took place on rough ground,⁹³ and near the swampy banks of a river; and Pyrrhus, having assailed the Romans in such a position, was repulsed with loss. But he manœuvred so as to bring them fairly into the plain, and there the two armies engaged. He kept his cavalry and elephants to act as a reserve; the Tarentines

⁹⁰ Zonaras, VIII. 4.

⁹¹ See Dr. Daubeny's *Excursion to Am-sanctus*, p. 30. Ascoli is a poor town, though it contained in 1797, according to

Giustiniani, 5270 souls. It has suffered repeatedly from earthquakes.

⁹² Zonaras, VIII. 5. Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Vatican. LV.*

⁹³ Plutarch, *Pyrrh. 21.*

formed the centre of his line ; the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Salentines⁹⁴ were on the left, and the Greeks and Samnites on the right. The Romans, as usual, had their cavalry on the wings, and their own legions formed the first line, and also the reserve ; the troops of their allies forming a second line between them. If this be true, the Romans must have suspected the fidelity of their allies ; for their courage had been proved in a hundred battles ; and the Marsians and Pelignians now, as at Pydna, would have thrown themselves on the pikes of the phalanx as fearlessly as the bravest Roman. On the other hand, Pyrrhus intermingled the Samnites with his Greek infantry, on purpose to combine the advantages of the Italian tactic⁹⁵ with those of the Macedonian ; that if his line should be attacked in flank, or if the enemy should penetrate it in any quarter, the Samnites might meet the Romans with their own weapons, and allow the Greeks time to recover the position and close order which to their mode of fighting were indispensable.

But he had no occasion to try the effect of this disposition ; for his phalanx kept its advantage, and as the nature of the ground obliged the Romans to attack it The Romans are defeated. in front, they hewed in vain with their swords⁹⁶ at the invincible mass of the Macedonian pikes, or tried to grapple them with their hands and break them. The Greeks kept an even line, and the Romans, finding it impossible to get within the hedge of spears, were slaughtered without returning a wound. At last they gave way, and then the elephants charged, and completed the rout. The other parts of the line opposed to the Tarentines and Lucanians were obliged to follow the example, and the Roman army fled to its camp. This was so close at hand that the loss did not exceed six thousand men, while in the army of Pyrrhus there had fallen 3505 according to the statement copied by Hieronymus from the commentaries of the king himself. This loss must again have fallen on the cavalry, light troops, and peltastæ of Pyrrhus' army, unless it was sustained chiefly by his allies on the centre and left wing ; for the circumstances of the battle make it certain that the victory of his heavy-armed Greek infantry must have been almost bloodless.

In his account of the actual battle of Asculum Plutarch luckily chose to copy Hieronymus ; but immediately Exaggerated and false accounts of this battle. after it he follows Dionysius, and we have nothing but the usual exaggerations of Roman vanity, which leave the real facts of the campaign in utter darkness. The victory of Asculum was not improved, and at the end of the season the Romans wintered in Apulia, and Pyrrhus again returned to Ta-

⁹⁴ Frontinus, *Strategem.* II. 3, § 21.

⁹⁵ Polybius, XVIII. 11.

⁹⁶ Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 21, copying apparently from Hieronymus.

rentum. A victory followed by no results is easily believed to be a defeat; and where there is no other memorial of events than unchecked popular report and unsifted stories, facts which have no witness in their permanent consequences are soon hopelessly perverted. Niebuhr declares from his own personal observation, that within a few days after the battle of Bautzen every Prussian who had not been actually engaged in the action, maintained that the allies had been victorious; and we can remember the extraordinary misrepresentation which for a moment persuaded the English public that Napoleon had been defeated at Borodino. The successive steps of Roman invention with respect to the battle of Asculum are so curious, that I have given a view of them in a note:⁹⁷ but it is not so easy to determine what were the real causes which neutralized to Pyrrhus the result of his victory, and made the issue of the campaign, as a whole, decidedly unfavourable to him.

Both Zonaras and Dionysius relate that the baggage of Pyrrhus was plundered during the battle by his Italian allies; by the Apulians according to Zonaras, or according to Dionysius by the Samnites. If this were so, not only did it imply such bad discipline and bad feeling on the part of his allies as to make it impossible for Pyrrhus to depend on their co-operation for the future; but the loss of their plunder and baggage would greatly discourage his own soldiers, and indispose them to the continuance of the war. Besides, it

It is attended with no results. League between the Romans and Carthaginians.

⁹⁷ The account in the text is Plutarch's, copied, as I have said, from Hieronymus of Cardia, a contemporary historian. And Justin agrees with it; "The issue of the second battle," he says, "was similar to that of the first." XVIII. 1. Livy, if we may trust the epitome of his 13th book, described the action as a drawn battle: "dubio eventu pugnatum est." But Florus calls it a victory on the part of the Romans; and Eutropius and Orosius, copying apparently from the same source, says that Pyrrhus was wounded, many of his elephants destroyed, and 20,000 of his men killed, the Roman loss not exceeding 5000. Zonaras, copying Dion Cassius, says that Pyrrhus was wounded, and that his army was defeated; owing chiefly to an attack made on his camp during the battle by a party of Apulians, which spread a panic among his soldiers. According to Dionysius, as quoted by Plutarch, Pyrrhus was wounded, the Samnites, and not the Apulians, assaulted his camp during the action, and the loss on both sides was equal, amounting to 15,000 men in each army. It is no less remark-

able that, according to Cicero, the consul P. Decius did actually devote himself in this battle as his father and grandfather had done before him. *De Finib* II. 19. *Tusculan. Disp.* I. 37. No other existing account notices this circumstance; and according to the author "*de Viris Illustribus*," Decius was alive some years afterwards, and was engaged in the last war with Volsinii. Probably it was either a forgetfulness in Cicero himself, or he followed some exaggerated account, which, as he was not writing a history of the period, he did not criticise, but adopted it without inquiry. But such enormous discrepancies in the several accounts show what is the character of the Roman history of this period, that, except in particular cases, it is merely made up of traditional stories and panegyrical orations, and can scarcely be called history at all. How different is the account given of the battle by the contemporary historian Hieronymus, who was writing from really good materials, not from guess or fancy, but from knowledge!

was manifest that the brunt of every battle must fall on the Greeks; already Pyrrhus had lost many of his best officers, and as he never lost sight of his schemes of conquest in Greece, he would not be willing to sacrifice his bravest soldiers in a series of hard-won battles in Italy, for the sake of allies on whom he could place no reliance. It is likely also that the Apulian cities which he had taken, overawed by the Roman power and disgusted with the arrogance and indiscriminate plundering of the Greeks, were ready to return to their alliance with Rome; and as the Roman army was certain to be speedily reinforced, whilst Pyrrhus could look for no additional soldiers from Epirus, it might be absolutely impossible for him to keep the field. Finally, the Romans had concluded a defensive alliance⁹⁸ with the Carthaginians, for their mutual support against Pyrrhus; and towards the autumn of the year Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedon, was defeated and killed by the Gauls,⁹⁹ and the presence of these barbarians in Macedonia made it certain that no more soldiers could be spared from Epirus for foreign warfare, when their own frontier was in hourly danger of invasion.

Thus left with no prospect of farther conquests in Italy, Pyrrhus eagerly listened during the winter to offers from other quarters, inviting him to a new field of action. The death of Ptolemy Ceraunus and the anarchy which followed tempted him to win back his old dominion in Macedonia, while envoys from some of the principal cities of Sicily called upon him to aid them against Carthage, and promised to make him master of the whole island. He was thus eager to seize the first pretext for abandoning Italy, and early in the following spring such an occasion was afforded him. The new consuls, C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius, were sent against him:¹⁰⁰ and he soon received a message from them to say that one of his servants had offered to poison him, and had applied to the Romans to reward his crime, but that the consuls, abhorring a victory gained by treason, wished to give the king timely notice of his danger. Pyrrhus upon this expressed his gratitude in the warmest terms, furnished all his prisoners with new clothing, and sent them back to their own country, without ransom and without conditions.¹⁰¹ Immediately

Pyrrhus crosses over into Sicily.

A. U. C. 476. A. C. 275.

⁹⁸ Livy, Epitome, XIII. Polybius, III. 25. Justin, XVIII. 2.

⁹⁹ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Claudius Quadrigarius, quoted by A. Gellius, III. 8. Appian, Samnitic. Fragm. XI. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 21.

¹⁰¹ Plutarch and Appian say that the senate released an equal number of Tarentine and Samnite prisoners, and that Cineas was again sent to Rome to negotiate

a peace, but that the Romans refused to treat while Pyrrhus remained in Italy. Yet Appian, in another fragment, says that Pyrrhus, "after his treaty with the Romans," μετὰ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας, went over to Sicily. Probably a truce for a certain period was agreed to, and with it a general exchange of prisoners. Whether Pyrrhus stipulated anything for the Tarentines we cannot tell; but the consuls of

afterwards, without paying any regard to the remonstrances of his allies, he left Milo still in possession of the citadel of Tarentum,¹⁰² and his second son Alexander at Locri, and set sail with the rest of his army for Sicily.

It was apparently soon after the battle of Asculum, that a Carthaginian fleet of 120 ships¹⁰³ was sent to Ostia to offer aid to the Romans, and the senate declining this succour, the Carthaginian commander sailed away to the south of Italy, and there it is said proposed to Pyrrhus that Carthage should mediate between him and the Romans, his real object being to discover what were the king's views with respect to Sicily. Was then the Tarentine fleet wasting the coasts of Latium, so that Rome stood in need of naval aid? Or did so large a fleet contain a Carthaginian army, and was Rome wisely unwilling to see an African general making war in Italy, and carrying off the plunder of Italian cities? The insinuation against the good faith of the Carthaginian commander seems quite unfounded; this very armament helped the Romans¹⁰⁴ in attempting to recover Rhegium, and though the siege did not succeed, yet a large supply of timber, which the Campanians had collected for building ships, was destroyed, and the Carthaginians having made a league with the Mamertines of Messina, watched the strait with their fleet to intercept Pyrrhus on his passage. But it seems that their fleet was called off in the next year to be employed in the siege of Syracuse, so that Pyrrhus, avoiding Messina, crossed from Locri to Tauromenia¹⁰⁵ without opposition, and being welcomed there by the tyrant Tyndarion, landed his army, and marched to the deliverance of Syracuse. His operations in Sicily lasted more than two years;¹⁰⁶ his fortune, which at first favoured him in every enterprise, was wrecked in a fruitless siege of Lilybæum;¹⁰⁷ disgusts arose, as in Italy, between him and his allies; they were unmanageable and he was tyrannical, so that when at length his Italian allies implored him to come once again to their aid, he was as ready to leave Sicily as he had before been anxious to invade it.

During his absence the Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, and

the two succeeding years, although they triumphed over the Samnites and Lucanians, yet appear to have obtained no triumph over Tarentum, and the success for which Fabricius triumphed "de Tarentinis," (Fasti Capitol.) may have been obtained in the early part of his consulship, before the truce with Pyrrhus was concluded.

¹⁰² Justin, XVIII. 2. Zonaras, VIII. 5.

¹⁰³ Justin, XVIII. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXII. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Diod., Fragm. Hoeschel. XXII. 11.

¹⁰⁶ From the middle of 476 to the latter end of 478. *ἔτει τέτρω* is Appian's expression, Samnitic. Fragm. XII, which Mr. Fynes Clinton wrongly understands of the year 479, for that, according to the Greek mode of reckoning, would not have been *ἔτει τέτρω* but *τετάρτω*.

¹⁰⁷ Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXII. 14. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 22, 23.

Tarentines still continued the war. They ventured no battles in the field, but resolutely defended their towns and fastnesses,¹⁰⁸ and sometimes, as always happens in such warfare, inflicted some partial loss on the enemy, without being able to change in any degree the general fortune of the contest. The consuls employed against them enjoyed a triumph at the end of each campaign; Fabricius at the end of the year 476,¹⁰⁹ C. Junius Brutus at the end of 477, and Q. Fabius Gurgus at the end of 478. In the mean time P. Cornelius Rufinus, the colleague of C. Junius in 477, had recovered Croton and Locri; but as he was considered the principal cause of a severe repulse sustained by himself¹¹⁰ and his colleague from the Samnites at the beginning of the year, he was not thought deserving of a triumph.

A. U. C. 476, 477. A. C. 278, 277. Progress of the war in Italy during the absence of Pyrrhus.

It seems to have been in the autumn of 478 that Pyrrhus returned to Italy.¹¹¹ But his return was beset with enemies, for a Carthaginian fleet attacked him on his passage, and sunk seventy of his ships of war,¹¹² and when he landed on the Italian coast he found that the Mamertines had crossed over from Messana to beset his road by land, and he had to cut his way through them with much loss. Yet he reached Tarentum with a force nearly as large as that which he had first brought over from Epirus; as large in numbers, but of a very different quality, consisting principally of mercenaries raised in his Sicilian wars, men of all countries, Greek and Barbarian, and whose fidelity would last no longer than their general was victorious.

A. U. C. 478. A. C. 276. Pyrrhus returns to Italy.

No sooner had he arrived at Tarentum than he commenced active operations. The Roman consuls were employed in Lucania and in Samnium,¹¹³ but he received no interruption from them, and recovered Locri. He next made an attempt upon Rhegium, a place so important from its position to the success of any new expedition to Sicily, but the Campanian garrison resisted Pyrrhus¹¹⁴ as stoutly as they had resisted the Romans, and the king was obliged to retire with loss.

He plunders the temple of Proserpine at Locri.

¹⁰⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Fabricius triumphed in December, Brutus in January, thirteen months afterwards, and Fabius in the February of the year following, when Pyrrhus in all probability was already returned to Italy.

¹¹⁰ Zonaras, VIII. 6.

¹¹¹ Zonaras expressly says that Pyrrhus returned in the year after the consulship of P. Rufinus, that is, in 478. VIII. 6.

¹¹² Appian, Samnitic. Fragm. XII. Plutarch, Pyrrh. 24. Pyrrhus had obtained this fleet chiefly from the Syracusans, who, on his first arrival in Sicily gave up to him

their whole navy, amounting to 140 ships of war. Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXII. 11. The Carthaginians employed in their engagement with Duilius in the first Punic war a large ship which they took from Pyrrhus probably on his retreat from Sicily. (Polybius, I. 23.) We must suppose that the ships of war were convoying the transports on which Pyrrhus had embarked his army; and that their resistance enabled the transports to escape.

¹¹³ Zonaras, VIII. 6.

¹¹⁴ Zonaras, VIII. 6.

His old allies, the Samnites and Lucanians,¹¹⁵ received him coldly, and, however anxious to obtain his aid, they had not, exhausted as they were, the means of supplying him with money, even if they had been disposed to rely on his constancy in their cause. Thus embarrassed, as he passed by Locri on his return from Rhegium to Tarentum, he listened to the advice of some of his followers,¹¹⁶ and plundered the temple of Proserpine. In the vaults underneath this temple was a large treasure, which had been buried for unknown generations, and no mortal eye had been allowed to look on it. This he carried off, and embarked his spoil on board of his ships, to transport it by sea to Tarentum. A storm however arose and wrecked the ships, and cast ashore the plundered treasure on the coast of Locri. Pyrrhus was moved, and ordered it to be replaced in the temple of the goddess, and offered sacrifices to propitiate her anger. But when there were no signs given that she accepted his offering, he put to death the three men who had advised him to commit the sacrilege, and even yet his mind was haunted by a dread of divine vengeance, and his own commentaries¹¹⁷ recorded his belief that Proserpine's wrath was still pursuing him, and bringing on his arms defeat and ruin. If Pyrrhus himself, after his long intercourse with the Epicurean Cineas, entertained such fears, they weighed far more heavily doubtless on the minds of many of his soldiers and his allies; and the sense of being pursued by the wrath of heaven may have well chilled the hearts of the bravest, and affected in no small degree the issue of the war.

This was fast approaching. The consuls chosen for the year 479 were M. Curius Dentatus and L. Cornelius Lentulus. The Romans on their side also were visited by religious terrors; during the year 478 a fatal pestilence had raged amongst them¹¹⁸, and now the clay statue of Jupiter on the summit of the Capitoline temple was struck by lightning, and shattered to pieces. The head of the image was nowhere to be found, and the augurs declared that the storm had blown it into the Tiber, and commanded that it should be searched for in the bed of the river. It was found in the very place in which the augurs had commanded the search to be made.

Fears of the anger of the gods, together with the dread of the arms of Pyrrhus, made the Romans backward to enlist in the legions. Those who were summoned did not answer to their names, upon which the consul, M. Curius,¹¹⁹ commanded that the goods of the first defaulter should be

Religious terrors at Rome. A. U. C. 479. A. C. 275.

Severity of the consul in the enlistment of soldiers.

¹¹⁵ Plutarch. Pyrrh. 25. Dion. Cassius, Fragn. Peiresc. XLII.

¹¹⁶ Dionysius, XIX. 9. Appian, Samnitic. Fragn. XII.

¹¹⁷ Dionysius, XIX. ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπομνήμασι γράφει.

¹¹⁸ Orosius, IV. 2. Livy, Epitom. XIV. Cicero de Divinat. I. 10.

¹¹⁹ Livy, Epitome, XIV. Valerius Maximus, VI. 3, § 4, adds to this story that Curius sold not only the property of the defaulter, but the man himself, saying "that

publicly sold. A public sale of a man's property by the sentence of a magistrate rendered him incapable of exercising afterwards any political rights; but the necessity of a severe example was so felt that no tribune interposed in behalf of the offender, and the consul's order was carried into execution. The usual number of legions was then raised; Lentulus¹²⁰ marched into Lucania, Curius into Samnium.

Pyrrhus took the field against Curius with his own army, and the flower of the force of Tarentum, and a division of Samnites; the rest of the Samnite army was sent into Lucania to prevent Lentulus from coming to join his colleague. Curius, finding that Pyrrhus was marching against him, sent to call his colleague to his aid; and in the mean while the omens would not allow him to attack the enemy,¹²¹ and he lay encamped in a strong position near Beneventum. There is much rugged and difficult country behind the town on the road towards Apulia, and there is a considerable extent of level ground in the valley of the Calore below it, which was the scene of the decisive battle between Manfred and Charles of Anjou. But whether they fought on the same ground which had witnessed the last encounter between Pyrrhus and the Romans, it is not possible to determine.

Pyrrhus resolved to attack Curius before his colleague joined him, and he planned an attack upon his camp by night.¹²² He set out by torchlight, with the flower of his soldiers and the best of his elephants; but the way was long, and the country overgrown with wood, and intersected with steep ravines; so that his progress was slow, and at last the lights were burnt out, and the men were continually missing their way. Day broke before they reached their destination; but still the enemy were not aware of their approach till they had surmounted the heights above the Roman camp, and were descending to attack it from the vantage ground. Then Curius led out his troops to oppose them; and the nature of the ground gave the Romans a great advantage over the heavy-armed Greek infantry, as soon as the attempt to surprise them had failed. But the action seems to have been decided by an accident; for one of Pyrrhus' elephants was wounded, and running wild among its own men, threw them into disorder; nor could they offer a long resistance, being almost exhausted with the fatigue of their night-

Pyrrhus and M'. Curius opposed to each other near Beneventum.

Unsuccessful night-march of Pyrrhus to surprise the Roman camp.

the commonwealth wanted no citizen who did not know how to obey." If the tribunes did not interfere, the consul's power might indeed extend to any thing; and we know that the Romans were most tolerant even of the greatest severity when the public service seemed to require it. But the authority of a collector of an-

ecdotes is so small, that Valerius' addition to the story must be considered very doubtful.

¹²⁰ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 25.

¹²¹ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 25.

¹²² Plutarch, Pyrrh. 25. Dionysius, XIX. 12-14.

march. They were repulsed with great loss;¹²³ two elephants were killed, and eight, being forced into impracticable ground from which there was no outlet, were surrendered to the Romans by their drivers.

Thus encouraged, Curius no longer declined a decisive action on equal ground; he descended into the plain,¹²⁴ and met Pyrrhus in the open field. On the one wing the Romans were victorious, on the other, oppressed by the weight of the elephants' charge, they were driven back to their camp.¹²⁵ But their retreat was covered by a shower of missiles from the guards on the rampart, and these so annoyed the elephants that they turned about, and fled through their own ranks, bearing down all before them. When the phalanx was thus disordered the Romans attacked it vigorously, and made their way into the mass; and then their swords had an immense advantage over the long spears of the enemy, and their victory was speedy and complete.

What number of men were killed or taken is variously reported; but the overthrow was decisive; and Pyrrhus retreated to Tarentum, resolved immediately to evacuate Italy. Yet, as if he still clung to the hope of returning hereafter, he left Milo with his garrison in the citadel of Tarentum, and then embarked for Epirus.¹²⁶ He landed in his native kingdom with no more than eight thousand foot and five hundred horse,¹²⁷ and without money to maintain even these. Thus he was forced to engage in new enterprises; and often victorious in battle but never successful in war, he perished two or three years afterwards, as is well known, by a woman's hand, in his attack upon Argos.

¹²³ Dionysius, XIX. 14.

¹²⁴ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 25. The scene of the battle is placed by Orosius and Florus "in campis Arusinis," or "sub campis Arusinis," but this name is unknown to us, and does not enable us to determine the place exactly.

¹²⁵ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 25. The story which Dionysius and Plutarch relate of the first action, is by Zonaras and Florus referred to the last and decisive battle; namely, that a young elephant having been wounded, and running about screaming, its cries were heard by its mother, and so

excited her, that she too became ungovernable, and threw the Greek army into disorder, and that this accident first turned the fortune of the day.

¹²⁶ It is said that a report was purposely circulated by Pyrrhus, of the speedy arrival of reinforcements from the kings of Macedonia and Syria, and that the Romans therefore did not venture to advance upon Tarentum. Pausanias, I. 13; compare Niebuhr, Vol. III. p. 610, and note 927.

¹²⁷ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 26.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM THE DEPARTURE OF PYRRHUS FROM ITALY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR—FINAL SUBMISSION OF SAMNIUM—CONQUEST OF TARENTUM—PICENTIAN AND VOLSINIAN WARS—ROME ACQUIRES THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL ITALY—DETACHED EVENTS AND ANECDOTES RELATING TO THIS PERIOD.—479 TO 489 A. U. C., 275 TO 265 A. C.

“ France was now consolidated into a great kingdom. . . . And thus having conquered herself, if I may use the phrase, and no longer apprehensive of any foreign enemy, she was prepared to carry her arms into other countries.”—HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, Chap. I. Part 11.

WE have seen that a Carthaginian fleet appeared on the coasts of Latium in the heat of the war with Pyrrhus, to offer its assistance to the Romans. The offer was then Relations between Rome and Carthage. refused, but very soon afterwards a treaty was concluded between Rome and Carthage,¹ in which both nations engaged to reserve to themselves the right of assisting one another, even if either should conclude an alliance with Pyrrhus; that is to say, their alliance with him was to be subordinate to their alliance with each other, and instead of aiding him in his attacks against the other, they were in such a case to aid one another, even against him. Such were the relations subsisting between Rome and Carthage in the year 479; eleven years afterwards these friendly ties were broken to pieces, and the two nations were engaged in the first Punic war.

In fact, from the moment that Pyrrhus embarked at Tarentum to return to Epirus, the whole stream of our history Preparation of events for the first Punic war. begins to set towards that great period when Rome and Carthage first became enemies. The relics of wars in Italy, which still remain to be noticed, are only like a clearing of the ground for that mightier contest; and the union of all Italy un-

¹ Polybius, III. 25.

der one dominion is rather to be regarded for the present as the forging of that iron power by which Carthage was to be crushed, and the whole civilized world bowed into subjection, than as the completion of the magnificent and complicated fabric in which law and polity were to abide as in their appointed temple. The very barrenness of the political history of Rome during the half century which followed the war with Pyrrhus, is in itself a presumption that the energies of the Roman people at this time were employed abroad rather than at home. I shall therefore defer all notice of the internal state of Italy under the Roman sovereignty, till we come to the period of the second Punic war. Then, when Hannibal's sword was probing so deeply every unsound part in the Roman dominion, and when he was labouring to array Campania and Samnium and Lucania and Bruttium in a fifth coalition against Rome, the internal relations of the Italian states towards the Romans and towards each other will necessarily demand our attention. But for the present I shall merely regard them as blended into one great mass, which was presently to be engaged in deadly conflict with the dominion of Carthage.

After Pyrrhus left Italy, his general Milo retained the citadel of Tarentum for nearly four years. The aristocratical party, which had been from the beginning opposed to the Epirot alliance, now endeavoured to rid themselves of it by force of arms. They failed, however, in their attempt to recover the citadel, and then leaving Tarentum, they occupied a fort in the neighbourhood,² from whence they carried on a plundering warfare against the city, and were able to make their own peace with the Romans. Even the popular party were tired of the foreign garrison and its governor, but feeling that they never could be forgiven by the Romans, they looked elsewhere for aid, and sent to the Carthaginian commanders³ in Sicily to deliver them from Milo's dominion. A Carthaginian fleet appeared accordingly before the harbour, while L. Papirius Cursor the Roman consul was besieging the town by land. But Papirius, dreading the interference of Carthage, treated secretly with Milo,⁴ and persuaded him to deliver up the citadel to the Romans, on condition of being allowed to retire in safety to Epirus with his garrison and all their baggage. Thus Tarentum was given up into the hands of the Romans, and the Carthaginian fleet returned to Sicily. The Roman government complained

² Zonaras, VIII. 6. This was like the aristocratical party in Corcyra, who after their expulsion from the city built a fort in the mountains from whence they plundered the lands of their opponents. Thucyd. III. 85.

³ Zonaras, VIII. 6. Orosius, IV. 3. But the account in Orosius is greatly dis-

torted and exaggerated, for he makes the Tarentines call in the aid of Carthage not against Milo, but against Rome, and says that a regular action took place between the Roman and Carthaginian forces, in which the Romans were victorious.

⁴ Zonaras, VIII. 6. Frontinus, Strategem. III. 3, § 1.

of its appearance on the coast of Italy,⁵ when its assistance had not been requested by Rome; and the Carthaginians, now that Tarentum was actually in the Roman power, disavowed the expedition as an unauthorized act of their officers in Sicily.

The death or banishment of the leaders of the democratical party at Tarentum atoned no doubt for the insult offered to the Roman ambassadors, and for the ^{Subjugation of Tarentum.} zealous enmity which had organized against Rome the fourth Samnite war. When vengeance was satisfied, policy demanded the complete humiliation of a city which had shown both the will and the power to injure.⁶ Tarentum was dismantled, its fleet and all its stores of arms were surrendered, it was made to pay a yearly tribute, and a Roman garrison,⁷ it seems, was quartered in the citadel. When thus effectually disarmed and fettered, the Tarentines were allowed to retain their municipal freedom, as the allies, and not the subjects of Rome.

In the same year, immediately before the fall of Tarentum, Samnium, Lucania, and Bruttium, had made their final and absolute submission. L. Papirius Cursor ^{Submission of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians.} and Sp. Carvilius Maximus, who had been consuls together one and twenty years earlier in the great campaign which decided the third Samnite war, were elected consuls together for the second time, to put the last stroke to the present contest. Carvilius invaded Samnium⁸ and received the submission of the Samnites; Papirius received that of the Lucanians and Bruttians. The three nations all retained their municipal freedom, or rather their several towns or districts were left free individually, but their national union was dissolved; and they were probably not even allowed to intermarry with or to inherit property from each other. Besides this, they made undoubtedly large cessions of territory, and were obliged to give hostages⁹ for their future good behaviour. It is mentioned in particular that the Bruttians ceded the half of their mountain and forest district, called Sila,¹⁰ or the Weald; a tract rich to this day in all varieties of timber trees, and in wide ranges

⁵ Orosius, IV. 5. That the interference of the Carthaginians on this occasion was complained of by the Romans appears also from Livy, Epitom. XIV. and from Dion Cassius, Fragm. Vatican. LVII. Yet as Pyrrhus was the enemy of Carthage, the Carthaginians might lawfully aid the Tarentines against his officer; the offence complained of, however, was in all probability the appearance of a foreign fleet, uninvited by the Romans, on the coasts of what they would consider the Roman dominion. But the Carthaginians might answer that the coast of Iapygia was not yet to be regarded as belonging to Rome.

⁶ Zonaras, VIII. 6.

⁷ In the interval between the first and second Punic wars, a legion was regularly stationed at Tarentum. Polybius, II. 24. Niebuhr thinks that this had been the case ever since the surrender of the city.

⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 6.

⁹ This appears from Zonaras, VIII. 7, where Lollius a Samnite hostage is said to have escaped from Rome.

¹⁰ Dionysius, XX. 5. Sila is doubtless the same word as Silva and as ἰλη. For the actual state of this forest country, see Mr. Keppel Craven, Tour in the Southern Provinces of Naples, p. 242.

of well-watered pastures, and famous for yielding the best vegetable pitch known to the ancients. The right of preparing this pitch was let as usual by the censors, and brought in to the republic a large revenue.

Thus the Romans had put down all their enemies in the south of Italy, except the rebellious soldiers of the eighth legion who had taken possession of Rhegium. Those however were reduced two years later by the consul, C. Genucius.¹¹ A separate treaty concluded with the Mamertines of Messana¹² had cut them off from their most natural succour, and Hiero, who since Pyrrhus had left Sicily had been raised by his merit and services¹³ to the throne of Syracuse, took an active part against them, and supplied the Roman besieging army not with corn only, but with an auxiliary force of soldiers. Thus the town of Rhegium was at last stormed, and most of the garrison put to the sword in the assault. Of the survivors, all except the soldiers of the original legion were executed¹⁴ by the consul on the spot; but these, as Campanian citizens,¹⁵ and, therefore, having all the private rights of citizens of Rome, were reserved for the judgment of the senate and people. When they were brought to Rome, one of the tribunes pleaded in their behalf that they were Roman citizens,¹⁶ and ought not to be put to death, except by the judgment of the people; but the people were as little disposed to mercy as the senate, and the thirty-three tribes¹⁷ condemned them unanimously. They were thus all scourged and beheaded, to the number of more than three hundred, and their bodies were cast out unburied. Rhegium and its territory were restored to the survivors of the old inhabitants.

In the next year one of the Samnite¹⁸ hostages escaped from Rome, and revived a guerilla warfare in the country of the Caracenians in northern Samnium. Both consuls were employed to crush at once an enemy who might

A. U. C. 484. A. C. 270. Punishment of the revolted garrison of Rhegium.

A. U. C. 485. A. C. 269. Short guerilla war in Samnium.

¹¹ Dionysius, XX. 7.

¹² Zonaras, VIII. 6.

¹³ Polybius, I. 8, 9. Justin, XXIII. 4. Zonaras, VIII. 6.

¹⁴ Orosius, IV. 3.

¹⁵ See Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. II. p. 57. Eng. Transl.

¹⁶ Valerius Maximus, II. 7, § 15. The same thing happened after the reduction of Capua in the second Punic war. The Campanians being Roman citizens, the senate could not determine their fate without being empowered by the people to do so; and accordingly the tribes voted that whatever sentence the senate might pass should have their authority for its full execution. Livy, XXVI. 33. It is remarkable that the power of taking up the

Roman franchise at pleasure should be considered as so completely equivalent to the possession of the franchise actually, which is Niebuhr's explanation of the condition of the Campanians. Vol. II. note 136. Eng. Transl. It rather appears from the definition of the term *municeps*, given by Festus from Ser. Sulpicius the younger, that the Campanians, and others in the same relation to Rome, enjoyed actually all the private rights of Roman citizens, without forfeiting their own Campanian franchise; and this too seems implied by the fact of their forming a regular legion in war, instead of being reckoned merely as auxiliaries.

¹⁷ Dionysius, XX. 7. Polybius, I. 7.

¹⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 7. Dionysius, XX. 9.

soon have become formidable, and the bands which had taken up arms were soon dispersed, and their strongholds taken, although not without some loss and danger on the part of the conquerors.

A war followed with a people whose name has only once before been heard of in Roman history, the Picentians on the coast of the Adriatic. The Picentians had become the allies of Rome¹⁹ thirty-one years before this period, at the beginning of the third Samnite war, and they had ever since observed the alliance faithfully. But in the year 486 we find two consular armies²⁰ employed against them, and after a short struggle they submitted at discretion. A portion of them was removed to the coast of the Tuscan sea, and settled in the country which had formerly belonged to the Samnites, on the shores of the gulf of Salernum.¹² It may have been that this migration had been commanded by the Roman government as a measure of state policy, in order to people the old Samnite coast with less suspected inhabitants, and to acquire as Roman domain the lands which the Picentians had left in their old country; and the Picentians perhaps, like the Carthaginians in the third Punic war, unwilling to be torn from their native land, rose against Rome in mere despair. But whatever was the cause of the war, it ended in the speedy and complete conquest²² of the Picentian people.

The last gleanings of Italian independence were gathered in during the two years which next followed. The Sallentines and Messapians had at one time taken part in the confederacy²³ of southern Italy against Rome, but they had withdrawn from the cause before its overthrow. Their repentance, however, availed them nothing, for the port of Brundisium in the Sallentine territory was a position which the Romans were very anxious to secure; ²⁴ the more so as Alexander the son of Pyrrhus was reigning in Epirus, and had inherited much of the warlike temper of his father; and whether for attack or defence, the possession of Brundisium, the favourite point of communication in later times with Greece and the East, ap-

A. U. C. 486. A. C. 268.
War with and conquest of the Picentians.

A. U. C. 487 and 488.
A. C. 267 and 266.
Conquest of the Messapians. Occupation of Brundisium.

¹⁹ See page 10 of this volume.

²⁰ The Fasti Capitolini record that both the consuls of the year, P. Sempronius and Appius Claudius, triumphed over the Picentians.

²¹ Strabo, V. p. 251.

²² The Picentian war is briefly noticed by Florus, I. 19, by Eutropius, and by Orosius, IV. 4. A great earthquake happened just as the Roman and Picentian armies were going to engage, upon which P. Sempronius the consul vowed to build a temple to the earth. The population of the Picentians, when they submitted to the Ro-

mans, amounted according to Pliny (Hist. Natur III. § 110) to 360,000 souls.

²³ They had fought under Pyrrhus at Asculum; see Frontinus Strategem. II. 3, § 21; and they are not mentioned as conquered by Papirius and Carvilius, when the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians submitted, so that they had probably left the confederacy at an earlier period.

²⁴ Zonaras, copying from Dion Cassius, accuses the Romans of making war on the Sallentines because they wished to get possession of Brundisium. VIII. 7.

peared therefore to the Romans very desirable. Accordingly the Sallentines and Messapians were reduced to submission, and Brundisium was ceded to the Romans. They did not send a colony thither till some years²⁵ afterwards, but the land must in the mean while have formed a part of their domain, and the port in all probability was occupied by a Roman garrison.

In the midst of the Sallentine war, the consuls of the year 488 triumphed over the Sarsinians,²⁶ a people of Umbria, and the countrymen of the comic poet Plautus. Livy's epitome²⁷ speaks of the Umbrians generally, and says that they as well as the Sallentines submitted to the Romans at discretion.

One more conquest still remained to be achieved, a conquest called for by political jealousy no less than by national ambition. The aristocracy of Volsinii²⁸ applied to Rome for aid against the intolerable tyranny of their former serfs or vassals, who were now in possession of the government. As the necessity of keeping up a large navy in the Persian invasions first led to the ascendancy of the poorer classes at Athens, and as wars with foreign states had favoured the liberties of the Roman commons, so the long wars in which Volsinii had been engaged with Rome had obliged the aristocracy to arm and train their vassals, till they, feeling their importance and power, had risen against their old lords, and had established their own complete ascendancy. But in proportion as they had been more degraded and oppressed than the Roman commons, so was their triumph far less happy. Slaves let loose knew not how to become citizens; two only social relations had they ever known, those of oppressor and oppressed; and having ceased to be the one, they became immediately the other. They retaliated on their former masters the worst atrocities which they had themselves been made to suffer;²⁹ and when they found that some of

²⁵ In the latter part of the first Punic war. See Livy, Epitom. XIX. But Florus says [I. 20] that Brundisium with its famous port was reduced by M. Atilius, who was one of the consuls of the year 487. And so also does Eutropius.

²⁶ Fasti Capitolini.

²⁷ Epitom. XV. "Umbri et Sallentini victi in deditionem accepti sunt."

²⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 7. Auct. de Viris Illustrib. "Decius Mus." Florus, I. 21. Valerius Maximus, IX. 1, Extern. § 2. Orosius, IV. 5. All these writers call the revolution at Volsinii a rising of slaves against their masters; just as Herodotus represents a similar revolution at Argos, after the old citizens had been greatly weakened by their wars with Sparta. VI. 83. The story told in the work "de Mi-

rabil. Auscultationibus," 94, Ed. Bekker, wrongly ascribed to Aristotle, relates undoubtedly to Volsinii, and shows the vague and exaggerated form in which even contemporary events in distant countries are related, when there is no real historian to sift them. According to this story, "the city is very strong; for in the midst of it there is a hill that runs up thirty stadia in height; and beneath there is a forest of all sorts of trees, and much water. So the people of the city fearing lest any of them should become a tyrant, set up their freedmen to be their magistrates; and these freedmen rule over them, and others of the same sort are appointed in their place at the end of the year."

²⁹ Valerius Maximus, IX. 1. The worst of all the outrages there described was

the oppressed party had applied to Rome for aid, they put many of them to death,³⁰ as for an act of treason. This was more than sufficient to excite the Romans to interfere, and, as the present ruling party in Volsinii were regarded as little better than revolted slaves, the majority of the Roman commons would be ready to put them down no less than the senate. National ambition no doubt made the enterprise doubly welcome; perhaps too the accusation of Metrodorus³¹ was not without foundation, when he ascribed the war to a baser passion, and said that the two thousand statues with which Volsinii was ornamented, tempted the Romans to attack it. Q. Fabius Gurgus, one of the consuls of the year 489, laid siege to Volsinii with a consular army;³² but having been mortally wounded in one of the sallies of the besieged, he left the completion of his work to his successors.³³ In the following year Volsinii was taken; bloody executions took place, and the remnant of the new Volsinian citizens, who were not put to death, were given up as serfs once again to their former masters. But the old Volsinian aristocracy were not allowed to return to the city of their fathers. Volsinii was destroyed, its statues no doubt were carried to Rome, and its old citizens were settled in a new spot³⁴ on the lower ground near the shores of the lake, apparently on or near the site of the modern town of Bolsena.

Thus the whole extent of Italy from the Macra and the Rubicon to Rhegium and Brundisium was become more or less subject to Rome. But it was not merely that the several Italian nations were to follow in war where Rome might choose to lead them; nor yet that they paid a certain tribute to the sovereign state, such as Athens received from her subject allies. The Roman dominion in Italy had wrested large tracts of land from the conquered nations in every part of the peninsula; forests, mines, and harbours had become the property of the Roman people, from which a large revenue was derived; so that all classes of Roman citizens were enriched by

The Romans sovereigns of all Italy.

practised in some instances by the feudal aristocracy in modern Europe; and it is far more likely that the Volsinian serfs retaliated it upon their masters than that they should have been the first inventors of it.

³⁰ Zonaras, VIII. 7.

³¹ Pliny, Hist. Natur. XXXIV. § 34. Metrodorus of Scepsis lived in the seventh century of Rome, and was intimate with Mithridates, whose hatred against the Romans he shared to such a degree, that he was called *ὁ μισορώματος*. His charge, whether true or false, is at least consistent with those other representations which speak of the growing wealth and increased

love of wealth among the Romans at this period.

³² Zonaras, VIII. 7.

³³ The author "de Viris Illustrib." ascribes the conquest of Volsinii to Decius Mus, who was consul in 475, and fought with Pyrrhus at Asculum. But whether Decius was employed as prætor, or as dictator, we know not. The same writer also says that Appius Claudius, the consul of the year 490, obtained the surname of Caudex, after his conquests of the Volsinians; but the Fasti Capitolini give the honour of the conquest to his colleague, M. Fulvius Flaccus, who triumphed "de Vulsiniensibus, An. CDXXCIX. K. Nov."

³⁴ Zonaras, VIII. 7.

their victories; the rich acquired a great extent of land to hold in occupation; the poor obtained grants of land in freehold by an agrarian law: while the great increase of revenue required a greater number of persons to collect it, and thus from the quæstors to the lowest collectors or clerks employed under them, all the officers of government became suddenly multiplied.

The changes, indeed, which were wrought in the course of ten years, from the retreat of Pyrrhus to the conquest of Volsinii, must have affected the whole life and character of the Roman people. Even the mere fragmentary notices, which are all that we possess of this period, record, first, the increase of the number of quæstors from four to eight:³⁵ secondly, a distribution of land, in portions of seven jugera³⁶ to each citizen, to the Roman commons generally: thirdly, a distribution of money amongst the citizens,³⁷ probably amongst those of the city tribes who did not wish to become possessors of land; the money so distributed having arisen from the sale of conquered territory: fourthly, the first adoption of a silver coinage, copper having been hitherto the only currency of the state:³⁸ fifthly, the appointment of several new magistrates or commissioners, such as the decemviri litibus judicandis,³⁹ or the board of ten, who presided over the court of the centumviri or hundred judges; the board of four,⁴⁰ who had the care of the streets and roads; the board of five, who acted for the magistrates during the night,⁴¹ the consuls' ordinary responsibility ceasing with the going down of the sun; and the board of three, who had the care of the coinage. All these things are recorded as having been introduced for the first time about the period be-

³⁵ Livy, Epitom. XV.

³⁶ Columella, Præfat.

³⁷ Dionysius, XX. ad finem.

³⁸ Pliny, Hist. Natur. XXXIII. § 44.

The silver coinage was first introduced in the year 485; and the coins struck were denarii, quinarii, and sestertii. It is still a great question in whose hands the right of coining money was placed. The devices on the consular denarii are so various, and refer so peculiarly to the house of the individual who coined them, that Niebuhr supposes them to have been really a private coinage, like the tokens occasionally issued in England, a coinage issued by private persons for their own profit, but sanctioned by the state, and controlled by the triumviri monetales. Quæstors are known to have coined money when employed under a proconsul as his paymaster, but these coins are equally without any peculiar national device, and relate to something in the quæstor's own family or in the circum-

stances of his general. Thus on the gold coins struck by P. Lentulus Spinther, when he was quæstor to Cassius in Asia, we see the device of a cap of liberty and a dagger, in manifest allusion to the assassination of Cæsar. Yet the two-horsed and four-horsed chariots which appear so often on the denarii are noticed by Pliny as a general device, from which the oldest silver coins received their name. It seems probable that there was no fixed rule with respect to the right of coining; that sometimes the state issued a coinage, that sometimes money was struck by particular magistrates for the immediate use of their own department of the public service; and that sometimes also it was struck by individuals for their own profit, just as a large part of our own circulation at this day consists in the notes issued by private bankers.

³⁹ "Pomponius de origine juris," 29. See Niebuhr. Rom. Gesch. III. p. 649.

⁴⁰ ⁴¹ Pomponius, § 30, 31.

tween the war with Pyrrhus and the first war with Carthage, and they clearly show what manifold changes the Roman people were then undergoing.

The conquest of Italy was indeed to Rome what the overthrow of the Athenian empire was to Sparta: the larger scale of all public transactions, the vast influx of wealth into the state, and the means of acquiring wealth unjustly which were put within the reach of many private individuals, were a severe shock to the national character. Many other Romans, no doubt, besides P. Cornelius Rufinus, were as corrupt and tyrannical as Gylippus and Lysander; and it was this very corruption which made men dwell so fondly on those who were untainted by it:⁴² the virtue of Fabricius and Curius, like that of Callicratidas, shone the brighter, because the temptations which they resisted were so often yielded to by others. In the present state of Italy any eminent Roman might seriously affect the condition of any of the subject people either for good or for evil: hence the principal citizens of Rome were earnestly courted with compliments, and often, no doubt, propitiated with presents, and it was for refusing such presents when offered to them by the Samnites, that Fabricius and Curius became so famous. All know how deputies from Samnium came to Curius⁴³ at his Sabine farm to offer him a present of gold. They found him seated by the fireside, with a wooden platter before him, and roasting turnips in the ashes. "I count it my glory," he said, "not to possess gold myself, but to have power over those who do." So again other Samnite deputies came to bring a present⁴⁴ of ten pounds of copper, five of silver, and five slaves, to Fabricius as the patron of their nation. Fabricius drew his hands over his ears, eyes, nose, and mouth, and then along his neck and down his body; and said that whilst he was the master of his five senses and sound in body and limb, he needed nothing more than he had already. Thus, whether refusing to have clients, or to accept from them their customary dues, Curius and Fabricius lived in such poverty as to be unable to give a dowry to their daughters;⁴⁵ and in both cases the senate paid it for them. Men of this sort, so indifferent

Effects of these on the national manners. Anecdotes of Curius and Fabricius.

⁴² Pope has said, that

"Lucullus, when frugality could charm,
Had roasted turnips in the Sabine farm;"
as if the virtue of Curius had belonged to his age and not to himself. But this is the mistake of a satirist and fatalist, whose tendency it always is to depreciate human virtue. Had Lucullus lived in Curius' day, he would have shown in the possession of ten pounds of silver-plate, the same spirit which, in his own days, was shown in the splendour of his feasts in the Apollo:

had Curius lived in the days of Cicero, he would have displayed like Cicero in the government of his province the same spotless integrity which he proved actually in sitting by his cottage fire, and refusing the humble presents of the Samnites.

⁴³ Cicero, de Senectut. 16. Valerius Maxim. IV. 3, § 5.

⁴⁴ Julius Hyginus, apud Gellium, I. 14. Valerius Maximus, IV. 3, § 6.

⁴⁵ I borrow this from Niebuhr, who refers for the story to Apuleius.

to money, and at the same time not without a roughness of nature which would delight in vexing the luxury and rapacity of others, were likely to struggle hard against the prevailing spirit of covetousness and expense. When Fabricius was censor in 479, he expelled P. Rufinus⁴⁶ from the senate because he had returned amongst his taxable possessions ten pounds' weight of silver plate; for there is often a jealousy against any new mode of displaying wealth, when the greatest expenditure in old and accustomed ways excites no displeasure. Silver-plate was a new luxury in the fifth century of Rome, and therefore attracted the censor's notice; three hundred years later, the possession of silver-plate to any amount was fully allowed,⁴⁷ but gold plate was still unusual, and the senate, even in the reign of Tiberius, denounced it as an unbecoming extravagance. But Fabricius, no doubt, disliked the large domain lands held in occupation by Rufinus as much as his ten pounds of silver plate, thinking that great wealth in the hands of private persons, however employed, was injurious to the commonwealth.

It must not be forgotten, amongst the other changes of this period, that the consulship of Appius Claudius and M. Fulvius,⁴⁸ the year which witnessed the final reduction of Volsinii, was marked by the first exhibition of gladiators ever known at Rome. Two sons of D. Junius Brutus exhibited them, it is recorded, at the funeral of their father. The principle of this, as a part of the funeral solemnity, was very ancient and very universal;⁴⁹ that the dead should not go on his dark journey alone, but that a train of other departed souls, whether of enemies slain to avenge him, or of followers to do him honour, should accompany him to the unseen world. But the Romans, it is said,⁵⁰ borrowed the practice of substituting a combat for a sacrifice, that the victims might die by each other's swords, immediately from the Etruscans; and when we recollect that the capture of Volsinii took place in this very year, we may conjecture that the gladiators of M. and D. Brutus were Volsinian prisoners, perhaps slaves who had been accustomed to fight be-

⁴⁶ Livy, Epitom. XIV. Niebuhr supposes that Fabricius may have suspected this plate to have been a part of the spoils won by Rufinus at Croton, and have thought that he ought to have accounted for it to the treasury.

⁴⁷ Tacitus, Annal. II. 33.

⁴⁸ Valerius Maximus, II. 4, § 7.

⁴⁹ Every one remembers the slaughter of twelve Trojan prisoners over the funeral pile of Patroclus. When the Scythian kings died, some of all their servants were slain and were buried with them. (Herodotus, IV. 71.) In Thrace single combats

took place at the funerals of the chiefs; and there also, as in India, the best beloved of the wives of the deceased was killed and buried with her husband. (Herodotus, V. 5, 8.) In Spain, too, when Viriathus was burnt on his funeral pile, there were single combats fought around in honour of him. Appian, de Rebus Hispan. 75. Cassander paid the same honour to Philip Arrhidæus and Eurydice at their funeral at Ægæ. Dyllus, apud Athenæum, IV. p. 155. Diodorus, XIX. 52.

⁵⁰ Nicolaus Damascenus, apud Athenæum, IV. p. 153.

fore under the service of their former masters. The spectacle from the very beginning excited the liveliest interest at Rome ; but for many years it was exhibited only at funerals, as an offering in honour of the dead ; the still deeper wickedness of making it a mere sport, and introducing the sufferings and death of human beings as a luxury for the spectators in their seasons of the greatest enjoyment, was reserved for a later period.

The ten years preceding the first Punic war were probably a time of the greatest physical prosperity which the mass of the Roman people ever knew. Within Great prosperity of the Roman people at this period. twenty years two agrarian laws had been passed on a most extensive scale ; and the poorer citizens had received besides what may be called a large dividend in money out of the lands which the state had conquered. In addition to this the farming of the state domains,⁵¹ or of their produce, furnished those who had money with abundant opportunities of profitable adventure, while the accumulation of public business increased the demand for clerks and collectors in every branch of the service of the revenue. And the power of obtaining like advantages in all future wars seemed secured to the people by the Hortensian laws, which enabled them to pass an agrarian law whenever they pleased, in spite of the opposition in the senate. No wonder then that war was at this time popular, and that the tribes more than once resolved on taking up arms, when the senate would have preferred peace from considerations of prudence, and, we may hope, of national faith and justice. But our "pleasant vices" are ever made "instruments to scourge us : " and the first Punic war, into which the Roman people forced the senate to enter, not only in its own long course bore most heavily upon the poorer citizens, but from the feelings of enmity which it excited in the breast of Hamilcar, led most surely to that fearful visitation of Hannibal's sixteen years' invasion of Italy, which destroyed for ever, not indeed the pride of the Roman dominions, but the well-being of the Roman people.

But that calamitous period was only to come upon the children of the existing generation, and in the mean time Aqueduct of Curius. Tiles used for roofing the houses at Rome. all was going on prosperously. Another aqueduct was constructed by M'. Curius,⁵² when he was censor soon after

⁵¹ See the well-known passage in Polybius, where he notices the extent of patronage possessed by the senate. Πολλῶν γὰρ ἔργων ὄντων τῶν ἐκδομένων ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν διὰ πάσης Ἰταλίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων, ἃ τις οὐκ ἂν ἐξαριθμήσαιτο βραδίως, πολλῶν δὲ ποταμῶν, λιμένων, κηπίων, μετᾱλλῶν, χωρᾶς, συλλήβδην ὅσα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν, πάντα χειρίζεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ σχεδόν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πάντας ἐνδεδέσθαι ταῖς

ὠνυαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων.—IV. 17.

⁵² Frontinus, de Aquæductibus; 6. The Aqueduct of Curius was known by the name of "Anio vetus : " its whole length was forty-three miles ; but like the older aqueduct of Appius Claudius it consisted mostly of pipes under ground, and was only conducted on an embankment above ground for a distance of something less than a quarter of a mile.

the retreat of Pyrrhus, by which a supply of water was conveyed to the northern parts of the city from the Anio above Tibur : and tiles⁵³ at this time began to supersede wood as the roofing material for the common houses of Rome.

Their victories over Pyrrhus spread the fame of the Romans far and wide ; and immediately after his return to Greece, when he was again becoming formidable by his victories over Antigonus in Macedonia, Ptolemy Philadelphus,⁵⁴ king of Egypt, sent an embassy to Rome to conclude an alliance with the Romans. The senate, delighted at such a compliment from so great a king, sent in return an embassy to Alexandria, consisting of three of the most eminent citizens in the commonwealth, Q. Fabius Gurges, who was then first senator (*princeps senatus*), Q. Ogulnius, who had gone to Epidaurus to invite Æsculapius to Rome, and Num. Fabius Pictor, the son of that Fabius who had painted the frescoes in the temple of Deliverance from Danger. The ambassadors found Alexandria at the height of its splendour, for these were the most brilliant days of the Greek-Egyptian kingdom ; and Ptolemy Philadelphus,⁵⁵ with a fleet of 1500 ships of war, and a revenue of nearly 15,000 talents, reigned over the whole coast of the Mediterranean from Cyrene to the Nile, and from the Nile to the Triopian headland at the south-western extremity of Aisa Minor opposite to Rhodes ; while to the south his power extended to the heart of Æthiopia or Abyssinia, and along both shores of the Red Sea. In his capital there met together the wisdom of Greece and of the east and of Egypt itself : Theocritus, Callimachus, and the seven tragedians of the Pleias ;⁵⁶ the Jews who at this time began at Alexandria the translation of the Bible ; and Manetho the famous historian of the ancient dynasties of Egypt. The Roman ambassadors were honourably entertained and received valuable presents ; which on their return home they laid before the senate, but which the senate immediately gave back to them with permission to do with them as they thought proper.

⁵³ See Cornelius Nepos quoted by Pliny, as already noticed, *Hist. Natur.* XVI. § 36.

⁵⁴ Livy, *Epitom.* XIV. Zonaras VIII. 6. Dionysius, XX. 4. Valerius Maximus, IV. 3, § 9.

⁵⁵ The extent of Ptolemy Philadelphus' dominion and the flourishing condition of Egypt during his reign are described by Theocritus, an eye-witness, in his 17th Idyll, and in that remarkable inscription found at Adulis on the western shore of the Red Sea by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the reign of Justin, the father of Justinian. Cosmas copied the inscription into his work, which is to be found in Montfaucon's *Collectio Nova*, &c. Vol. II. p. 142.

Some remarkable particulars as to the amount of Ptolemy's revenue are preserved by Jerome in his *Commentary on Daniel*, XI. 5.

⁵⁶ They were called the Pleias from their number, in allusion to the constellation. Different lists of them are given (see Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* Vol. III. year B. C. 259), but none of them are known to us by any existing works, if, as Mr. Fox and Niebuhr seem most justly to think, the Lycophron who wrote the *Alexandra* is a very different person from the Lycophron of the Pleias, and belongs to a later age. See Niebuhr's *Kleine Schrift* p. 438—450.

In the year 488,⁵⁷ the people of Apollonia, a Greek city on the coast of Epirus, sent an embassy to Rome, with what object we know not, but possibly to complain of some of the officers of the Roman government. Two Romans of rank, one of them a senator of the house of Fabius, insulted and beat the ambassadors, and were, in consequence of the outrage, given up to the Apollonians; one of the quæstors also was sent to escort the ambassadors and their prisoners to Brundisium, lest any attempt should be made to rescue them. But the Apollonians measuring rightly their own utter inability to cope with so great a nation as the Romans, and judging that it would be unwise⁵⁸ to interpret too closely the sentence of the senate, restored both offenders unhurt.

Outrage to the ambassadors of Apollonia. The offenders given up to the Apollonians.

Our notices of the physical history of these times are very scanty. The winter of 484 was one of unusual severity;⁵⁹ the Tiber was frozen over to a great depth, the snow lay in the forum for nearly six weeks, the olives and fig trees were generally killed, and many of the cattle perished for want of pasture, as they were dependent, even in winter, on such food as they could find in the fields. This great frost happened about one hundred and thirty years after the frost of 355, and seems to have equalled it in severity. Volcanic phenomena⁶⁰ are recorded during the two following years, and in 488 we hear of a very destructive pestilence, which lasted for more than two years more, and is described as exceedingly fatal;⁶¹ but the language of Augustine is indefinite, and that of Orosius clearly exaggerated, so that we can neither discover the nature and causes of the disease, nor estimate the amount of the mortality.

Physical history. Severe winter of 484.

Ten years, as they bring forward into active life a new generation, so they always sweep away some of the last survivors of former times, and bring down to a later period the range of living memory. Appius Claudius and Valerius Corvus, who were both alive when Pyrrhus was in Italy, died soon after his return to Epirus. L. Papirius Cursor, if he were still living, had yet appeared for the last time in a public station; neither he nor his colleague Sp. Carvilius are heard of again after their second censorship in the year 482. M'.

A new generation coming forward. Deaths of Curius and Fabricius.

⁵⁷ Zonaras, VIII. 7. Livy, Epitom. XV. Valer. Max. VI. 6, § 5.

⁵⁸ They may have remembered the wisdom of the Æginetans in like circumstances, when the Spartan king, Leuty-chidas, was given up to them by his countrymen, as an atonement for some wrong which he had done to them. A Spartan had warned them not to take the Spartan government at its word, nor to believe that they might really carry the king of Sparta

away as their prisoner, and punish him at their discretion. See Herodotus, VI. 85.

⁵⁹ Zonaras, VIII. 6. Augustine de Civit. Dei, III. 17.

⁶⁰ Orosius, IV. 4. The earthquake which happened in the Picentian war, just as the Romans and Picentians were going to engage, belongs to the volcanic phenomena of this period.

⁶¹ Augustine, III. 17. Orosius, IV. 5.

Curius had obtained the censorship in that same year, three years after his victory at Beneventum ; he employed the money arising from the spoils of his triumph in constructing, as we have seen, the second oldest of the Roman aqueducts ; and after his censorship he was named by the senate one⁶² of two commissioners for completing the work, but he died within a few days after his appointment. Thus one of the most honest and energetic men known to us in the Roman history, a man whose name is associated so closely with the uncorrupted period of the Roman character, was carried off apparently before he had arrived at old age. When Fabricius died we know not ; but he was not heard of again after his censorship in 479, nor do we know any farther particulars of him than that he was buried, by a special dispensation, within the city walls ;⁶³ a rare honour, which strongly marks the general sense entertained of the purity of his virtue ; “as if,” says Niebuhr, “his bones could be no defilement to the temples of the heavenly gods, nor his spirit disturb the peace of the living.”

So passes away what may be called the spring-time of the Roman people. Wealth and power, and dominion, have brought on the ripened summer, with more of vigour indeed, but less of freshness. Beginning her career of conquest beyond the limits of Italy, Rome was now entering upon her appointed work, and that work was undoubtedly fraught with good. The conqueror and the martyr are alike God's instruments ; but it is the privilege of his conscious and willing instruments to be doubly and merely blessed ; the benefits of their work to others are unalloyed by evil, while to themselves it is the perfecting and not the corrupting of their moral being : when it is done, they are not cast away as instruments spoiled and worthless, but partake of the good which they have given, and enjoy for ever the love of men, and the blessing of God.

⁶² Frontinus de Aquæduct. 6.

⁶³ Cicero de Legibus, II. 23. Thus Brasidas was buried within the walls of

Amphipolis, as having been the deliverer of the city. Thucyd. V. 11.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONSTITUTION AND POWER OF CARTHAGE.

Πολιτεῖσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς.—ARISTOTLE, *Politic.* II.

THE name of Carthage has already occurred more than once in the course of this history ; and I have already noticed the extent of her dominion, and the inherent causes of its unsoundness, inasmuch as the Carthaginians and their African subjects were separated from one another by broad differences of race, language, and institutions ; so that they could not blend together into one nation. The isolation of Carthage from all the surrounding people offers a striking contrast to the position of Rome in Italy, where the allies and the Latin name were bound to the Romans and to each other by manifold ties, and the communication of the Roman franchise, or at least the prospect of obtaining it hereafter, was every year effacing the painful memory of the first conquest, and effecting that consolidation of various elements into one great and united people, in which alone conquest can find its justification. But as the Carthaginians will now occupy no small share of our attention, from the importance and long duration of their contest with the Romans, so it becomes desirable to look at them more closely, and see what was their internal state, and with what excellences and defects in their national character and institutions they encountered the iron strength of Rome.

The constitution of Carthage was compared to that of Sparta, as containing in it the elements of monarchy and of aristocracy, and of democracy. But in such mixed governments, one element is always predominant : first, in the natural course of things, the monarchical, next the aristocratical, and, lastly, the democratical or popular. The predominance of one element by no means implies, however, the total inactivity of the others ; and in their common, although not equal action, consists the excellence of such constitutions ; not simply that the

Internal condition of Carthage,

Its government was mixed, but predominantly aristocratical.

working of the principal power is checked by the direct legal rights of the other two, but much more because the nation retains by their means those ideas and those points of character which they peculiarly suggest and encourage, and is thus saved from that narrow-minded uniformity of views and of tastes which the exclusive influence of any single element must necessarily occasion. In Carthage there is reason to believe that the monarchical part of the constitution had once the ascendancy,¹ but during those times in which she is best known to us, the aristocratical element was predominant; the full development of the democratical was prevented by the premature destruction of the whole nation.

The Carthaginian aristocracy was partly one of birth, but chiefly, as it should seem, of wealth. Indeed the older form of a pure aristocracy of birth must necessarily be rare in a colony, where the original settlers must almost always be a mixed body, and yet in their new settlement find themselves on an equality with each other. It appears, however, that nobility of birth was acknowledged in Carthage, and that their two chief magistrates, or judges,² *suffetes*, whom the Greeks called kings, were elected only from a certain number of families. How many these were, and what was the origin of their nobility, we are not informed. But wealth, contrary to the practice of the Roman government, was an indispensable qualification for all the highest offices. Nay, we are told that the very *suffetes* and captains-general of the commonwealth bought their high dignities:³ whether this is to be understood of paying money to obtain votes, or, as is much more probable, that the fees or expenses of entering on an office were purposely made very heavy, to render it inaccessible to any but the rich.

The great council, *σύγκλητος*, was probably an assembly as numerous as the Roman senate, and, like the senate, was a mixed body, containing members of different ages, who, in whatever manner appointed, were a sort of representation of the general feelings of the aristocracy. But from this

¹ Aristotle says that Carthage had never suffered in any serious degree either from faction or from a tyrant. *Politic.* II. 11. Yet in another place he gives Carthage as an instance of a country where a tyranny had been succeeded by an aristocracy. *V.* 12. It seems then that this tyranny must be understood of the earlier times of the Carthaginian history, before that constitution existed on which Aristotle comments.

² Aristotle, *Politic.* II. 11. *Βέλτιον δὲ τοῦς βασιλεῖς μῆτε κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι γένος μηδὲ τοῦτο τὸ τυχερόν.* It is obvious that "*suffes*," or "*sufes*" is the same word with the He-

brew *שופט*, which was the title of those magistrates whom we call the judges. Now as the judges in the Scripture history are distinguished from the kings, and it was a great change when the Israelites, tired of their judges or *suffetes*, desired to have a king; so it is probable that the *suffetes* at Carthage also were so named to show that they were not kings, and that the Greek writers in calling them *βασιλεῖς*, have used a term likely to mislead.

³ Polybius, VI. 56. Aristotle's account implies the same thing.

great council there were chosen one hundred members,⁴ who formed what was called the council of elders, and who in fact were the supreme authority in the state. They were originally appointed as a check upon the power of the captains-general, and were a court before which every general, on his return from a foreign command, had to render an account of his conduct. But by degrees they became not only supreme criminal judges in all cases, but also a supreme executive council, of which the two *sufetes* or kings were the presidents. In this capacity they were legally, we may presume, no more than a managing committee for the great council; but as they were themselves members of that council, so they became in ordinary cases its substitute, and in all cases exercised such a control over it, that they are called a power for governing the general council itself.⁵

The hundred, or the elders, were chosen for life from the members of the great council, but not by the votes of the council at large. On the contrary, they were chosen by certain bodies which Aristotle calls *πενταρχίαι*, or commissions of five, and which formed so many close corporations, filling up their own vacancies. This is nearly all the information which we possess on the subject; for Aristotle only adds, that these commissions had great and various powers, and that their members remained longer in office than the ordinary magistrates, inasmuch as they exercised an authority both before and after their regular term of magistracy. The most probable conjecture is, that the more important branches of the public administration were, as we should say, put in commission, and vested in boards of five members; that thus the treasury would be intrusted to one commission of five, the care of public manners and morals, the censor's office at Rome, would be given to another commission; the police, perhaps, to another; the navy to another; and so on. Nothing would hinder these commissioners from being members of the great council, and nothing would hinder them, therefore, from electing themselves also to fill up vacancies in the council of elders; in fact, we are expressly told⁶ that the treasurer's or quæ-

The commissions or boards of five.

⁴ "Centum ex numero senatorum iudices deliguntur," says Justin, in giving an account of the origin of this council of elders, XIX. 2. The council of elders, or *γερονσία*, is distinguished expressly from the larger council, or senate, *σύνκλητος*. See Polybius, X. 18, and XXXVI. 2. For the whole subject of the Carthaginian constitution I have been largely indebted to Heeren's Historical Researches on the African Nations, Vol. I. I have also derived some assistance from Kluge's Commentary on Aristotle's account of the Carthaginian constitution, published in 1824.

⁵ Livy, XXX. 16. "Sanctius consilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis."

⁶ Livy, XXXIII. 46.—What is here said of the multiplication of offices in the hands of the same persons at Carthage, was also the case at Venice. Every member of the supreme criminal tribunal of forty had a seat *ex-officio* in the senate; and the three presidents of the Forty sat also in the council of the doge. "L'autorité du législateur," says Daru, "celle du juge, l'influence de l'administration et le pouvoir discrétionnaire de la police, se

tor's office led regularly to a seat amongst the hundred ; and thus the same men being often members at one and the same time of one or perhaps more of these administrative commissions, and of the great council, and also of the council of elders, we can understand what Aristotle means when he says that it was a favourite practice with the Carthaginians to invest the same person with several offices together.

All this was sufficiently aristocratical, or rather in the spirit of that worst form of aristocracy which the Greeks called oligarchy. And what was thus ordered by law, was to be maintained by feeling : the members of the aristocracy had their clubs,⁷ where they habitually met at a common mess or public table, with the very object of binding them more closely to each other, and imbuing them entirely with the spirit of their order.

Under such a constitution the power of the suffetes had been reduced from its originally almost kingly prerogatives to the state of the doge under the later constitution of Venice. In earlier times they had been invested with the two great characters of ancient royalty, those of general and of priest,⁸ but now the first of these was commonly taken from him, and the office of general-in-chief is spoken of by Aristotle as distinct ; nor was it even left in the suffetes' appointment. Still the two kings, as the Greek writers call them, were recognized as an essential branch of the government, and if they differed upon any proposed measure from the council of elders, then the question was referred to the assembly of the people.⁹ It was thus, no doubt, that an opening was afforded for weakening the power of the aristocracy ; for either of the suffetes was thus enabled to introduce the decision of the popular branch on points of government ; and it is of the essence of a popular assembly, if called into activity, to become predominant : it may exist and yet be powerless, but only so long as few points are in practice submitted to its decision.

But so long as the suffetes and council were agreed, the power of the Carthaginian people was exceedingly small. Nothing, it seems, could originate with the popular

trouvaient réunis dans les mêmes mains " Histoire de Venise, Livre XXXIX. Vol. VI. p. 78, and 146.

⁷ Τὰ συσσίτια τῶν ἑταίρων. Aristotle, Politic. II. 11. It may be mentioned, as a mark of the aristocratical spirit of the Carthaginian government, that the senate and people had different baths.—Valer. Max. IX. 5. Ext. § 4.

⁸ At least Hamilcar, who commanded the Carthaginians at the battle of Himera, and who was one of the suffetes, is described by Herodotus as sacrificing during

the battle, and pouring libations with his own hand on the victims. VII. 167. And although the expression in Herodotus is ἰθύετο, and not ἔθνευ, yet the same expression is applied to the prophet Tisamenus, who was with the Greek army at Plataea ; and unless Hamilcar had been personally engaged in the sacrifice, we can scarcely suppose that he would have remained in the camp while it was going forward, instead of being present with his soldiers in the action.

⁹ Aristotle, Politic. II. 11.

assembly; so that the exercise of its functions did not depend on its own will, but on the accidental disagreement of the other branches of the legislature. And as the mass of the people had so small a share practically in the legislation or in the administration of affairs, so they were destitute of judicial power: there were no juries as in England, nor any large popular courts where hundreds or even thousands of the poorest citizens sat in judgment, as at Athens. All causes, civil and criminal, were tried by certain magistrates:¹⁰ the highest matters, as we have seen, by the council of elders; but every magistracy seems to have had a judicial power attached to it, and only one court had a popular constitution. This was the court of the hundred and four,¹¹ the members of which were elected by the people at large; but public opinion required that they should be men of irreproachable characters; and therefore the election was conducted with care, and no one without merit was likely to be appointed. This court probably exercised jurisdiction especially in civil and mercantile causes; such as would be exceedingly numerous in so great a commercial country as Carthage.

Thus excluded in the ordinary course of things from the government, the legislature, and the courts of justice, the Carthaginian commons were kept for centuries in a state of contented acquiescence with their country's constitution, because provision was happily and wisely made for their physical wants. Colonization, as a provision for the poorer citizens,

Regular system of
colonization.

¹⁰ Ἀριστοκρατικὸν, τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχέων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. Aristot. Politic. II. 11. Πάσας ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας, III. 1. For the statement in the text these passages are a sufficient warrant; but the first offers, as is well known, much difficulty in itself; and Kluge's explanation is not satisfactory. In the latter passage Carthage and Lacedæmon are said to resemble each other in the aristocratical principle of vesting the judicial power in magistrates, and not in juries taken from the people at large. This is perfectly clear; but one does not see why it should be more aristocratical to give to all these magistrates an universal jurisdiction, rather than, as at Sparta, to assign civil causes to one court, and criminal to another. It is strange, too, that in one of these passages Sparta and Carthage should be said to manage their courts of justice on the same principle; that is, on one of an antipopular character, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ Καρχηδόνα, if in the other passage they are meant to be contrasted with one another. Is it not possible therefore to refer the words

καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, to the whole of the clause preceding it, rather than to the words καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, and to understand these last words not of the Lacedæmonian practice of submitting different causes to different magistrates, but of a more democratical system by which not all causes were tried by magistrates, as at Carthage, but some by magistrates, and others by juries; "some by one authority, and others by another?"

¹¹ The number of this court is supposed by Niebuhr (Vol. I. note 851) to have reference to the number of weeks in the solar year, as if there were two judges for each week. The numbers were elected, says Aristotle, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἀλλ' ἀριστίνδην. This can only mean that public opinion required for the office so high a qualification in point of character, that the appointment was in the truest sense of the word aristocratical; whereas at Sparta, a lower standard being fixed for the characters of the Ephori, persons of very ordinary qualifications were often chosen, if party feelings recommended them.

was an habitual resource of the Carthaginian government. And not only did their numerous settlements along the coast of Africa enable them to make grants of land to whole bodies of their people, but individuals¹² were employed in various offices under the government, as clerks, or as custom-house officers, where opportunities of acquiring money would not be wanting. With such means of relief, largely offered by fortune and wisely used, the Carthaginian people were saved from that worst cause of revolutions, general distress; and the mass of mankind are so constituted, that so long as their physical wants are satisfied, the cravings of their intellectual and moral nature are rarely vehement.

Every one who is accustomed to make history a reality must feel how unsatisfactory are these accounts of mere institutions, which, at the best, can offer us only a plan, and not a living picture. Was the Carthaginian aristocracy, with its merchant-nobles, its jealous tribunals, its power abroad and its weakness at home, an older sister of that Venetian republic, whose fall, less shameful than the long stagnation of its half existence, Nemesis has in our own days rejoiced in? Or did the common voice in France speak truly, when it called England the modern Carthage? Or is Holland the truer parallel; and do the contests of the house of Nassau with the Dutch aristocracy represent the ambition of the house of Barca, and the triumph of the popular party over the old aristocratic constitution? We cannot answer these questions certainly, because Carthage on the stage of history is to us a dumb actor; no poet, orator, historian, or philosopher, has escaped the wreck of time, to show us how men thought and felt at Carthage. There were Carthaginian writers, we know. Sallust had heard translations of passages in their historical records;¹³ and the Roman senate, when Carthage was destroyed, ordered Mago's work on agriculture to be translated into Latin.¹⁴ Nor were geographi-

¹² Aristot. Politic. VI. 5. 'Αεὶ τινὰς ἐκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὰς περιουκίδας ποιοῦσιν εὐπύρους. Kluge understands this passage as I have done; Heeren objects to this interpretation, and explains it of colonies sent out in the mass.

¹³ Sallust, Bell. Jugurth. 20.

¹⁴ Pliny, Histor. Natur. XVIII. § 22. It appears from this passage that on the destruction of Carthage the Carthaginian libraries were given by the senate to "the princes of Africa," "regulis Africæ;" that is chiefly, no doubt, to Masinissa. And thus the Carthaginian books from which Sallust quotes, were said, he tells us, to have belonged to King Hiempsal, Masinissa's grandson. And farther, Mago's work was committed for translation to per-

sons who understood Carthaginian, of whom the man who knew it best was a member of the Junian family, D. Silanus. Still a knowledge of Carthaginian must have been a rare accomplishment; which makes us wonder at the introduction of speeches in that language upon the Roman stage, as in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus. It seems to me by no means certain that all of what is there given is genuine Carthaginian. Was Plautus likely to have learnt the language, and for what object would pure Carthaginian have been introduced, when apparently the only purpose answered by Hanno's speaking in a foreign language is to cause a laugh at Milphio's burlesque interpretation of it?

cal accounts of their voyages of discovery wanting; imperfect translations of, or rather extracts from, two of which into Greek¹⁵ and Latin, have descended to our times. But of poets, orators, and philosophers we hear nothing; nor probably were the writers who were translated to Sallust deserving of the name of historians; at least all that he quotes from them relates to times beyond real historical memory, as if they had but recorded floating popular traditions, without attempting critical or contemporary history. It was a Greek who gave what may be looked upon as a Carthaginian account¹⁶ of the first Punic war; and it was to two Greeks¹⁷ that Hannibal committed the task of recording his own immortal expedition to Italy. Their language, indeed, shut the Carthaginians out from the prevailing civilization of the ancient world: it was easy for a Roman to learn Greek, which was but a sister language to his own; but neither Greek nor Latin have any near resemblance to Phœnician; nor were there any Carthaginian names or stories which poets and artists had made famous amongst all civilized nations like those of Thebes and Troy. Thus, as I said before, Carthage, not having spoken of what was in her heart, it has passed along with herself into destruction; and we can now only know something of what she did, without understanding what she was.

Polybius¹⁸ has said that during the wars with the Romans, the Carthaginian constitution became more democratical, and he ascribes the victory of the Romans in some measure to the superior wisdom of their aristocratical government, and the instability of popular counsels in Carthage. It is, indeed, evident, that the family of Barca rested on popular support, and were opposed by the party of the aristocracy; and that they could maintain their power so long in spite of such an opposition, shows, undoubtedly, that the popular part of the constitution must have gained far more strength than it possessed in the days of Aristotle. Hamilcar and his family seem to have stood in the position of Pericles at Athens; both have often been taxed with having injured irreparably the constitution of their two countries; and both, perhaps, had the natural weakness of great men, that feeling themselves to be better than any institutions, they removed too boldly things which to them were hinderances, but to the mediocrity of ordinary men are supports or useful guides; so that when they died, and no single men arose able to fill their place, what they had undone found

Growth of the popular party, headed by Hamilcar Barca and his family.

¹⁵ Such as a Greek translation of a voyage of Hanno, published by Hudson in his *Geographi Minores*; and Festus Avienus' Latin version of certain parts of the voyage of Himilcon, which Heeren has given in the Appendix to his work on Carthage.

¹⁶ Philinus of Agrigentum.

¹⁷ Sosilus of Lacedæmon, and Silanus or Silenus. Vid. Cornel. Nepot. in Hannibal, 13.

¹⁸ VI 51.

nothing to succeed to it, and then the overthrow of the older system appeared an irreparable mischief. But the question is amongst the most difficult in political science; Venice shows that no democracy, no tyranny, can be so vile as the dregs of an aristocracy suffered to run out its full course; and with respect to the conduct of a war, the Roman senate is no fair specimen of aristocracies in general; the affairs of Athens and of Carthage were never conducted so ably as when the popular party was most predominant; nor have any governments ever shown in war greater feebleness and vacillation and ignorance than those of Sparta, and, but too often, of England.

A great commercial state, where wealth was largely gained and highly valued, was always in danger, according to the opinion of the ancient philosophers, of losing its spirit of enterprise. But in this Carthage resembled the government of British India; necessity at first made her merchants soldiers; and when she became powerful, then the mere impulse of a great dominion kept up her energy; she had much to maintain, and what she already possessed gave her the power, and with it the temptation, of acquiring more. Besides, it is a very important point in the state of society in the ancient world, that the business of a soldier was no isolated profession, but mixed up essentially with the ordinary life of every citizen. Hence those who guided the counsels of a state were ready also to conduct its armies; and military glory was a natural object of ambition to many enterprising minds which, in modern Europe, could only hope for distinction in the cabinet or in parliament. The great families of Carthage, holding amongst them a monopoly of all the highest offices, might safely calculate on obtaining for all their members some opportunity of distinguishing themselves: if the father fell in the service of his country, his son not unfrequently became his successor, and the glory of finishing what he had begun was not left to a stranger. Thus the house of Mago for three generations conducted the Carthaginian invasions of Sicily; and thus Hamilcar Barca, according to his own expression,¹⁹ reared his three sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, as lion's whelps to prey upon the Romans.

History can produce no greater statesmen and generals than some of the members of the Carthaginian aristocracy. But the Carthaginian people were wholly unfit to contend with the people of Rome. No military excellence in arms or tactic is ever ascribed to them; nor does it appear that they were regularly trained to war like the citizens of Rome and Italy. The Carthaginian armies were composed of Africans and Numidians, of Gauls and Spaniards, but

Enterprising spirit of the Carthaginian government.

Inferiority of the Carthaginian people as soldiers. Want of fortresses in the Carthaginian territory.

¹⁹ Valerius Maximus, IX. 3.

we scarcely hear of any Carthaginian citizens except as generals or officers. With this deficiency in native soldiers, there was also a remarkable want of fortresses; a point of no small importance at all periods, but especially so in ancient warfare. The walls exist in Italy to this day of many towns whose very names have perished; but we know that, small as they were, they could have delayed the progress of an invader; and how inestimable were the services rendered to the Romans in their greatest danger by the fortifications of Nola and Casilinum! But in the Carthaginian territory an invader found nothing but a rich and defenceless spoil. Agathocles conquered 200 towns²⁰ with scarcely any opposition; and Hannibal himself, after one defeat in the field, had no resource but submission to the conqueror. Had a French army ever effected a landing in England during the last war, the same want of fortresses would have enabled the enemy to overrun the whole country, and have taught us by fatal experience to appreciate in this respect the improvidence of Carthage.

Thus with abler leaders and a richer treasury, but with a weaker people, an unguarded country, and with subjects far less united and attached to her government, Carthage was really unequal to the contest with Rome. And while observing this inequality in the course of our story, we shall have more reason to admire that extraordinary energy and genius of Hamilcar Barca and his family, which so long struggled against it, and even in spite of nature, almost made the weaker party victorious.

Carthage was unequal to Rome.

²⁰ Diodorus, XX. 17.

CHAPTER XL.

FIRST PUNIC WAR—THE ROMANS INVADE SICILY—SUBMISSION OF HIERO—THE ROMANS CREATE A NAVY—NAVAL VICTORIES OF MYLÆ AND ECNOMUS—EXPEDITION OF M. REGULUS TO AFRICA; HIS SUCCESSES, HIS ARROGANCE IN VICTORY, HIS DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY—WAR IN SICILY—SIEGE OF LILYBÆUM AND NAVAL ACTIONS CONNECTED WITH IT—HAMILCAR BARCA AT EIRCTE AND ERYX—NAVAL BATTLE OF THE ÆGATES—PEACE CONCLUDED—A. U. C. 490 TO 513—A. C. 264 TO 241.

Μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά, καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐψυχίᾳ δὴ πον περιεσόμεθα· ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν φύσει ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδαχῇ· ὁ δ' ἐκείνοι ἐπιστήμῃ προύχουσι, καθαιρετέον ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μελέτη.—THUCYD. I. 121.

THE first Punic war lasted without intermission for more than two and twenty years,¹ a longer space of time than the whole period occupied by the wars of the French revolution, if we omit to reckon the nineteen months of the peace or rather truce of Amiens. And we have now, for the first time, the guidance of a careful and well-informed historian, who having been born little more than thirty years after the end of the war,² had studied the written accounts given of its events by each of the contending parties, had learnt something, no doubt, concerning it, from the mouths both of Romans and Carthaginians, and who judged what he had heard and read with understanding, and for the most part impartially. The actions then of this war may be known, and some of them deserve

A. U. C. 490. A. C. 264. Introduction to the history of the first Punic war.

¹ From the middle perhaps of the year 490 to the middle of the year 513; nearly twenty-three years if we reckon from the arrival of the first Mamertine embassy at Rome, to the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The whole period of the Revolution wars, from April 1792 to July 1815, is but a very little longer, and it becomes very much shorter if the interval of peace

be deducted, which extends from October 1801 to May 1803.

² The exact year of Polybius' birth is uncertain. He was under 30 in 573, but as he was appointed ambassador to Egypt in that year, he could not have been many years younger. See Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* Vol. III. p. 75.

to be described particularly ; nor does it indeed seem possible to communicate any interest to history, if it must only record results and not paint actions. But in military matters especially, much that may and ought to be told at length by a contemporary historian, ought not to be repeated by one who writes after an interval of many centuries : and therefore I must of necessity pass over slightly many battles and sieges in order to relate others in full detail, and yet avoid the fault of too great prolixity.

It was the eleventh year after the defeat of Pyrrhus at Beneventum, and Appius Claudius Caudex and M. Fulvius Flaccus were consuls, when a deputation³ arrived at Rome from the Mamertines of Messina, praying that the Romans, the sovereigns of Italy, would not suffer an Italian people to be destroyed by Greeks and Carthaginians. Hiero, king of Syracuse, was their open enemy ; the Carthaginians, under pretence of saving them from his vengeance, were trying to get possession of their citadel ; but the Mamertines, true to their Italian blood, sought to put themselves under the protection of their own countrymen, and it greatly concerned the Romans not to allow the Carthaginians to become masters of Messina, and to gain a station for their fleets within thirty stadia of the coast of Italy.

The Mamertines of Messina apply to Rome for aid against the Carthaginians and Hiero.

Six years had not elapsed since the Romans had extirpated the brethren and imitators of the Mamertines, who had done to Rhegium what the Mamertines had done to Messina ; and Hiero, king of Syracuse, had zealously aided them in the work, and as it appears,⁴ was actually at this time their ally. The Mamertines were a horde of adventurers and plunderers, who were the common enemies of mankind, and whose case the Romans had prejudged already by their exemplary punishment of the very same conduct in the Campanians of Rhegium, while Hiero and the Carthaginians were the friends and allies of Rome. The senate, therefore, we are assured,⁵ after long debates, could not resolve to interfere in such a quarrel.

The senate hesitates to grant it.

But the consuls, who, if true to the hereditary character of their families, were both of them ambitious men and unscrupulous, brought the petition of the Mamertines before the assembly of the people. The ready topics of aiding the Italian people against foreigners, and of restraining the power of Carthage, whose establishments in Corsica, Sardinia, and the Liparæan islands, were already drawn, like a chain, round the Roman dominion, were, no doubt, urged plausibly ; it might have been said too, that the Carthaginians had already un-

But the people in their tribes resolve to assist them.

³ Polybius, I. 10. Zonaras, VIII. 8.

⁵ Polybius, I. 11.

⁴ Zonaras, VIII. 8. Dion Cassius, Fragm. Vatican. LVII.

dertaken to protect the Mamertines, so that they could not reproach the Romans for upholding the very same cause. Besides, the Roman people had a fresh remembrance of the assignations of land, the rich spoil, and lucrative employments which had followed from their late conquests in Italy; the fertility of Sicily was proverbial; and the well-known riches of Carthage made a war with her as tempting a prospect to the Romans as a war with Spain has been ere now to Englishmen. So the Roman people resolved to protect the Mamertine buccaneers, and to receive them as their friends and allies.

The vote of the comitia was, by the actual constitution of Rome, paramount to every other authority except the negative of the tribunes; and as the tribunes did not interpose, the hesitation of the senate availed nothing. Accordingly the senate now resolved to assist the Mamertines; and Appius Claudius was ordered to carry the resolution into effect. But before he could be ready to act with a consular army, C. Claudius, with a small force, was sent to the spot with orders to communicate as quickly as possible with the Mamertines. In a small boat⁶ he crossed the strait to Messana, and was introduced before the Mamertine assembly. With the language so invariably repeated afterwards whenever a Roman army appeared in a foreign country, C. Claudius assured the Mamertines that he was come to give them their freedom, and he called on the Carthaginians either to evacuate the city, for since the Mamertine embassy to Rome they had been put in possession of the citadel by their partisans in Messana, or to explain the grounds on which they occupied it. His address received no answer; upon which he said, "This silence proves that the Mamertine people are not their own masters, and that the Carthaginians have no just defence of their conduct to offer. For the sake of our common Italian blood, and because our aid has been implored, we will do the Mamertines justice."

But the strait of Messana, guarded by a Carthaginian fleet, was a barrier not easy to surmount. The Romans, since their conquest of Tarentum and their possession of all the coasts of Italy, seem to have given up their navy altogether, and we hear at this time of no duumviri or naval commanders as regular officers of the commonwealth. From the Greek cities in their alliance, Neapolis,⁷ Velia, and Tarentum, they obtained a few triremes and penteconters; but they had not a single quinquereme, the class of ships which may be called the line of battle ships of that period. Their attempt to cross to Sicily was therefore easily baffled, and some of their tri-

C. Claudius crosses over to Messana and promises to the Mamertines the aid of Rome.

The Roman fleet in attempting to cross the strait is repulsed by the Carthaginians.

⁶ Zonaras, VIII. 8. Dion Cassius, ⁷ Polybius, I. 20.
Fragm. Vatican. LVIII.

remes⁸ with the soldiers whom they were transporting fell into the hands of the Carthaginians.

Hanno, the Carthaginian governor of Messina, sent back the ships and the prisoners to the Romans, calling upon them not to break the peace with Carthage, nor to venture again on the hopeless attempt of crossing the strait in defiance of his naval superiority.⁹ C. Claudius rejected his overtures and repeated his determination to deliver Messina. Hanno exclaimed, that since they were so arrogant, he would not suffer the Romans to meddle with the sea so much as to wash their hands in it. Yet his vigilance did not justify this language, for Claudius with a few men effected his passage, apparently in a single ship, and finding the Mamertines assembled at the harbour to receive him, he again proceeded to address them, professed his wish to leave their choice of protectors to their own free decision, and urged that Hanno should be invited to come down from the citadel, that the Roman and Carthaginian commanders might each plead the claim of his own country to be received as the ally and defender of Messina.

Claudius again crosses to Messina, and invites the Carthaginian governor to a conference.

With this proposal Hanno¹⁰ was induced to comply, as over-scrupulous, it seems, to remove every ground of suspicion against the good faith of Carthage as Claudius was unscrupulous in serving the ambition of Rome. When the Carthaginian governor appeared, the discussion began; neither party would yield, and at last Claudius ordered his soldiers to seize Hanno and detain him as a prisoner. The Mamertines applauded the act, and Hanno to procure his liberty, engaged to withdraw his garrison from the citadel, and to leave Messina in the hands of the Romans.

The governor is treacherously seized, and surrenders the citadel to purchase his freedom.

The Carthaginian council of elders,¹¹ always severe in its judgments upon military commanders, ordered Hanno forth to be crucified; and dispatched another officer of the same name with a fleet and army to Sicily. Hiero, provoked by the treachery of the Romans, concluded an alliance with Carthage against them, and the two allied powers jointly blockaded Messina. Hiero lay encamped on the south side of the town, Hanno stationed himself on the north, and his fleet lay close by, at the headland of Pelorus, where the strait is narrowest, to prevent the Romans from reinforcing their garrison.

Messina is besieged by the joint force of Carthage and of Syracuse.

Things were in this state¹² when Appius Claudius with his

⁸ Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Vatic.* LIX. Zonaras, VIII. 8.

⁹ Zonaras, VIII. 9. Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Vatic.* LIX.

¹⁰ Zonaras, VIII. 9. Dion Cassius, *Fragm. Vatic.* LX.

¹¹ Zonaras, VIII. 9. Polybius, I. 11. Diodorus, *Fragm. Hoeschel.* XXIII. 2.

¹² Polybius, I. 11. Diodorus, *Fragm. Hoeschel.* XXIII. 2. 4. Zonaras, VIII. 9.

Appius Claudius crosses the strait with a consular army, and defeats the Syracusans.

consular army arrived at Rhegium. After some fruitless attempts at negotiation, he prepared to force his passage. We want here a consistent account of the details; but negligence there must have been on the part of the Carthaginians,¹³ to allow an army of twenty thousand men to be embarked, conveyed over the strait, and landed on the coast of Sicily, without loss or serious interruption. The landing was effected at night, and on the south of Messana, near the camp of the Syracusans. Appius immediately led his soldiers to attack Hiero, who, confounded at the appearance of the Romans, and believing that the Carthaginians must have betrayed the passage, still marched out to meet the enemy. The Syracusan cavalry supported its old renown, and obtained some advantage, but the infantry were never much esteemed, and on this occasion they were probably inferior in numbers. Hiero was defeated and driven to his camp, and the very next night, suspecting his allies, and perceiving that he had ventured on an ill-advised contest, he raised the siege, and retreated to Syracuse.

Thus delivered from one enemy, Appius next attacked the Carthaginians.¹⁴ Their position was strong, and he was repulsed; but this success tempted them to meet him on equal ground, and they were then defeated with loss. Messana was now completely relieved; the Carthaginian army retreated, and was divided into detachments to garrison the towns of the Carthaginian part of the island. Appius overran the open country in every direction, and the soldiers, no doubt, congratulated themselves on their decision in the comitia at Rome, which in so short a time had enriched them with the plunder of Sicily. But an attempt to take Egesta was repulsed with considerable slaughter, and when Appius advanced even to the very walls of Syracuse, and pretended to besiege the city, he found that he could not always be successful; his men suffered from the summer and autumn fevers of the marsh plain of the Anapus, and he retreated to Messana, with the Syracusan army pressing upon his rear. The Syracusans however, long accustomed to regard the Carthaginians as their worst enemies, were unwilling to support the evils of war in their cause; the Syracusan advanced posts held frequent communications with the Romans, and although Hiero could not yet consent to make

¹³ Zonaras says of Appius, ὡς εὖρε συχνοῦς αὐτῶν πολλαχῇ κατὰ πρόφασιν ἐμπορίας ἐλλιμενίζοντας, ἐξηπάτησε σφᾶς ὅπως διέλθῃ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀσφαλίστατα. It is not easy to ascertain the exact meaning of Zonaras' Greek, but I believe that κατὰ πρόφασιν ἐμπορίας does not mean "under pretence of trafficking," but when "they had an

occasion of trafficking." Compare in Thucydides, VII. 13, ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει. It would seem then that the Carthaginian sailors were trafficking in the port of Messana when they ought to have been at sea, watching the movements of the Romans.

¹⁴ Zonaras, VIII. 9. Polybius, I. 12. Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXIII. 4.

peace with the protectors of the Mamertines, yet the manifest disposition of his subjects was not to be resisted, and the Romans reached Messina in safety. Appius left a garrison there, and returned with the rest of his army to Rome; the strait was now clear of the enemy's ships, for in ancient warfare a fleet was dependent upon land co-operation,¹⁵ and could not act without great difficulty upon a coast which was wholly in the possession of an enemy.

When Appius returned to Rome, he found that the war with Volsinii was at an end, for his colleague, M. Fulvius Flaccus, triumphed for his victories over the Volsinians on the first of November.¹⁶ The whole force of Rome was, therefore, now at liberty, and as the Carthaginians seem to have despaired of defending the straits of Messina, two consular armies,¹⁷ amounting to about 35,000 men, crossed over into Sicily in the spring of 491. All opposition was overborne, and Hiero, after having lost sixty-seven towns,¹⁸ was glad to obtain peace on condition of restoring all the Roman prisoners without ransom, of paying a large sum of money, and of becoming the ally of the Roman people. He had the wisdom to maintain this alliance unbroken to the hour of his death, having found that the friendship of Rome would secure him from all other enemies, whereas the allies of Carthage were exposed to suffer from her tyranny, but could not depend on her protection. Hiero retained nearly the same extent of territory, which had belonged to Syracuse in old times, before the tyranny of the first Dionysius; but all the rest of his dominion was ceded to the Romans.

Having now only one enemy to deal with,¹⁹ and having the whole power of Syracuse transferred from the Carthaginian scale to their own, the Roman generals went on prosperously. Many towns were taken from the Carthaginians, and in the following year, 492, Agrigentum²⁰ was reduced after a long and obstinate siege,

Second campaign in Sicily, Hiero makes peace with Rome. A. U. C. 491. A. C. 263.

Third and fourth campaigns. Siege of Agrigentum. The Romans resolve to build a fleet. A. U. C. 492-3. A. C. 262, 261.

¹⁵ The failure of Pompey's fleet in either preventing Cæsar from crossing the Ionian sea from Brundisium, or in effectually cutting off his communications with Italy afterwards, is one of the most striking instances of the defects of the ancient naval service. But with respect to the invasion of Sicily from Italy, we must remember that not even the British naval force, while every point in Sicily was in our possession, could prevent the French from throwing across a division of about 3000 men, in September, 1810, whose defeat was effected by our land forces solely, after they had effected their landing in safety.

¹⁶ Fasti Capitolini.

¹⁷ Polybius, I. 16.

¹⁸ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIII. 5. The terms of the peace with Hiero are variously reported. Diodorus says that he obtained a peace for fifteen years on giving up his Roman prisoners without ransom, and on paying 150,000 drachmæ; Polybius makes the sum 100 talents, and says nothing of any term when the peace was to expire; Zonaras names no specific sum, and Orosius and Eutropius set it at 200 talents.

¹⁹ Polybius, I. 17-20.

²⁰ Polybius, I. 18, 19. Orosius, IV. 7. Zonaras, VIII. 10.

and all the inhabitants sold for slaves. The consuls of the year 493 were no less successful, but the Carthaginians had at last begun to exert their naval power effectually; many towns on the Sicilian coasts²¹ which had yielded to the Roman armies were recovered by the Carthaginian fleets; the coasts of Italy were often ravaged, so that the Romans found it necessary to encounter their enemy on his own element: they resolved to dispute with the Carthaginians their dominion of the sea.

Immediately at the close of the year 493, they began to fell their timber. But no Italian shipwright knew how to build the line-of-battle ships of that period called quinqueres, and their build was so different from that of the trieres, that the one would not serve as a model for the other. Shipwrights might have been procured from the king of Egypt, but to send thither would have caused too great a delay. It happened that a Carthaginian quinqueres²² had run ashore on the Brutian coast when Appius Claudius was first crossing over to Sicily, and it was noted as a curious circumstance that the Roman soldiers had taken a ship of war. This quinqueres, which had probably been sent to Rome as a trophy, was now made the shipwright's model, and a hundred ships were built after her pattern, and launched in two months after the first felling of the timber.²³ The seamen, partly Roman proletarians, or citizens of the poorest class, partly Etruscans, or Greeks from the maritime states of Italy, were all unaccustomed to row in quinqueres, and the Romans had perhaps never handled an oar of any sort. While the ships were building therefore, to lose no time, the future crew of each quinqueres²⁴ were arranged upon benches ashore, in the same order, that to us undiscoverable problem, in which they were hereafter to sit on board; the keleustes, whose voice or call regulated the stroke in the ancient galleys, stood in the midst of them, and at his signal they went through their movements, and learned to keep time together, as if they had been actually afloat. With such ships and such crews the Romans put to sea early in the spring, to seek an engagement with the fleet of the first naval power in the world.

An English reader is tempted here either to suspect extreme exaggeration in the accounts of the Roman inexperience in naval matters, or to entertain great contempt for the fleets and sailors of the ancient world altogether. There are no braver men than the Austrians, but there would be

Defeats in the ancient naval service.

²¹ Polybius, I. 20.

²² Polybius, I. 20. Auctor de Viris Illustrib. in Appio Claud. Caudice. "quinqueremem hostium copiis pedestribus cepit." So in the invasion of Holland in 1795, the French triumphed greatly in the capture of some Dutch ships of war by a

party of their cavalry: the ships were locked up in the ice, and the French cavalry took them without any resistance.

²³ Pliny, Histor. Natur. XVI. § 192. Florus, II. 2.

²⁴ Polybius, I. 21.

something ludicrous in the idea of an Austrian fleet, manned chiefly by peasants from the inland provinces of the empire, and commanded by officers of the land service, venturing a general action with an English or American squadron. But the accounts of these events are trustworthy; and had the Romans encountered the Athenian navy in the days of its greatness instead of the Carthaginian, the result, in the first years of the war at least, would probably have been different. However, there is no doubt that the naval service of the ancient nations was out of all proportion inferior to their land service; the seamen were altogether an inferior class, and the many improvements which had been made in the military art on shore seemed never to have reached naval warfare. Ships worked with oars were still exclusively used as ships of war; and although the use of engines, well deserving the name of artillery, was familiar in sieges, yet it had never been adopted in sea-fights,²⁵ and the old method of attempting to sink or disable an enemy's vessel by piercing her just below the water with the brazen beak affixed to every ship's bows, was still universally practised. The system of fighting, therefore, necessarily brought the ships close to one another; and if the fighting men on one side were clearly superior to those on the other, boarding, if it could be effected, would ensure victory. The fighting men in the ancient ships, as is well known, were quite distinct from their rowers or seamen, and their proportion to these varied, as boarding was more or less preferred to manœuvring. In the Ionian revolt, about 500 B. C., we find forty soldiers²⁶ employed on each of the China ships out of a crew of 200; the Corinthians and Corcyræans about seventy years afterwards had nearly as many,²⁷ but the Athenians, in the most flourishing state of their navy, had commonly no more than ten. In the quinqueremes now used, we find the Romans employing on one occasion 300 seamen and 120 soldiers; this, however, was perhaps something above their usual proportion; but there can be no doubt that the soldiers on board of each ship were numerous, and if they could board the enemy their victory over what Niebuhr justly calls the mere rabble of an African crew was perfectly certain.

The object of the Romans was therefore to enable their men

²⁵ Vegetius, writing in the fourth century after the Christian æra, speaks of the use of artillery in sea-fights as a thing of common practice: but I do not recollect any mention of it as early as the Punic wars.

²⁶ Herodotus, VI. 15.

²⁷ Thucydides, I. 49. He says that the ships had many heavy-armed soldiers

on board, and many archers and dartmen, after the ancient fashion. That the number of fighting men on board the Athenian ships in the most flourishing state of their navy was no more than ten, appears from a comparison of several passages in Thucydides, II. 92, 102. III. 95, and IV. 76, 101.

Machine invented by the Romans to enable them to board the enemy.

in every case to decide the battle by boarding. For this purpose they contrived in each ship what may be called a long drawbridge, thirty-six feet long, by four wide, with a low parapet on each side of it. This bridge was attached by a hole at one end of it to a mast twenty-four feet high, erected on the ship's prow, and the hole was large and oblong, so that the bridge not only played freely all around the mast, but could be drawn up so as to lie close and almost parallel to it, the end of it being hoisted by a rope passing through a block at the mast-head, just as our cutters' booms are hoisted by what is called the topping lift. The bridge was attached to the mast at the height of about twelve feet from the deck, and it had a continuation of itself reaching down to the deck, moving, I suppose, on hinges,²⁸ and serving as a ladder by which it might be ascended. Playing freely round the mast, and steered by the rope above-mentioned, the bridge was let fall upon an enemy's ship, on whatever quarter she approached; and as a ship's beak was commonly her only weapon, an enemy ventured without fear close to her broadside or her stem, as if she were there defenceless. When the bridge fell, a strong iron spike fixed at the bottom of it was driven home by the mere weight of the fall into the deck of the enemy's ship, and held it fast; and then the soldiers, in two files, rushed along it by an inclined plane down upon the deck of the enemy, their large shields and the parapet of the bridge together, completely sheltering their flanks from the enemy's missiles, while the two file-leaders held their shields in front of them, and so covered the bridge lengthways. So with these

²⁸ This is the difficult part of Polybius' description, I. 22, which he by no means makes very intelligible. "The ladder or bridge was put round the mast after the first twelve feet of its own length:" the object being apparently to attach it to the mast at such a height above the deck, as to make it form an inclined plane down to the deck of the enemy. But unless the lower end of the ladder had been fixed to the deck, the men could not have ascended by it; and had it been all one piece with the upper part, the moment the bridge was lowered to fall on the enemy's deck, the lower part must immediately have gone up into the air. And of course it is absurd to suppose that the men could have gone upon the bridge before it was fixed on the enemy's ship. I can only suppose then that what Polybius calls "the first twelve feet of the ladder" served as a permanent ascent from the deck to the end of the bridge, where it went round the mast, and that it was so far distinct

from the bridge, that it remained in its own place when the bridge was lowered, although, when the bridge was hoisted up to lie close to the mast, both it and the bridge seemed to be a continuation of each other.

Folard's engraving and description of this machine are altogether erroneous: but he mentions a story which well illustrates the object of attaching the bridge to the mast at a height of twelve feet above the deck. "The Maltese seamen," he says, "have been known to mount on the main-yard preparatory to boarding, and when the ship runs on board of the enemy, one yard-arm is lowered, and the men are thus dropped one after another on the enemy's deck." I will not answer for the truth of the story, but it evidently contains the same notion of boarding by an inclined plane, which appears to have suggested to the Romans the arrangement of their bridge.

bridges drawn up to their masts, and exhibiting a strange appearance, as the regular masts were always lowered previously to going into action, the Roman fleet put to sea in quest of their enemy.

It was commanded by one of the consuls, Cn. Cornelius Scipio,²⁹ but as he allowed himself to be taken with seventeen ships, in an ill-advised attempt on the Liparæan islands, his colleague, C. Duilius, the descendant probably of that upright and moderate tribune who took so great a part in the overthrow of the decemvirs' tyranny, was sent for from his army to conduct the fleet. He found the Carthaginian fleet, under the command of Hannibal, the same officer who had defended Agrigentum in the late siege, ravaging the coast of Mylæ, the modern Melazzo, on the north coast of Sicily, not far from the strait of Messina. The Carthaginians advanced in the full confidence of victory, and though surprised at the masts and tackle on the prows of the Roman ships, they yet commenced the action boldly. But the thirty ships which formed their advanced squadron, including that of Hannibal himself, were immediately grappled by the Roman bridges, boarded and taken. Hannibal escaped in his boat to his main battle, which was rapidly advancing; but the disaster of their first division startled them, and when they found, that even if they approached the Roman ships on their broadside or on their stern, still these formidable bridges were wheeled round and lowered upon them, they were seized with a panic and fled. Their whole loss, including that of the advanced squadron,³⁰ amounted to about fifty ships sunk or taken, and in men to three thousand killed and seven thousand prisoners.

The direct consequence of this victory was the raising of the siege of Egesta,³¹ which the Carthaginians had well nigh reduced to extremity, and the taking of Macella by assault. But its moral results were far greater, inasmuch as the Romans were now confident of success by sea as well as on shore, and formed designs of wresting from the Carthaginians all their island possessions, Sardinia and Corsica no less than Sicily. Duilius, as was to be expected, obtained a triumph, and he was allowed³² for the rest of his life to be escorted home with torches borne before him, and music playing whenever he went out to supper, an honour which he enjoyed for many years afterwards. A pillar also was set up in the forum to

C. Duilius commands the Roman fleet. Sea fight of Mylæ.

Results of the battle, and honours allowed to Duilius. The Duilian column.

²⁹ Polybius, I. 21.

³⁰ Polybius, I. 23.

³¹ Polybius, I. 24.

³² Cidero, de Senectute, 13. It appears that this continuation of his triumph during his whole life was his own act, and that it was thought right and proper, as he had

done such good service; "quæ sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiæ dabat gloria." This no doubt is more correct than those other statements which represent it as an honour specially conferred upon him by the senate or people.

commemorate his victory, with an inscription recording the amount of the spoil which he had taken; and an ancient copy of this inscription,³³ retaining the old forms of the words, is still preserved, though in part illegible.

The events of the three next years may be passed over briefly. Towns were taken and retaken in Sicily, much plunder was gained, enormous havoc made, and many brave actions³⁴ performed, but with no decisive result. Hamilcar, one of the Carthaginian generals, destroyed the town of Eryx and removed its inhabitants to Drepanum, a place on the sea-side close beneath the mountain where they had lived before, and provided with an excellent harbour.³⁵ It was not far from Lilybæum, and these two posts both being strongly fortified were intended to be the strongholds of the Carthaginian power in Sicily. On the other hand, the Romans invaded Sardinia and Corsica³⁶ and carried off great numbers of prisoners. But as they extended their naval operation they unavoidably became acquainted with the violence of the Mediterranean storms; and the terrors of the sea were very dreadful to the inland people of Italy, who were forced to furnish seamen to man the Roman fleets, a service utterly foreign to the habits of their lives. Thus in the year 495³⁷ some Samnites, who were waiting in Rome till the fleet should be ready for sea, entered into a conspiracy with some slaves who had been lately carried off as captives from Sardinia and Corsica, to make themselves masters of the city. The seamen, however, of the ancient world were

³³ A temple of Janus, built by C. Duilius at this time, was restored in the early part of the reign of the emperor Tiberius. (Tacitus, *Annal.* II. 49.) It is possible that the column and its inscription may have been restored in the reign of Augustus; for the restoration of the temple had been begun by him, and was only completed by his successor.

³⁴ Such as that noble act of a military tribune in the army of the consul A. Atilius Calatinus, in the year 496, who sacrificed himself and a cohort of 400 men to cover the retreat of the army out of a dangerous defile in which they had been surprised by the enemy. Cato complained of the injustice of fortune which had given so scanty a share of fame to this tribune, while Leonidas for an act of no greater heroism had acquired such undying glory. In fact, the tribune's very name is uncertain, for we find the action ascribed to three different persons. See A. Gellius, III. 7, who quotes at length the passage of the *Origines* in which Cato described the action.

³⁵ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIII. Zonaras, VIII. 11.

³⁶ Zonaras, VIII. 11. Polybius, I. 24. The *Fasti Capitolini* record L. Scipio's triumph over the Sardinians and Corsicans in the year 494, that is, according to the common reckoning, 495; and they record also a triumph of C. Sulpicius over the Sardinians in the year following. The Lucius Scipio who triumphed over the Corsicans was the son of the L. Scipio who was defeated by the Gauls in the third Samnite war. His epitaph has been preserved, as well as his father's, and it tells of him, how "he won Corsica and the city of Aleria." Aleria is the Alalia of Herodotus, an old Greek colony founded by the Phocæans when they fled from the generals of Cyrus.

³⁷ Zonaras, VIII. 11. Scipio on his return from Corsica in 495 had encountered a violent storm, and built a temple to the powers of the weather in gratitude for his escape from destruction. This is noticed in his epitaph, "*Dedit tempestatibus æde merito,*" and also by Ovid in his *Fasti*.

always chosen from the poorest classes of freemen, and their making common cause with the slaves showed at once that their attempt had nothing of the character of a national revolt. In fact, their own Samnite commander informed the Roman government of their conspiracy, which was thus prevented and punished. The higher classes in the allied states, who served as soldiers, liked the war probably as much as the Romans did; and with one doubtful exception,³⁸ we read of no symptoms of disaffection to Rome during the whole course of the war.

Besides their expeditions to Sardinia and Corsica, and their naval co-operation with the consular armies engaged in Sicily, the Romans gained an advantage over the Carthaginian fleet in the year 497, off the Liparæan islands,³⁹ for which the consul C. Atilius obtained like Duilius a naval triumph.

Naval action off the Liparæan islands.

This success, although in itself very indecisive, yet encouraged the Romans to attempt operations on a far grander scale, and to carry the war into Africa.

Great armament of the Romans.

Great efforts were made during the winter, and a fleet of 330 ships was prepared,⁴⁰ manned by nearly 300,000 seamen, exclusive of the soldiers or fighting men. This vast number could scarcely have been furnished either by Rome itself or its Italian allies; but the thousands of captives carried off from Corsica and Sardinia, or from the cities of Sicily, no doubt were largely employed as galley-slaves; and if they worked in chains, as is most probable, the free rowers who were in the ships with them would be a sufficient guard to deter them from mutiny. The two consuls for the ensuing year were L. Manlius Vulso and Q. Cædicius; but Q. Cædicius died soon after he came into office, and was succeeded by M. Atilius Regulus. The two consular armies had apparently wintered in Sicily; for the fleet sailed through the strait of Messina, doubled cape Pachynus,⁴¹ and took the legions on board at Ecnomus, a small place on the southern coast, between Gela and Agrigentum. Forty thousand men were here embarked, and the Carthaginians, who had assembled a still larger fleet of three hundred and fifty ships, had already crossed over to Lilybæum, and from thence, advancing eastward along the Sicilian coast, were arrived at Heraclea Minoa, and were ready to give the Romans battle. Both consuls were on board

A. U. C. 498. A. C. 256. They prepare to invade Africa.

³⁸ Polybius says that in 495 or 496 the allies quarrelled with the Romans in Sicily, complaining that their services in the field were not sufficiently acknowledged, and that they consequently encamped apart from the Romans, and were attacked in their separate position by the Carthaginian general, and cut to pieces, I. 24. But it does not appear that these were the

Italian allies of Rome, and it is possible that they may have been the Mamertines.

³⁹ Polybius, I. 25. Fasti Capitolini. Zonaras, VIII. 12.

⁴⁰ Polybius, I. 25. Each Roman ship had on board 300 rowers and 120 fighting men.

⁴¹ Polybius, I. 25.

the Roman fleet; the Carthaginians were commanded by Hanno, who had been defeated at Agrigentum during the siege of that town, and by Hamilcar, who had so lately founded Drepanum.

The Roman fleet at Ecnomus contained 140,000 men, while less than 20,000 British seamen were engaged at Trafalgar. Yet it is not only in our generation, when Trafalgar and its consequences are fresh in our memory, that its fame will surpass a hundred-fold the fame of the battle of Ecnomus. For the twenty-seven ships which Nelson commanded at Trafalgar, by crushing the naval force of France, changed the destiny of all Europe; whilst the three hundred and thirty ships which fought at Ecnomus produced only a brief result, which within five years was no more perceivable. A fleet that could be built in a few months was no irreparable loss if destroyed; and the poor slaves who worked at the oar might be replaced by the plunder of the next campaign. The battle of Ecnomus was obstinately contested, but at last the Romans were completely victorious. They lost twenty-four ships,⁴² in which not more than 2880 soldiers could have perished, if we suppose, what rarely happened, that not a man was picked up by the other ships; but they destroyed thirty of the enemy's fleet, and took sixty-four with all their crews. The Carthaginians with the rest of their ships made all speed to reach Carthage, that they might be still in time to defend their country against the expected invasion.

The way to Africa was now open, and the consuls,⁴³ after having victualled their ships with more than their usual supplies, as they knew not what port would next receive them, prepared to leave the coast of Sicily and to cross the open sea to an unknown world. The soldiers and even one of the military tribunes murmured;⁴⁴ they had been kept from home during one whole winter, and now they were to be carried to a strange country, into the very stronghold of their enemy's power, to a land of scorching heat, and infested with noisome beasts and monstrous serpents,⁴⁵ such as all stories

⁴² Polybius, I. 27, 28.

⁴³ Polybius, I. 29.

⁴⁴ Florus, II. 2.

⁴⁵ "Libya to the west of the lake Tritonis," that is, the present pashalik of Tunis, the ancient territory of Carthage, "is very hilly," says Herodotus, "and overgrown with woods, and full of wild beasts. For here are the monstrous serpents, and the lions, and the elephants, and the bears, and the asps, and the asses with horns, and the dog-heads, and the creatures with no heads, whose eyes are in their breasts, at least as the Libyans say, and the wild men and the wild women, and a great

many other creatures besides." IV. 191. This description is very remarkable, following, as it does, a detailed and most exact account not only of all the African tribes on the coast from Egypt to the lesser Syrtis, but also of those in the interior. But the Carthaginian territory was rendered so inaccessible to foreigners, that all sorts of exaggerations and fables were circulated respecting it. Herodotus seems to have known nothing of its fertility, but only of its woods and its wild beasts, the terrors of which the Carthaginians no doubt purposely magnified.

of Africa had told them of. Regulus, it is said, threatened the tribune with death, and forced the men on board. The fleet did not keep together, and thirty ships reached the African shore unsupported,⁴⁶ and might have been destroyed before the arrival of the rest, had not the Carthaginians in their confusion neglected their opportunity. When the whole fleet was reassembled under the headland of Hermes, Cape Bon, they stood to the southward along the coast, and disembarked the legions near the place called Aspis or Clypea,⁴⁷ in English, shield; a fortress built by Agathocles about fifty years before, and deriving its name from its walls forming a circle upon the top of a conical hill. They immediately drew their ships up on the beach, after the ancient manner, and secured them with a ditch and rampart; and having taken Clypea, and despatched messengers to Rome with the news of their success, and to ask for farther instructions, they began to march into the country; and the ravages of forty thousand men were spread far and wide over that district which, for its richness and flourishing condition, was unmatched probably in the world.

From Cape Bon, the Hermean headland, the African coast runs nearly north and south for as much as three degrees of latitude as far as the bottom of the lesser Syrtis. This was the most highly prized country of the Carthaginian dominion, filled with their towns, and covered with the villas of their wealthier citizens. In their old commercial treaties⁴⁸ with Rome no Roman vessel was allowed to approach this coast; they wished to keep it hidden from every foreigner, that its surpassing richness might not tempt the spoiler. Here grew those figs which Cato the censor showed in the Roman senate, to prove how the fruits of Italy were outdone by those of Africa; and here grew those enormous harvests of corn which in later times⁴⁹ constantly fed the people of Rome. But now the aspect of the country resembled the approach to Genoa, or the neighbourhood of Geneva, or even the most ornamented parts of the valley of the Thames above London. Every where were to be seen single houses⁵⁰ standing in the midst of vineyards, and olive-grounds, and pastures; for as in Judea in its golden days,

Description of the country south of Carthage. One consul returns home. Regulus is left in Africa.

⁴⁶ Diodorus, Fragm. Vatican. XXIII. 3.

⁴⁷ Polybius, I. 29. Strabo, XVII. p. 834.

⁴⁸ See Polybius, III. 22, 23.

⁴⁹ Horace's expressions are well known, "Frumenti quantum metit Africa," "quicquid de Libycis verritur areis," &c. See also Tacitus, Annal. XII. 43.

⁵⁰ See the description of this country as it appeared to the soldiers of Agathocles. Diodorus XX. 8. The irrigation is espe-

cially noticed, πολλῶν ὑδάτων διωχρευμένων καὶ πάντα τόπον ἀρδεύοντων. It is the neglect of this which has so reduced the productiveness of Africa in modern times, but still the soil is described as extremely fertile. Sir G. Temple counted ninety-seven shoots or stalks on a single plant of barley, which was by no means one of the largest in the field; he was assured that plants were often seen with three hundred. Excursions in the Mediterranean, Vol. II. p. 108.

every drop of rain was carefully preserved in tanks or cisterns on the high grounds, and a plentiful irrigation spread life and freshness on every side, even under the burning sun of Africa. On such a land the hungry soldiers of the Roman army were now let loose without restraint. Villas were ransacked and burnt, cattle and horses were driven off in vast numbers, and twenty thousand persons, many of them doubtless of the highest condition, and bred up in all the enjoyments of domestic peace and affluence, were carried away as slaves. This havoc continued for several weeks, till the messengers sent from Rome returned with the senate's orders. One of the consuls,⁵¹ with one consular army and forty ships, was to remain in Africa; the other was to return home with the second consular army, the fleet, and the plunder. L. Manlius accordingly embarked, and arrived safely at Rome with his division of the army, and with the spoil. M. Regulus, with 15,000 foot and 500 horse, was left in Africa.

The defenceless state of the country, and the apparent helplessness of the Carthaginian government, seem to have encouraged the Roman senate to hope that a single consular army might at any rate be able to maintain its ground and harass the enemy, even if it could not force them to submission. And the example of Agathocles, who, during four years had set the power of Carthage at defiance, no doubt increased their confidence. The incapacity of the Carthaginian government and generals was enough indeed to embolden the Romans. Their army, strong in cavalry and elephants, kept on the hills⁵² where neither could act, and were attacked and defeated, and their camp taken by the Romans. Regulus then overran the whole country without opposition; the Romans⁵³ boasted that he took and plundered more than three hundred walled villages or towns, but none of these deserved the name of a fortified place; and even Tunes⁵⁴ itself, within twenty miles of Carthage, fell into their hands with little resistance. Here Regulus established his head-quarters, and here he seems to have remained through the winter.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, to increase the distress of the Carthaginians, the Numidians,⁵⁶ or the roving tribes of the interior, then as now always ready to attack and plunder the civilized settlers of the sea coast, joined the Romans, and, like the Cossacks, being most expert in such desultory and plundering warfare, they outdid the Romans in their devastations. From all quarters fugitives from the country crowded into Carthage, and it was feared that the city was unable to feed so

He defeats the Carthaginians, and fixes his head-quarters at Tunes.

A. U. C. 498, 499. A. C. 256, 257. The Numidian tribes joined him. Distress of Carthage.

⁵¹ Polybius, I. 29.

⁵² Polybius, I. 30.

⁵³ Florus, II. 2.

⁵⁴ Polybius, I. 30.

⁵⁵ Zonaras, VIII. 13.

⁵⁶ Polybius, I. 31. Diodorus, *Fragm.* Vatican. XXIII. 4.

great a multitude as were now confined within its walls. Alarm and distress prevailed, and the council of elders sent three of its own members to the Roman consul to sue for peace.

Regulus, like Fabricius and Curius, was in his own country a poor man; it is a well known story⁵⁷ that he complained of the loss which his small portion of land must sustain from his absence, and that the senate promised to maintain his wife and children till his return. Such a man's head could not but be turned by his present position, when the plunder of Africa had given him the power of acquiring riches beyond all his conceptions, and when the noblest citizens of the wealthiest state in the world came as suppliants to his headquarters. He treated them with the insolence shown by some of the French generals during the revolution to the ambassadors of the old sovereigns of Europe. Carthage⁵⁸ must evacuate Sicily and Sardinia, ransom all her own prisoners, and give up without ransom all those whom she had taken from the Romans; must make good all the expenses of the war, and pay a yearly contribution besides; above all, she must follow wherever the Romans should lead, and make neither alliance nor war without their consent; she must not send to sea more than a single ship of war on her own account, but if the Romans required her aid she must send them a fleet of fifty ships. The Carthaginian ambassadors protested against terms so extravagant. "Men who are good for any thing," replied Regulus, "should either conquer or submit to their betters."⁵⁹ And with threatening and insolent expressions to the ambassadors personally, he ordered them to be gone with all speed from the Roman camp.

Regulus imposes intolerable terms on the Carthaginians who come to sue for peace.

The council of the elders called together the great council on this emergency;⁶⁰ and the whole body of the aristocracy of Carthage with one voice rejected conditions so intolerable. But great was the danger, and great the general alarm. The gods were to be propitiated by no common sacrifices, and those horrid offerings to Moloch, which had been made when Agathocles was threatening Carthage with ruin, were now again repeated. The figure of the god stood with outstretched arms to receive his victims; young children of the noblest families were placed in the hands of the image, and from thence rolled off into a furnace which burnt before him. Nor were there wanting those who with something of a better spirit

His terms are rejected.

⁵⁷ Auctor de Viris Illustrib. in Regul. Valer. Maxim. IV. 4, § 6.

⁵⁸ Dion Cassius, *Fragm.* Ursin. CXLVIII. Regulus was so elated by his successes, that he wrote home to the senate to say that "he had sealed up the gates of Carthage by the terror of his arms." Zonaras, VIII. 13.

⁵⁹ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Vatican. XXIII. 4.

⁶⁰ Polybius, I. 31. Diodorus, *Fragm.* Vatican, XXIII. 4. And for a particular description of the human sacrifices offered in such emergencies, see Diodorus, XX. 14.

threw themselves into the fire, willing to pay with their own lives the atonement for their country.

In the midst of this distress, an officer returned⁶¹ who had been sent to Greece to engage Greek soldiers of fortune in the Carthaginian service. Among others he brought with him a Spartan named Xanthippus, a man who had been trained in his country's discipline, and had added to it much of actual military experience. He might have fought with Acrotatus against Pyrrhus in that gallant defence of Sparta: and in all likelihood he had followed king Areus⁶² to Athens to save the city from the dominion of Antigonos, when Sparta and Athens fought for the last time side by side in defence of the independence of Greece. Xanthippus⁶³ condemned the conduct of the Carthaginian generals in the strongest terms; his reputation gave weight to his words; the government sent for him, and he so justified his opinion and explained so clearly the causes of their defeats, that they intrusted him with the direction of their forces. Hope was already rekindled; but when he reviewed the soldiers without the walls, and made them go through the movements which were best fitted to meet the peculiar tactic of the Romans, loud shouts burst from the ranks, and there was an universal cry to be led out to battle. The generals of the commonwealth did not hesitate to comply, and although they had no more than 12,000 foot, yet relying on their cavalry, four thousand in number, and on their elephants amounting to no fewer than a hundred, they boldly marched out, and no longer keeping the high grounds, encamped in the open plain, and thus checked at once the devastation of the country.

Regulus was obliged to risk a battle,⁶⁴ for as soon as he ceased to be master of the field, his men would be destitute of provisions. He encamped within little more than a mile of the enemy, and the sight of the Roman legions, so long victorious, made the resolution of the Carthaginian generals waver. But the soldiers were clamorous for battle, and Xanthippus urged the generals not to lose the precious opportunity. They yielded, and requested him to form the army on his own plan. Accordingly, he placed his cavalry on the flanks, together with some of the light-armed mercenaries, slingers perhaps from the Balearian islands, and archers from Crete. The heavy-armed mercenaries, we know not of what nation, whether

⁶¹ Polybius, I. 32. Some years afterwards, when Ptolemy Euergetes overran the whole kingdom of Seleucus Callinicus, he committed his conquests beyond the Euphrates to the care of "Xantippus, one of his two generals-in-chief." Jerome, in Daniel XI. 9. Could this Xantippus or Xanthippus be the conqueror of Regulus,

whose glory in Africa recommended him to the notice of the king of Egypt after his return from Carthage, so that he became a general in the Egyptian armies?"

⁶² See Justin, XXVI. 2. Pausanias III. 6, § 3.

⁶³ Polybius, I. 32.

⁶⁴ Polybius, I. 33.

He prepares to give battle to the Romans.

Gauls, or Spaniards, or Greeks, or a mixed band of all, were on the right in the line of battle; the Africans, with some Carthaginian citizens, were on the left and centre; the whole line being covered by the elephants, which formed a single rank at some distance in advance. The Romans were in their usual order, their cavalry on the wings, and their velites or light-armed troops in advance of the heavy-armed soldiers; but their line was formed of a greater depth than usual, to resist the elephants' charge.

When the signal was given, the Carthaginian cavalry and elephants immediately advanced, and the Romans, And totally defeats them. Regulus is taken prisoner. clashing their pila against the iron rims of their shields and cheering loudly, rushed on to meet them. The left wing passing by the right of the line of elephants attacked the Carthaginian mercenaries and routed them; Xanthippus rode up to rally them,⁶⁵ threw himself from his horse, and fought amongst them as a common soldier. Meantime, his cavalry had swept the Roman and Italian horse from the field, and then charged the legions on the rear; while the elephants, driving the velites before them into the intervals of the maniples, broke into the Roman main battle, and with irresistible weight and strength and fury trampled under foot and beat down and dispersed the bravest. If any forced their way forwards through the elephants' line, they were received by the Carthaginian infantry, who being fresh and in unbroken order presently cut them to pieces. Two thousand men of the left of the Roman army escaped after they had driven the mercenaries to their camp, and found that all was lost behind them. Regulus himself, with 500 more, fled also from the rout, but was pursued, overtaken, and made prisoner. The rest of the Roman army was destroyed to a man on the field of battle.

The few fugitives from the left wing made their escape to Clypea; Tunes it seems was lost immediately, Rejoicings at Carthage. and except Clypea, the Romans did not retain a foot of ground in Africa. We have no Carthaginian historian to describe the triumphant return of the victorious army to Carthage; how the Roman prisoners and Regulus, lately so insolent, were led through the streets bound and half-naked; how the bands of noble citizens met at their public tables, sworn companions and brethren to each other in peace and war, and remembered with joyful tears their comrades who had fallen; how the whole city was full of festivity,⁶⁶ and every temple was crowded by wives and mothers offering their thanksgivings for this great deliverance. The feasting, after the Carthaginian manner, continued deep into the night; but other sounds and other fires

⁶⁵ Diodorus, *Fragm. Vatic.* XXIII. 5. of the Carthaginian human sacrifices after

⁶⁶ Polybius, I. 36. For the description a victory, see Diodorus, XX. 65.

than those of revelry and rejoicing were to be seen and heard amid the darkness; the fires of Moloch again were blazing, and some of the bravest of the prisoners were burnt alive as a thank-offering.

Xanthippus, crowned with glory,⁶⁷ and no doubt richly rewarded, returned to Greece soon after his victory, before admiration and gratitude had time to be changed to envy. Clypea was besieged, but the Roman garrison held out desperately, and the senate no sooner learned the disaster of their army, than they sent a fleet to bring off the survivors. The Carthaginians, dreading a second invasion, raised a fleet to meet the enemy at sea, but the number of their ships was greatly inferior, and they were completely defeated. The Romans, however, had no intention of landing again in Africa; so total a destruction of their whole army impressed them with a dread of the enemy's elephants, which they could not for a long time shake off: they contented themselves with taking on board the garrison of Clypea, and sailed back to Sicily.

The Romans had now for five years sent fleets to sea, and had as yet had little experience of its terrors. This increased their natural confidence, and they thought that Romans⁶⁸ might sail at any season, and that it was only cowardice which was restrained by pretended signs of bad weather. So, in the month of July, in spite of the warnings of their pilots, they persisted in coasting homewards along the southern coasts of Sicily, at the very time when violent gales from the south and south-west make that coast especially perilous. The fleet was off Camarina when the storm came on, and taught the Romans that fair-weather seamen may mistake ignorant presumption for courage. Above 260 ships were wrecked, which must have had on board 78,000 seamen, without counting the soldiers, who were probably at least as many as 25,000, and the whole coast from Camarina to Pachynus was covered with wrecks and bodies. The men⁶⁹ who escaped to shore were most

⁶⁷ Polybius, I. 36. Niebuhr supposes that Regulus was defeated towards the end of the consular year 499, so that the sea-fight off Clypea took place early in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius and A. Atilius, that is, in the consular year 500. He thinks that Ser. Fulvius and M. Æmilius were already proconsuls when they obtained their victory, because it appears from the Fasti Capitolini that they were proconsuls when they obtained their triumph. But it is more probable that they were both employed as proconsuls in Sicily for a whole year after their consulship,

and thus that their triumph was delayed. Zonaras says expressly that they were consuls when they were sent out to bring off the garrison of Clypea, and we can hardly extend the operations of Regulus in Africa to a period of a year and a half.

⁶⁸ Polybius, I. 37.

⁶⁹ Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXIII. 14. The language of these fragments must surely be very modern, for in this passage the writer says that along the whole coast, τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ ἄλογα καὶ τὰ ναύαγια ἔκειντο * τὰ ἄλογα must here mean "the horses," which is the common mean-

kindly relieved by Hiero, who fed and clothed them, and conveyed them to Messana.

This great disaster encouraged the Carthaginians to redouble their efforts in Sicily. Carthalo, an able and active officer,⁷⁰ immediately recovered Agrigentum, and Hasdrubal was sent over with 140 elephants, to take the chief command of all the Carthaginian forces in the island. But the Romans, with indomitable spirit, fitted out a new fleet of 220 ships in the space of three months; and the consuls of the following year, A. Atilius and Cn. Cornelius, crossing over to Messana, and there being joined by the remnant of the other fleet which had escaped the storm, sailed along the northern coast of Sicily, took Cephalædium, and although obliged by Carthalo to raise the siege of Drepanum, yet they besieged and took the important town of Panormus, obtained a sum of nearly 470 talents from those of the inhabitants who could afford to pay the stipulated ransom, and sold 13,000 of the poorer class as slaves. A garrison was left in Panormus, and several other smaller places revolted also to the Romans.

For this service Cn. Cornelius justly obtained a triumph.⁷¹ But we are surprised to find the same honour bestowed on one of his successors, C. Sempronius Blæsus. For Sempronius and his colleague, Cn. Servilius Cæpio,⁷² having carried their fleet over to the coast of Africa, made some descents and plundered the country near the sea, but were able to effect nothing of importance; and after having been obliged to throw all their plunder overboard to enable their ships to float over the shallows of the Lesser Syrtis, they were finally, when sailing across from Panormus to the Lucanian coast, overtaken by another storm, which wrecked more than 150 of their ships. Upon this, the Romans resolved to tempt the sea no more, and to keep only a fleet of sixty ships, to supply their armies with provisions, and to protect the coasts of Italy.

The two following years were full of discouragement to the Romans. Their armies remained in Sicily, but did little to advance the conquest of the island; because the terror of the elephants was so great that their generals were afraid to risk a general action. Such a state of things is very injurious to the discipline of an army, and we find that the service was so unpopular that 400 of the Roman horsemen,⁷³ all of them men of birth and fortune,

War in Sicily. Agrigentum recovered by the Carthaginians. The Romans take Panormus.

A. U. C. 493. A. C. 261.

A. U. C. 501. A. C. 254. Another Roman fleet is wrecked between Panormus and the coast of Italy.

A. U. C. 502. A. C. 252. A. U. C. 503. A. C. 251. The Roman armies in Sicily are in a bad state of discipline.

ing of the word in modern Greek, but no writer of the Augustan age would have so used it.

⁷⁰ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIII. 14. Polybius, I. 38.

⁷¹ *Fasti Capitolini.*

⁷² Polybius, I. 39. Zonaras, VIII. 14. Orosius, IV. 9.

⁷³ Valerius Maximus, II. 9, § 7. Frontinus, *Strategem.* IV. 1, § 22.

refused to obey the consul, C. Aurelius Cotta, when he ordered them to work at some fortifications, and were by him reported to the censors, who degraded them all from their rank, and deprived them of their franchise of voting. And on other occasions Cotta ordered two of his officers to be scourged publicly by his lictors for misconduct;⁷⁴ one of them a kinsman of his own, and the other a military tribune, and a patrician of the noble name and house of the Valerii. Yet with the aid of some ships which he procured from Hiero, he attacked and reduced the island of Lipara, the largest of the Liparæans;⁷⁵ and for this, and the capture of Therma, which had risen up on the site of the ancient Himera, he obtained after all a triumph.

In the spring of the third year, when C. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso were chosen each for the second time consuls, the Romans resolved somewhat to extend their naval operations, and to build fifty new ships.⁷⁶ But before the consuls left Rome, the tidings came of a most complete victory in Sicily, and of the total destruction of the dreaded Carthaginian elephants. Resuming then all their former confidence, the Romans increased their fleet to two hundred ships,⁷⁷ and sent out both consuls with two consular armies to form at once the siege of Lilybæum, the strongest and almost the only place still held by the Carthaginians in Sicily.

This most brilliant and seasonable victory had been won by L. Cæcilius Metellus, who had been consul in the preceding year; and when his colleague, C. Furius, had gone home at the end of the campaign, Metellus⁷⁸ was left in Sicily with his own army as proconsul. It appears that Hasdrubal the Carthaginian general was taunted for his inactivity;⁷⁹ and relying besides too much on the terror of his elephants, he crossed the mountains from Selinus, and descended into the plain of Panormus. Metellus kept close within the walls of the town, till Hasdrubal, not content with having laid waste the open country, advanced towards Panormus, and drew out his army in order of battle as if in defiance. Then the proconsul,⁸⁰ keeping his regular infantry within one of the gates on the left of the enemy, so that by a timely sally he could attack them in flank, scattered his light troops in great numbers over the ground immediately in front of them, with orders, if hard pressed, to leap down into the ditch for refuge. Meantime all the idle hands in the town were employed in throwing down fresh supplies of missile weapons at the foot of

⁷⁴ Frontinus, *Strategem.* IV. 1. § 30,
131. Val. Max. II. 7, § 4.

⁷⁵ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIII.
15. Zonaras, VIII. 14. Polybius, I. 39.

⁷⁶ Polybius, I. 39.

⁷⁷ Polybius, I. 41.

⁷⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 14. Polyb. I. 40.

⁷⁹ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIII.
15.

⁸⁰ Polybius, I. 40.

Battle of Panormus.
Great victory obtained
by L. Metellus
over Hasdrubal. The
Carthaginian ele-
phants are taken.

the wall within the ditch, that the light troops might not exhaust their weapons. The elephants charged, drove the enemy before them, and advanced to the edge of the counterscarp, or outer side of the ditch. Here they were overwhelmed with missiles of all sizes; some fell into the ditch, and were there despatched by thrusts of pikes, the rest turned about, and becoming ungovernable broke into the ranks of their own army which was advancing behind them, and threw it into great confusion. Philinus,⁸¹ who favoured the Carthaginians, said that the Gauls in their army had indulged so freely in the wines which foreign traders sent to Sicily to tempt the soldiers to traffic with their plunder, as to be incapable of doing their duty. But there was no need of drunkenness to increase the disorder, when more than a hundred elephants, driven to fury by their wounds, were running wild amidst the Carthaginian ranks. Then Metellus sallied, attacked the enemy in flank, and completely defeated them. Ten elephants were taken with their drivers still mounted on them;⁸² the rest had thrown off their drivers, and the Romans knew not how to take them alive, till Metellus made proclamation that any prisoner who should secure an elephant should be set at liberty. This induced the drivers to exert themselves, and in the end all the elephants were secured, and conveyed safely to Rome,⁸³ to be exhibited in the conqueror's triumph. And the device of an elephant, which is frequent on the coins of the Cæcilian family, shows the lasting sense entertained by the Metelli in after-times of the glory of their ancestor's victory.

The battle of Panormus was fought about midsummer, and Metellus returned to Rome with his army and his trophies, and triumphed on the 7th of September.⁸⁴ Triumph and subsequent honours of Metellus. The captured elephants were exhibited in the circus maximus,⁸ and hunted up and down it by men armed only with pointless spears, to teach the people not to be afraid of them; after which they were shot at with real weapons and destroyed. Metellus must have lived for nearly fifty years after his triumph,⁸⁶ full of honours and glory. He was a second time chosen consul, he was appointed once master of the horse, and once dictator, and he

⁸¹ Diodorus, Fragm. Hoeschel. XXIII. 15.

⁸² Polybius, I. 40. Zonaras, VIII. 14.

⁸³ They were carried across the straits on rafts, composed of a number of casks lashed together, with a sort of flooring fastened together upon them. The flooring or deck was fenced in with high bulwarks, and covered over with earth, so that the elephants were not aware of their situation, and were conveyed over the sea quietly. Zonaras, VIII. 14. Frontinus,

Strategem. I. 7, § 1. Pliny, Hist. Natur. VIII. § 16.

⁸⁴ Fasti Capitolini.

⁸⁵ Pliny, Hist. Natur. VIII. § 17.

⁸⁶ He lived to the age of an hundred years, (Pliny, Hist. Natur. VII. § 157,) and we can scarcely suppose him to have been much more than fifty when he obtained his first consulship. For his other honours see Pliny, Hist. Nat. VII. § 139. He was appointed dictator just after the Gaulish invasion of 529. See Fasti Capitolini.

was also created pontifex maximus, in which last office he acquired a new glory, by rescuing the sacred palladium from the temple of Vesta when it was on fire, at the risk of his life, and to the actual loss of his sight. For this act of piety he was allowed ever after to be drawn to the senate in a chariot, an extraordinary honour, as the chariot was accounted one of the marks of kingly state, and therefore not to be used by the citizen of a commonwealth.

Thirteen noble Carthaginians⁸⁷ had been taken at Panormus, and had been led in the triumphal procession of the conqueror. The Carthaginians, wishing to recover these and others of their citizens, sent an embassy to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners, and M. Regulus was allowed to accompany the ambassadors, upon his promise given to return with them to Carthage if the negotiation failed. Pyrrhus had given a similar permission to his Roman prisoners, with the hope no doubt that in order to avoid returning to captivity, they would use their influence to procure the acceptance of his terms. But Regulus, thinking that the proposed exchange would be to the advantage of the Carthaginians, nobly dissuaded the senate from consenting to it; he himself would be ill-exchanged, he said, for a Carthaginian general in full health and strength, for the Carthaginians, he believed, had given him a secret poison,⁸⁸ and he felt that he could not live long. The exchange was refused; Regulus returned to Carthage, and soon after died. His springs of life had been poisoned, not by the deliberate crime of the Carthaginians, but by mortification, shame, a pining after his country, and the common miseries of a prisoner's condition, at a period when the courtesies of war were unknown. Afterwards the story prevailed, that the Carthaginians in their disappointment had put him to a death of lingering torment; whilst the Carthaginians told a similar story of the cruel treatment of two noble Carthaginian prisoners⁸⁹ by the wife and sons of Regulus, into whose hands they had been given as hostages, and Regulus' natural death was made, according to the story, the pretext for wreaking their cruelty upon the unfortunate Carthaginians in their power. We may hope that these stories are both untrue; but even if the Carthaginians had exercised towards Regulus the full severity of the ancient laws of war, it ill became the Romans to complain of it, when their habitual treatment, even of generous and magnanimous enemies, was such as we have seen it exemplified in the execution of the Samnite C. Pontius.

Never had the prospects of the Romans been fairer than

⁸⁷ Livy, Epitom. XIX. Zonaras VIII. 15. Orosius, IV. 10.

⁸⁸ A. Gellius, VI. 4. Zonaras VIII. 15.

⁸⁹ Diodorus, Fragm. de Virtut. et Vitiis, XXIV. A. Gellius, II. 4.

when, in the autumn of the fifteenth year of the war, the consuls C. Atilius and L. Manlius began the siege of Lilybæum. This place and Drepanum were the only two points in Sicily still retained by the Carthaginians; and here they concentrated all their efforts, destroying even Selinus,⁹⁰ their earliest conquest from the Greeks, and removing to Lilybæum its inhabitants and its garrison. But from this time forward to the very end of the war the victories of the Romans ceased, and during a period of eight successive years the Fasti record not a single triumph, a blank not to be paralleled in any other part of the Roman annals. Lilybæum and Drepanum remained unconquered to the last, after the former had sustained a siege which for its length and the efforts made both by besiegers and besieged is not to be surpassed in history.

The Romans form the siege of Lilybæum.

The general difficulty of ascertaining precisely the position of the ancient towns and harbours is felt particularly when we attempt to fix the topography of Lilybæum. It seems that the ancient city, covering more ground than the modern town of Marsala, must have occupied the extreme point of Sicily, now called Cape Boeo; and to have had two sea fronts, one looking n.w. and the other s.w. while on the land side the wall ran across the point from sea to sea, facing eastwards, and forming the base of a triangle, of which the two sea fronts meeting at the point of Cape Boeo formed the sides. Polybius speaks of the harbours of Lilybæum, as if there were more than one; and as the ancient harbours were almost always basins closed by artificial moles, it is probable that there would be one at each sea front of the town. But the principal harbour looked towards Africa, on the s.w. side of Lilybæum, and its entrance was very narrow, because at a little distance⁹¹ from the shore there extends a line of shoals nearly rising in some places to the water's edge, and running parallel to the coast, and the passages through these shoals, or round their extremity, were exceedingly narrow and intricate. The land side was fortified by a wall with towers at intervals,⁹² and covered by a ditch ninety feet wide and sixty deep. The garrison consisted at first of ten thousand regular soldiers besides the inhabitants, and the governor Himilcon was an able and active officer, equal to the need. The Romans employed in the siege two consular armies, and the seamen of a fleet of two hundred ships of war, and a great multitude of small craft; so that as the seamen worked regularly at the trenches, the besieging force may well have amounted to 110,000 men.⁹³

Situation of Lilybæum and its ports. Forces employed on both sides in the siege.

⁹⁰ Diodorus, *Fragm. Hoeschel. XXIV.* in the neighbourhood of Trapani, in his Sicilian Atlas.

⁹¹ See Captain Smyth's *Hydrographical Remarks on the coast of Sicily*, p. xxvi. and his plan of the anchorages and shoals

⁹² Diodorus, *Fragm. Hoesch. XXIV. 1.* Polybius, I. 42.

⁹³ The amount given by Diodorus, XXIV. 1.

The Romans attacked the land front of the town in form:⁹⁴ they carried mounds across the ditch, and battered the towers in succession; whilst a formidable artillery covered their operations, and played upon the defenders of the walls. On the sea side they endeavoured to block up the harbour by sinking stone ships in the channels through the shoals, but a violent storm⁹⁵ raised such a sea that every thing was swept away, and the harbour still remained open.

But material fortifications, however strong, must yield at last to a persevering enemy. The real strength of Lilybæum lay in the courage and ability which the long war had at last enkindled among the Carthaginian officers; so that now all was energy and wisdom, in complete contrast to the weakness and timidity of former generals. Himilicon was defending Lilybæum with the utmost ability and vigour; Adherbal, a man no less brave and able, had the command at Drepanum, and had with him a worthy associate in Carthalo; while Hannibal, one of his intimate friends, was sent from Carthage to carry succours to Himilicon. And here, for the first time, the Carthaginians displayed the combined skill and coolness of true seamen. Hannibal sailed from Carthage⁹⁶ with fifty ships, and lay waiting his time at the small Ægusan islands which lie to the north of Lilybæum. At length the wind blew fresh from the north, setting full into the harbour's mouth; Hannibal placed his soldiers on the decks ready for battle, hoisted every sail, and knowing the channels well, he ran down before the wind to the entrance between the shoals, dashed through the narrow passage, whilst the Romans in astonishment and awkwardness did not put out a single ship to stop him, and amidst the cheers and shouts of the whole garrison and people of Lilybæum, who had crowded to the walls to

⁹⁴ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIV. 1. Polybius. I. 42.

⁹⁵ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIV. 1, copying probably from Philinus. Polybius ascribes the failure of the work to the depth of the sea and the force of the current in the narrow channels. But for more than a mile off the land the water is shallow, nowhere exceeding four fathoms, and it is inconceivable that in fair weather such a depth of water could have been a serious impediment to a people like the Romans, when they had at their command the labour of a hundred thousand men. According to Captain Smyth, some of the stones thrown in by the Romans in this siege have been weighed by an English wine merchant residing near Marsala, and have been used by him to build a very

respectable mole opposite to his own establishment, nearly at what must have been the south-east corner of the ancient town. One would be glad to know the exact spot at which these stones were weighed up; but Captain Smyth does not mention it. See his *Survey of Sicily*, p. 234.

⁹⁶ Polybius, I. 44. It is not easy to ascertain whether Hannibal ran into the harbour on the n. w. front of Lilybæum, or into that on the s. w. front. Probably it was the latter, so that he passed between Cape Boeo and the shoals which lie a little off the land, and so ran on in a direction parallel to the line of the coast till he came to the actual entrance between the moles in the harbour.

watch the event, he landed ten thousand men in safety within the harbour. Other officers of single ships passed several times backwards and forwards with equal success,⁹⁷ acquainting the Carthaginian government with every particular of the siege, and confounding the Romans by their absolute command as it seemed of the winds and waves.

But the courage of the Roman soldiers was as firm as ever. Immediately after Hannibal's arrival, Himilcon Sally of the garrison. They burn the Roman works. made a general sally⁹⁸ to destroy the works of the besiegers, but the Romans maintained their ground and he was repulsed with loss. The land wall of the town was carried,⁹⁹ but Himilcon meanwhile had raised a second wall within, parallel to the first; so that when the first was taken the Romans had to begin all their approaches over again; and a second attempt¹⁰⁰ to burn the works, being favoured by a strong wind, was completely successful. All the Roman engines, their covered galleries, and towers, were burnt to ashes, and the consuls in despair turned the siege into a blockade.

During the winter the sufferings of the Romans were very great. Thousands of men had perished in the Sufferings of the Romans during the winter. course of the siege,¹⁰¹ and the loss of seamen had been so great, as they it seems were chiefly employed in the works, that the fleet was useless for want of hands to work it. Besides, the troops were ill-supplied with corn, and were obliged to subsist chiefly on meat;¹⁰² a change of diet most unwelcome and hurtful to the Romans, who were accustomed then as now to live almost wholly on their polenta and on vegetables. Fevers broke out amongst them, and were very fatal; but Hiero again came to their assistance, and supplied them with corn. But no progress was made with the siege, when the following summer brought the new consul, P. Claudius, to Sicily to take the command.

⁹⁷ Polybius, I. 46, 47. There is a passage in this description which if we could discover the line of the ancient walls of Lilybæum might determine the position of the harbour. The way to enter the harbour, says Polybius, was "to approach it from the side towards Italy, and to bring the tower on the sea shore in a line with all the towers of the wall looking towards Africa, so as to cover them all." I. 47. The "tower on the sea shore" must mean the tower nearest to the extreme point of Cape Boeo, but whether the line of towers looking towards Africa followed the line of the coast, so that to bring them into a line with the "tower on the sea side," a vessel must advance in a course nearly s. e. or whether they ran due eastward from Cape Boeo, in the direction of the

modern Marsala, and therefore did not follow the line of the coast, can hardly be ascertained without a farther and more careful examination of the ground.

⁹⁸ Polybius, I. 45.

⁹⁹ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIV. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Polybius, I. 48.

¹⁰¹ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIV.

1. Polybius, I. 49.

¹⁰² *κρεωβοροῦντες μόνον εἰς τὴν νόσον ἔπιπτον.* Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIV. 1. We may compare the distress of Cæsar's soldiers on the coast of Epirus, when although they had meat in plenty, yet they wanted corn, and nothing could make up to them for the loss of their bread. Cæsar, *Bell. Civil.* III. 40.

P. Claudius was the son of Appius Claudius the famous censor, and he inherited, even in over measure, the pride and overbearing temper of his family. He loudly reproached the former consuls for their inactivity;¹⁰³ and complaining that the discipline of the army was gone to ruin, he exercised the greatest severities on all under his command, whether Romans or Italians. He renewed with equal ill-success the attempt to block up the entrance to the harbour, and being impatient to distinguish himself, he no sooner received a reinforcement of 10,000 seamen from Rome than he resolved to put to sea and attack Adherbal, who was lying with the Carthaginian fleet in the harbour of Drepanum. It seems that his own officers¹⁰⁴ foreboded the failure of his attempt, but none could hope to move a Claudius from his purpose. The consul's pride disdained alike the warnings of gods and men; as he was going to sail it was reported to him that the omens were unfavourable, for the sacred chickens refused to eat. "Then they shall drink," was Claudius' answer, and he ordered them immediately to be thrown into the sea.

Adherbal did not expect the attack;¹⁰⁵ but so great was his promptitude, that on the first sight of the enemy he manned all his ships with his seamen and soldiers, and keeping close under the land, stood out of the harbour while the enemy were actually entering it. Claudius, confounded at this, ordered his ships to put about and stand out to sea again. Some ran foul of each other in doing this, but at last he got clear of the harbour and formed his fleet under the land, with the ships' heads turned to the sea. Adherbal, who had brought his own fleet safely into the open sea, now formed his line of battle and attacked the Romans. We hear no more of Duilius' bridges for boarding; whether the Carthaginians had discovered some means of baffling them, or whether the practised soldiers now on board the Carthaginian ships rendered such a contrivance no longer formidable. Adherbal's victory was complete; Claudius escaped with only thirty ships, and the rest, amounting to ninety-three, were taken; with a loss in men, although some escaped to land, of not fewer than 8000 killed and 20,000 prisoners. The conquerors did not lose a single ship, and the number of their killed and wounded was very considerable.

They followed up their victory with vigour.¹⁰⁶ Thirty ships sailed to Panormus and carried off from thence the Roman magazines of corn, which were sent to sup-

A. U. C. 505. A. C. 249. P. Claudius takes the command at Lilybæum. He sails to attack Adherbal at Drepanum. His obstinacy and profaneness.

Battle of Drepanum. Great victory of Adherbal over the Roman fleet under P. Claudius.

The Carthaginians follow up their success with vigour.

¹⁰³ Diodorus, *Fragm. de Virtut. et Vitiis*, XXIV. *Fragm. Hoeschel*. XXIV. 1. Polybius, I. 49.

¹⁰⁴ Cicero de *Nat. Deor.* II. 3. Valer. Maxim. I. 4, § 3.

¹⁰⁵ Polybius, I. 49–51. Orosius, IV. 10. Diodorus, *Fragm. Hoeschel*. XXIV. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Diodorus, *Fragm. Hoeschel*. XXIV. 1. Polybius, I. 52, 53.

ply the garrison of Lilybæum. Carthalo arrived with seventy ships from Carthage, and being reinforced by Adherbal, attacked the remains of the Roman fleet which had been drawn up on shore at Lilybæum under the protection of the army, carried off five ships and destroyed others. Meanwhile the other consul, L. Junius Pullus, had sailed from Rome with a large fleet of ships laden with corn and other supplies for the army at Lilybæum, which he convoyed with an hundred and twenty ships of war. Being himself detained at Syracuse to wait for some of the ships of his convoy, and to collect corn from some of the districts in the interior of the island, he intrusted about four hundred of the corn-ships with some of his ships of war to his quæstors, and sent them on to Lilybæum, where the want of corn was severely felt. Carthalo was lying at Heraclea near Agrigentum, looking out for the Roman fleet; and when he heard of their approach he put out to sea to intercept them. The quæstors being in no condition to fight, fled to the small bay of Phintias, not far from Ecnomus, the scene of the great naval battle seven years before, and there mooring their ships at the bottom of the bay, and mounting the artillery of the town on the cliffs on each side of them, they waited for the enemy's attack. Carthalo was disappointed to find them so well prepared, and as their resistance was obstinate, he only carried off a few of the corn-ships and returned to Heraclea, watching for the time when they should venture to continue their voyage.

He had not waited long when his look-out ships¹⁰⁷ announced that the rear-division of the Roman fleet under the consul in person had doubled Cape Pachynus, and was advancing along the southern coast of Sicily. Two Roman fleets are totally wrecked. Wishing to meet these ships before they could join their other division in the bay of Phintias, he sailed in pursuit of them with all speed. The consul made for the shore near Camarina, dreading an open and rocky coast, and the danger of the south-west gales, less than an engagement with an enemy so superior. Carthalo, not choosing to attack him in this situation, stationed his fleet off a headland between Phintias and Camarina, and there lay, watching the movements of both the Roman divisions. Meanwhile it began to blow hard from the south, and there were signs of a coming storm which were not lost on the experienced Carthaginian pilots, who urged Carthalo to run in time for shelter. With great exertions he got around Cape Pachynus, and there lay safely in smooth water. But the storm burst with all its fury on the Romans, and overwhelmed both their fleets with such utter destruction, that all the corn-ships, amounting to nearly 800, and 105 ships of war, were dashed to pieces. With two ships of war only did the unfortunate consul arrive at Lilybæum.

¹⁰⁷ Diodorus, *Fragm.* Hoeschel. XXIV. 1. Polybius, I. 53, 54.

These accumulated disasters broke the resolution of the Romans. P. Claudius was recalled to Rome,¹⁰⁸ and required to name a dictator, that he might himself be brought to trial for misconduct. He named one of his own clerks, M. Claudius Glicia, as if he delighted to express his scorn of his country when it no longer held him in honour. The senate obliged Glicia to resign his office immediately, and appointed by their own authority, as in ancient times, A. Atilius Calatinus. Atilius named L. Metellus his master of horse, and they both set out without delay to take the command in Sicily.

P. Claudius was tried before the people for his profane attempt of the auspices; but according to the most probable account,¹⁰⁹ the trial was broken off by a sudden storm, which if noticed by any one present obliged the comitia to separate. It was done in all likelihood on an understanding that the accused would by his own act satisfy the justice of the people; and the Romans of this period shrank from shedding noble blood by the hands of the executioner. We only know that three years afterwards P. Claudius was no longer alive; for his sister being pressed by the crowd of spectators as she was going home from the circus, said aloud that she wished her brother could come to life, and command another fleet, that he might make the streets less crowded. For this speech she was impeached¹¹⁰ by the ædiles, and heavily fined: and this trial is recorded to have taken place three years after the defeat at Drepanum.

L. Junius¹¹¹ was not more fortunate than his colleague, although he had on shore endeavoured to make up for his disasters at sea, and had stormed and occupied the mountain and town of Eryx, immediately above Drepanum. He too was tried for having put to sea in defiance of the auspices, and finding his condemnation certain he killed himself.

It was about this period of the contest that Hamilcar Barca,¹¹² the father of the great Hannibal, was appointed to command the Carthaginian forces in Sicily. The Romans had resigned the sea to their enemy, but their superiority by land was at present irresistible; the terror of the elephants had vanished, and Sicily in general is not a country peculiarly suited to the action of cavalry. It was Hamilcar's object, which he pursued steadily to the end of his life, to form an infantry which should be a match for the Roman

A. U. C. 507. A. C. 247. Hamilcar Barca is appointed to the command in Sicily. His system of warfare.

¹⁰⁸ Livy, Epitom. XIX. Zonaras, VIII. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Valer. Maximus, VIII. 1, § 4.

¹¹⁰ A. Gellius, X. 6.

¹¹¹ Polybius, I. 55. Cicero, de Natur. Deor. II. 3.

¹¹² Polybius, I. 56. Hamilcar seems to have succeeded Carthalo. Zonaras, VIII. 16.

legions; and this could only be done by avoiding for the present all pitched battles, and at the same time carrying on an incessant warfare of posts, in which his soldiers would be constantly trained, and learn to feel confidence in their general and in each other. This was the method by which alone Pompey could have resisted Cæsar's veterans; but Pompey, although he saw what was right, had not the firmness to persevere in it, and Pharsalia was the reward of his weakness. Hamilcar possessed patience equal to his ability, and his influence with the government enabled him to turn both to the best advantage.

During six years, therefore, Hamilcar made Sicily a training school for the Carthaginian soldiers, as he afterwards made Spain. He first occupied the summit of a table-mountain near Panormus,¹¹³ now called Monte Pellegrino, rising immediately above the sea, with precipitous cliffs on every side, and with a level surface of considerable extent on the summit, and abundant springs of water. A steep descent led to a little cove where ships could be drawn upon the beach with safety;¹¹⁴ and here he kept a light fleet always at hand, with which he made repeated plundering descents on the coasts of Italy, while by land he was continually breaking out and making inroads into the territory of the Roman allies, even as far as the eastern coast of the island.¹¹⁵ Year after year the consuls were employed against him, but they never could gain any pretence for claiming a triumph. During the latter part of this remarkable warfare Hamilcar recovered, and fixed his head-quarters at the town of Eryx,¹¹⁶ although the summit of the mountain above him was occupied by the Romans, and a Roman army lay also below him, nominally engaged in blockading Drepanum. It appears that the Romans still continued also to blockade or rather to be encamped before Lilybæum; but as the sea was perfectly open, their presence produced no effect on the garrison.

We wish in vain to catch any glimpses of the internal state of Rome after twenty years of such destructive warfare. If the varying numbers of the MSS. of Livy's epitomes can be trusted, the Roman citizens at the end of the war were fewer by one-sixth part than they had been ten years before: the census sank from 297,797 to 251,222,¹¹⁷ and

A. U. C. 507—511. A.
C. 247—243.
His long occupation of
the table mountain
near Panormus, and
of Eryx.

Internal state of
Rome. Deprecia-
tion of the copper
coinage.

¹¹³ Polybius, I. 56. Monte Pellegrino is famous in modern times for the cave in which Sta. Rosalia's bones were said to have been found in 1624, and where a church has since been built in her honour.

¹¹⁴ Apparently the small bay of Mondello, between Capo di Gallo and Monte Pellegrino.

¹¹⁵ A fragment of Diodorus speaks of Hamilcar as making war in the neighbourhood of Catana. *Fragm. Hoeschel. XXIV. 2.*

¹¹⁶ Polybius, I. 58. Diodorus, *Fragm. Hoeschel. XXIV. 2.*

¹¹⁷ Livy, *Epitom. XVIII. XIX.*

the decrease amongst the Latins and Italian allies must have been at least equal. We find also that the *As* towards the end of the war was reduced five-eighths of its original weight; from having weighed twelve ounces it was brought down to two;¹¹⁸ and although it is certain that this reduction was gradual, inasmuch as *Ases* of several intermediate weights are still in existence, yet Pliny may be so far correct that the *As*, having weighed a full pound or nearly so down to the beginning of the first Punic war, was reduced to two ounces before the end of it. No rise in the value of copper could possibly have justified such a reduction, which could only have been one of the ordinary tricks of distressed governments; it is clear also that the silver *denarii* coined a few years before must have vanished out of circulation, as otherwise, if the general payments of the government were made in silver, they would have gained nothing by the depreciation of the copper coinage. Besides, the constant employment of such immense armaments in Sicily must have drained Italy of its silver, as even the Sicilian states, and much more the foreign merchants, who always gathered in numbers where war was going on on a large scale, would have been unwilling to take the Roman copper money. And this great scarcity of money would perhaps explain the very low reported prices of provisions at Rome¹¹⁹ on one or two occasions during the war, if those prices were indeed to be depended on; for if the government did not want to make purchases of corn for its armies, a plentiful harvest would create a great glut of it in the market: the actual war, and the general jealousy of the ancient world on that point, making it alike impossible to dispose of it by exportation.

Twenty years before, the Roman people, we are told, had voted for engaging in the war with Carthage, while the senate sat hesitating; and the plunder of Sicily, in the first campaigns, made them doubtless rejoice in their decision. At a later period, something was occasionally gained by the soldiers in the same way, but from the beginning of the siege of Lilybæum it ceased altogether, and the warfare with Hamilcar was as unprofitable to the Roman armies as it was laborious and dangerous. Meanwhile the taxation must

Heavy taxation.
Foundation of one
or two colonies, and
great assignation of
lands.

¹¹⁸ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXIII. § 44.

¹¹⁹ Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* XVIII. § 17, quoting from Varro, says that at the time of L. Metellus' triumph, the *modius* or peck of corn sold for a single *As*, and that the *congius* of wine, and twelve pounds of meat, were sold also at the same price. Some accident must have occasioned these prices, unless indeed we are to understand the *As* before its depreciation, or rather that the reckoning was made according to

the old standard and not the later and reduced one. It is very strange, however, that in the very winter after this season of plenty, the Romans should have been in such great distress for corn at Lilybæum. See p. 173. The low prices at the time of Metellus' triumph, were not probably market prices, but merely the rate at which he made distributions of corn and wine to the people in honour of his success.

have been very heavy ; for the building of such large fleets, though not to be measured by the cost of our ships of war, was still expensive, and armaments of an hundred thousand men, including soldiers and seamen together, such as were often sent out in the course of the war, must have greatly drained the treasury. To all this was to be added, since the disasters of the Roman fleets, the ravage of the coast of Italy by the enemy ; for Hamilcar, from his stronghold near Panormus, more than once put to sea with his ships of war, and wasted not only the Bruttian and Lucanian coasts, but the shores of the gulf of Salernum, and even of the bay of Naples as far as Cumæ.¹²⁰ On the other hand, private citizens were allowed to fit out the government ships of war on their own account,¹²¹ and some plunder was thus taken, but very insufficient to make up for the losses of the war. Two or three colonies were planted, such as Alsium and Fregenæ on the Etruscan coast near the mouth of the Tiber, and Brundisium ; but these were more for public objects, the two in Etruria being founded probably as outposts to check the descents of the Carthaginian fleet, than for the relief of the poorer citizens. An accidental notice in Pliny¹²² informs us that L. Metellus was in the course of his life appointed one of fifteen commissioners for granting out lands ; a larger number of commissioners than we find on any other occasion named for that purpose. It would be important to fix the date of this appointment, but this can only be done by conjecture ; it could scarcely however have been as early as the great assignation of lands made after the fourth Samnite war, for that was twenty years before Metellus obtained his first consulship, nor could it have been much later than the period of Hamilcar's warfare in Sicily, for in the beginning of the last year¹²³ of the war he was already pontifex maximus, and in the year following he lost his sight in saving the palladium. The probability is, therefore, that an assignment of lands on the largest scale took place about the close of the war, either to the poorer citizens generally, or, as after the second Punic war, to the old soldiers who had undergone such hard and unprofitable service in Sicily.

On the other side, Carthage maintained no large fleets since the Romans had laid aside theirs, purposely to avoid so great an expense. Hamilcar's army could not have been very large, and the agriculture and internal trade of Africa suffered little or nothing from the war. But the contest was tedious and wearing, and in Sicily it was almost wholly defensive, which in itself is apt to sicken a nation of continuing it ; nor were ordinary minds likely to enter into the views of Hamilcar, and await patiently the result of his system of creating an

¹²⁰ Polybius, I. 56.¹²¹ Zonaras, VIII. 16.¹²² VII. § 139.¹²³ Valerius Maximus, I. 1, § 2.

Effects of the war on Carthage.

effective army. Besides, the unsoundness of the Carthaginian power in Africa was always felt in seasons of pressure; and at this very time hostilities¹²⁴ were going on against some of the African people, which, however successful, were necessarily an expense and a distraction to the government. It seemed, therefore, that in spite of Hamilcar's ability, the possession of Lilybæum and Drepanum was held but by a thread, which a single unfortunate event might sever.

The Roman government at last, in the twenty-fourth year of the war, roused itself for one more decisive effort. But so exhausted was the treasury, that a fleet could only be raised by a patriotic loan; that is to say, one, two, or three wealthy persons, according to their means, advanced money to build a quinquereme, which was to be repaid to them in better times.¹²⁵ In this way two hundred ships were constructed; and the Romans had an excellent model in one of the best sailing of the Carthaginian ships, which had been taken some years before off Lilybæum. The consuls of the year were C. Lutatius Catulus and A. Postumius Albinus. Lutatius was the founder of the nobility of his house, and a man worthy to have been the ancestor of that Q. Catulus, whose pure virtue bore the hardest of trials, the triumph of his own party. Postumius belonged to a family scarcely second to the Claudii in overbearing pride; and it was perhaps not without some suspicion of his following the example of P. Claudius at Drepanum, that the pontifex maximus,¹²⁶ Metellus, forbade him to take any foreign command, because, as he was flamen of Mars, his religious duties required his constant presence at Rome. The fleet therefore was intrusted to C. Lutatius.

The anxiety for the success of this enterprise was naturally great. On such occasions omens and prophecies were never wanting; and the consul himself longed to discover his future fate, and wished to consult the famous lots kept in the temple of Fortune at Præneste.¹²⁷ But the senate forbade him, resolving that the consul of the Roman people should go forth with no auspices but those vouchsafed to him by the gods of Rome.

The fleet sailed at an unusual season; for if Eutropius' date of the battle be correct, the ships must have left the Tiber as early as the month of February. Lutatius, accordingly, found that the Carthaginian ships had all gone back to Carthage¹²⁸ for the winter, so that he occupied the harbour of Drepanum without opposition, and began vigorously to besiege

A. U. C. 512. A. C. 242. The Romans resolve to send another fleet to sea.

Anxiety for its success.

C. Lutatius Catulus arrives with the fleet at Drepanum.

¹²⁴ Diodorus, *Fragm. de Virtut. et Vitiis*, XXIV. Polybius, I. 73.

¹²⁵ Polybius, I. 59.

¹²⁶ Valerius Maxim. I. 1, § 4.

¹²⁷ Cicero, *de Divinat.* II. 41.

¹²⁸ Polybius, I. 59.

the town. As Q. Valerius, the prætor, accompanied him to Sicily, it is probable that two consular armies were employed, and so large a force obliged Hamilcar to remain quiet in Eryx, and made it certain that Drepanum must fall, unless relieved by a fleet from Carthage.

Lutatius expecting to be attacked by sea¹²⁹ was indefatigable in exercising his seamen both in rowing and in manœuvring, and he attended carefully to their food and manner of living, that they might be in the best possible condition. The Carthaginians, on their part, equipped a fleet with all haste, and appointed Hanno to command it, an officer who had acquired distinction by his services against the Africans. But they had lately so neglected their navy that their seamen and soldiers on board were alike, for the most part, without experience; and the ships, besides, were heavily laden with provisions and other stores for the relief of Drepanum.

Hanno first put in at the small island of Hiera,¹³⁰ which lies some miles out to sea off the western point of Sicily. His hope was to dash over unperceived to the coast of Drepanum, to land his stores, and to take Hamilcar and his veterans on board from Eryx; which being effected he would not fear to encounter the Romans. This Catulus was above all things anxious to hinder, and he resolved to bring on the action, if possible, before the enemy could communicate with Hamilcar. He had himself been badly wounded a little before in some skirmish with the garrison of Drepanum, and was unable to leave his bed; but Q. Valerius, the prætor, was ready to take the command, and kept earnestly watching for the enemy.

It was the morning of the 10th of March;¹³¹ the Roman fleet having taken on board picked soldiers from the legions, had sailed on the preceding evening to the island of Ægusa, which lies between Hiera and the Sicilian coast, and had there spent the night. When day broke, the wind was blowing fresh from the west, and rolling a heavy sea in upon the land; the Carthaginians took advantage of it, hoisted their sails, and ran down before the wind towards Drepanum. The Roman fleet, notwithstanding the heavy sea and the adverse wind, worked out to intercept them, and formed in line of battle with their heads to windward, cutting off the enemy's passage. Then the Carthaginians lowered their masts and sails, and prepared of necessity to fight. But their heavy ships and raw seamen and soldiers were too unequal to the contest, and the fortune of the day was soon decided. Fifty ships were sunk, and seventy taken; the rest fled, and the wind, happily for them,

A Carthaginian fleet is sent over from Africa to oppose him.

Catulus is anxious to intercept them.

Battle of Ægusa or of the Ægates. Great victory of the Romans.

¹²⁹ Polybius, I. 59, 60.

¹³¹ Eutropius, II. Polybius, I. 60.

¹³⁰ Polybius, I. 60. Zonaras, VIII. 17.

Valer. Maxim. II. 8, § 2.

shifting just in time, they again hoisted their sails, and escaped to Hiera.

To continue the war was now impossible, and orders were sent to Hamilcar to negotiate for peace.¹³² Lutatius, whose consulship was on the point of expiring, readily received his overtures; but he required that Hamilcar's army should give up their arms, and all the Roman deserters who had fled to them, as the price for being allowed to return to Carthage. This demand was rejected by Hamilcar with indignation: "Never," he replied, "would he surrender to the Romans the arms which his country had given him to use against them;" and he declared that sooner than submit to such terms, he would defend Eryx to the last extremity. Lutatius thought of Regulus, and of the vengeance which had punished his abuse of victory, and he withdrew his demand. It was then agreed, "that the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily, and make no war upon Hiero or his allies; that they should release all Roman prisoners without ransom; and pay to the Romans in twenty years 2200 Euboic talents." These were the preliminaries, which were subject to the approval of the Roman government; the senate and people would not, however, ratify them, but sent over ten commissioners with full powers to conclude a treaty.¹³³ These plenipotentiaries required that the money to be paid should be increased to 3200 talents, and the term of years reduced to ten; and they insisted that the Carthaginians should also give up all the islands between Sicily and Italy. This clause was intended apparently to prevent their forming any establishments on the Liparæan Islands, which, although not at present in their power, they might after the peace have attempted to reoccupy, as some of them were uninhabited, and none possibly had been as yet formally occupied by the Romans.

Hamilcar would not break off the negotiation on such points as these. His views were now turned to Spain, a wide field of enterprise which might amply compensate for the loss of Sicily. And he wished to see his country relieved from the burden of the war with Rome, and enabled to repair and consolidate its resources. The peace, therefore, was concluded: Hamilcar evacuated Eryx,¹³⁴ and his troops were embarked at Lilybæum for Carthage. But their unseasonable and bloody rebellion which immediately followed, and which for more than three years involved the Carthaginians in a war far more destructive than that with the Romans, deranged all his plans, and delayed probably for many years the renewal of the contest between the two rival nations.

¹³² Polybius, I. 62. Diodorus, Fragm. Vatican. XXIV. 4. Cornel. Nepos in Hamilcar, 1.

¹³³ Polybius, I. 63.

¹³⁴ Polybius, I. 66.

Such was the end of the first Punic war, in which although the contest was long and wearisome, yet both parties fought as it were at arm's length, and if we except the short expedition of Regulus, neither struck a blow at any vital part of his enemy. But the next struggle was sure to be of a more deadly character, to be fought, not so much for dominion as for life and death. In this new contest, the genius of Hamilcar and of his son determined that in the mortal assault Carthage should anticipate her rival; and Italy for fifteen years was laid waste by a foreign invader. The state of the Roman supremacy in Italy, when it was exposed to this searching trial, the fate of the several Italian nations under the Roman dominion, and their dispositions, whether of attachment or of hatred, will form, therefore, the fit beginning of the third volume of this history, which will embrace the third period of the Roman commonwealth; the period of its foreign conquests, before Rome

Conclusion.

“——whom mighty kingdoms curtesied to,
Like a forlorn and desperate castaway,
Did shameful execution on herself.”

CONSULS AND

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome : common reckoning.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
123	367	387	98-2	
124	368	386	98-3	
125	369	385	98-4	
126	370	384	99-1	
127	371	383	99-2	
128	372	382	99-3	

MILITARY TRIBUNES.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XIV. 110. Q. † Kæso † † Ænus † Sulpicius K. Fabius Q. Servilius P. Cornelius M. † Claudius †	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 4. T. Quintius Cincinnatus Q. Servilius Fidenas V. L. Julius Julus L. Aquillius Corvus L. Lucretius Tricipitinus Ser. Sulpicius Rufus		Capitolino & Corbo.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 2. M. Furius † Caius † † Æmilius †	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 5. L. Papirius C. Cornelius C. Sergius L. Æmilius II. L. Menenius L. Valerius Publicola III.		Cursore & Lano.
<i>Coss.</i> XV. 8. L. Lucretius Ser. Sulpicius	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 6. M. Furius Camillus Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis Q. Servilius Fidenas VI. L. Quintius Cincinnatus L. Horatius Pulvillus P. Valerius		Maluginense & Cincinnato.
<i>Coss.</i> —XV. 14. L. Valerius A. Manlius	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 11. A. Manlius P. Cornelius T. Quintius } Capitolini L. Quintius } L. Papirius Cursor II. C. Sergius II.		Capitolino & Cincinnato.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 15. L. Lucretius † Sentius † Sulpicius L. Æmilius L. Furius	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 18. Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis III. P. Valerius Potitus II. M. Furius Camillus Ser. Sulpicius Rufus II. C. Papirius Crassus T. Quintius Cincinnatus II.		Rufo & Camillo.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 20. Q. Sulpicius C. Fabius Servilius Cornelius P. † Ugo † Sex. † Anius † Caius † Marcus †	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 21. L. Valerius IV. A. Manlius III. Ser. Sulpicius III. L. Lucretius L. Æmilius III. M. Trebonius	Genucius & Curtius Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοὶ Ῥώμης ἐκράτησαν πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου.	Publicola III. & Flacco III.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
129	373	381	99-4	
130	374	380	100-1	
131	375	379	100-2	
132	376	378	100-3	
133	377	377	100-4	
134	378	376	101-1	
135	379	375	101-2	

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Tribb. Milit.—XV. 22.</i> F. Cornelius L. Virginius L. Papirius M. Furius A. Valerius L. Manlius. Q. Postumius	<i>Tribb. Milit.—VI. 22.</i> Sp. Papirius L. Papirius Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis IV. Q. Servilius Ser. Sulpicius L. Æmilius IV.	Macrinus II. & Capitolinus IV.	Fidenas & Crasso.
<i>Tribb. Milit.—XV. 23.</i> T. Quintius L. Servilius L. Julius Aquililius Decius Lucretius Ancus Ser. Sulpicius	<i>Tribb. Milit.—VI. 22.</i> M. Furius Camillus VII. A. Postumius Regillensis L. Postumius Regillensis L. Furius L. Lucretius M. Fabius Ambustus	Vibulanus & Elva	Publicola IV. & Tricipitino.
<i>Tribb. Milit.—XV. 24.</i> L. Palpurius C. Cornelius L. Mallius C. Servilius A. Valerius Q. Fabius	<i>Tribb. Milit.—VI. 27.</i> L. Valerius V. P. Valerius III. C. Sergius III. L. Menenius II. Sp. Papirius Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis	† Pacelaus † & Crassus	Publicola V. & Mamertino VI
<i>Tribb. Milit.—XV. 25.</i> M. Cornelius Q. Servilius M. Furius L. Quintius	<i>Tribb. Milit.—VI. 30.</i> P. Manlius C. Manlius L. Julius C. Sextilius M. Albinus L. Antistius	Macrinus III. & Lænas	Capitolino & Albino.
<i>Tribb. Milit.—XV. 28.</i> L. Papirius M. † Publius † T. Cornelius L. Quintius	<i>Tribb. Milit.—VI. 31.</i> Sp. Furius Q. Servilius II. C. Licinius P. Clælius M. Horatius L. Geganius	† Manlius † & Capitolinus V.	Fidenas II. & Siculo.
<i>Tribb. Milit.—XV. 36.</i> Ser. Sulpicius L. Papirius T. Cornelius M. Quintius	<i>Tribb. Milit.—VI. 32.</i> L. Æmilius P. Valerius IV. C. Veturius Ser. Sulpicius L. Quintius } Cincinnati C. Quintius }	Macrinus IV. & Fidenas	Mamertino & Cincinnato.
<i>Tribb. Milit.—XV. 38.</i> L. Valerius Crispus † Mallius Fabius † Ser. Sulpicius Lucretius	[Omitted in Livy, through some confusion in his reckoning.]	Malogennesius & Crassus	Lanato III. & Prætextato.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
136	380	374	101-3	
137	381	373	101-4	
138	382	372	102-1	<p>... actus est ... t . . . dedicavit</p>
139	383	371	102-2	<p>... opicola V. ... ext. III. .. luginensis VI. Tr. MIL.</p>
140	384	370	102-3	<p>... .. Cossus uginensis. M. Fabius K.F.M.N. Ambustus II. Tr. MIL.</p>
141	385	369	102-4	<p> pitolin. luginensis VII. extat. IV. Tr. MIL. Sp Servilius C.F.C.N. Structus L. Papirius Sp. F.C.N. Crassus. L. Veturius L.F. Sp. N. Crassus Cicurinus. . . . llus IV. Dict. Rei Gerundæ Causa. amercinus Mag. Eq. um in Milites ex. S.C. abdicarunt. In eorum locum facti sunt . . . pitolinus. Dict. Seditionis sedandæ et R.G.C. mus e Plebe Mag. eq. </p>

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	~ Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 41. Crassus Servilius † Cornelius Papirius Fabius † Albus†	VI. 35. No curule Magistrates	Julius & Virginius	Bacho † Solo †
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 48. Furius Furius Postumius Lucretius Fabius Postumius	VI. 35. No curule Magistrates	Capitolinus VI. & Camerinus	Papirio & † Ni- nio †
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 50. Valerius † Ancus † Terentius Menenius Sulpicius Papirius Æmilius Fabius	VI. 35. No curule Magistrates	Pœnus & † Me- lito †	† Scarabiense † & Celimontano.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 51. Manlius † Erenucius † † Sextus † L. Julius Albinus Trebonius Mallius Anthestius	VI. 35. No curule Magistrates	Crassus & Tullius	Prisco & Comi- nio.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 57. Servilius Furius Licinius Clælius	VI. 35. No curule Magistrates	Tricipitinus & Fi- denas II.	Mamertino & † Solo †
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 61. Æmilius Virginius L. Sulpicius Quintius Cornelius Valerius	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 36. L. Furius A. Manlius Ser. Sulpicius Ser. Cornelius P. Valerius C. Valerius	Cossus & Pœ- nus II.	Medullino & Po- lito.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
142	386	368	103-1	<p> ssus II. aluginensis II. acerinus L. Veturius L.F. Sp. N. Crassus Cicurinus II. P. Valerius L.F.L.N. Potitus Poplicola VI. P. Manlius A.F.A.N. Capitolinus II. . . . amillus V. Dict. Mag. eq. Rei Gerund. Causa. </p>
143	387	367	103-2	<p> . . . EBE PRIMUM CREARI CÆPTI. . . . mercinus L. Sextius Sex. F.N.N. Sextin. Lateran. Primus e plebe. Regillensis Albinus C. Sulpicius M.F.Q.N. Peticus. </p>
144	388	366	103-3	<p> tinensis Q. Servilius Q.F.Q.N. Ahala . . </p>
145	389	365	103-4	<p> . . . Peticus C. Licinius C.F.P.N. Calvus </p>
146	390	364	104-1	<p> . . . ercinus II. Cn. Genucius. M.F.M.N. Aventinensis. . . . mperiossus. Dict. . . . Natta. Mag. eq. Clavi Fig. Causa. </p>
147	391	363	104-2	<p> . . . Ahala II. L. Genucius. M.F.M.N. Aventinensis II. Regillensis Dict. . . . Sci Rei Gerundæ Causa. Māg. eq. </p>
148	392	362	104-3	<p> C. Sulpicius M.F.Q.N. Peticus II. . . . Capitolinus Crispinus. Dict. M.N. Maluginensis. Mag. eq. Rei Gerundæ Causa . . alibus . . . o CCCXCII. </p>

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 71., Papirius Menenius Cornelius Sulpicius	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 36. Q. Servilius C. Veturius A. Cornelius M. Cornelius Q. Quintius M. Fabius	† Achilles † & Mugillanus	Fidenas HI. & Maluginense.
XV. 75. archy	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 38. T. Quintius Ser. Cornelius Ser. Sulpicius Sp. Servilius L. Papirius L. Veturius	Atratinus & Vibulanus	Capitolino & Structo
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 76. Furius Iulius Mallius Sulpicius Cornelius	<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —VI. 42. A. Cornelius II. M. Cornelius II. M. Geganius P. Manlius L. Veturius P. Valerius VI.	Capitolinus VII. & Vibulanus II.	Cosso II. & Grasso.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 77. Servilius Veturius Cornelius Cornelius Fabius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 1. L. Sextius L. Æmilius Mamercinus	Mugillanus II. & Rutilius	Mamercino & Laterano.
<i>Tribb. Milit.</i> —XV. 78. Quintius Cornelius Sulpicius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 1. L. Genucius Q. Servilius	Æmilius & Rusticus	Abentinense & Haala.
<i>Coss.</i> —XV. 82. Æmilius Mamercus Sextius Laterias	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 2. C. Sulpicius Peticus C. Licinius Stolo	† Cossus † Medullinus	Petico & Calbo.
<i>Coss.</i> —XV. 90. Genucius Servilius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 3. Cn. Genucius L. Sextius Mamercinus II.	Flavus & Camerinus	Mamertino & Abentinense.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
149	393	361	104-4	<p>..... mbustus C. Poetelius C.F.Q.N. Libo. Visolus. ... Ahala. Dict. Rei. Gerund. Causa ... Capitolin. Crispinus. Mag. eq. ... Cos. De Galleis et Tiburtibus. rt. M. Fabius N.F.M.N. Ambustus. Cos. Ovans. De Herniceis. Ann. CCCXCIII. Non. Sept.</p>
150	394	360	105-1	<p>..... Læans Cn. Manlius L.F.A.N. Capitolin. Imperioss.</p>
151	395	359	105-2	<p>..... mbustus. C. Plautius P.F.P.N. Proculus C. Sulpicius M.F.Q.N. Peticus II. Dict. Galleis. Ann. CCCXCV. Nonis Mai. C. Plautius P.F.P.N. Proculus. Cos. De Herniceis. Ann. CCCXCV. Idibus Mai.</p>
152	396	358	105-3	<p>.... C. Marcius L.F.C.N. Rutilus. Cos. De Privernatibus. Ann. CCCXCVI. Kal. Jun.</p>
153	397	357	105-4	<p>.... C. Marcius L.F.C.N. Rutilus. Dict. De Tusceis. Ann. CCCXCVII. Pridie Non. Mai.</p>
154	398	356	106-1	
155	399	355	106-2	<p>.... M. Fabius N.F.M.N. Ambustus II. Cos. III. De Tiburtibus. Ann. CCCXCIX. III. Non. Jun.</p>
156	400	354	106-3	

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Coss.</i> —XV. 95. Sulpicius Licinius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 4. Q. Servilius Ahala L. Genucius	Potitus & Capit- linus	Haala II. & Abentinense.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 2. Genucius Emilius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 9. C. Sulpicius C. Licinius Calvus	Genucius & † Cu- bius †	Stolo & Petico
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 4. Servilius Genucius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 11. C. Pœtelius Balbus M. Fabius Ambustus	Mamertinus & La- teranus	Ambusto & Pro- culo.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 6. Licinius Sulpicius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 12. M. Popillius Lænas Cn. Manlius	Petitus & Galba	Rutilo & Capito- lino.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 9. Fabius Pœtelius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 12. C. Fabius C. Plautius	Mamertinus II. & † Sulla †	Ambusto & Læ- nas II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 15. Popilius Lænas Manlius Imperiosus	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 16. C. Marcus Cn. Manlius	† Allus † & Genu- cius	Rutilo & Capito- lino.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 23. Fabius Plotius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 17. M. Fabius Ambustus II. M. Popillius Lænas II.	Stolo & Petinus	Ambusto II. & Lænas II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 28. Marcus Manlius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 18. C. Sulpicius Peticus III. M. Valerius Publicola “Quadringentesimo anno quam urbs Roma con- dita erat, quinto trice- simo quam a Gallis reciperata.”	Libo & Lænas	Petico & Pub- licola.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
157	401	353	106-4	.
158	402	352	107-1	
159	403	351	107-2	. . . lius M.C.F.N. Lænas Cos. III. . . . alleis. Ann. CDIII. Quirinalibus.
160	404	350	107-3	. . . audius P.F. . . . Regil biit . . . Dict. Comit. Habend. Causa. . . . Mag. eq.
161	405	349	107-4	. . . . . . . . erius M.F.M.N. Corvus . . . Dict. Comit. Habend. Causa.
162	406	348	108-1	. . . . . . . . rioss. Torquat . .
163	407	347	108-2	. . . . . . . . . Visolus. . . . erius M.F.M.N. Corvus. Cos. II. . . . Antiatibus Volsceis Satricaneisque Ann. CDVII. K. Febr.
164	408	346	108-3	
165	409	345	108-4	
166	410	344	109-1	. . rius . M.F.M.N. Corvus. De Samnitibus A CDX. X. K. Oct. . . nelius P.F.A.N. Cossus Arvina . . os. De S nitibus. Ann. CDX. VIII. K. Oct.
167	411	343	109-	
168	412	342	109-3	

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 32. L. Fabius L. Popillius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 18. M. Fabius Ambustus III. T. Quintius “in quibusdam annalibus pro T. Quintio M. Po- pillium consulem inve- nio.”	Ambustus & Proculus	Ambusto III. & Capitolino.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 37. L. Sulpicius L. Valerius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 19. C. Sulpicius Peticus IV. M. Valerius Publicola II.	Rusticius & Capi- tolinus	Petico IV. & Publicola II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 40. L. Fabius L. Quintius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 21. P. Valerius Publicola C. Marcius Rutilus	Ambustus II. & Lænas	Publicola & Ru- tilo II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 46. L. Valerius L. Sulpicius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 22. C. Sulpicius Peticus T. Quintius Pennus	† Potitus & Pub- licola †	Petico V. & Pen- no II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 52. L. Marcius L. Valerius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 23. M. Popilius Lænas L. Cornelius Scipio	Rusticius II. & † Pœnus †	Lænas IV. & Sci- pione.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 53. L. Sulpicius L. Quintius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 24. L. Furius Camillus Ap. Claudius Crassus	Scipio & Lænas	Camilo & Crasso.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 56. L. Cornelius L. Popillius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 26. M. Valerius Corvus M. Popilius Lænas IV.	Camillus & Cras- sus	Lænas IV. & Corvino.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 59. L. Æmilius L. Quintius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 27. T. Manlius Torquatus C. Plautius	Corvinus & Lænas II.	Venno & Tor- quato.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 66. L. Fabius Ser. Sulpicius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 27. M. Valerius Corvus II. C. Pœtelius	Venox & Tor- quatus.	Corvo & Visulo.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 69. L. Valerius L. Popillius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 28. M. Fabius Dorso Ser. Sulpicius Cameri- nus	Corvinus II. & Libo.	Dorsus & Rufa.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 70. L. Plautius L. Manlius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 28. C. Marcius Rutilus III. T. Manlius Torquatus II.	Vulso & Cameri- nus	Rutilo III. & Torquato.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 72. L. Valerius L. Pœtelius	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 28. M. Valerius Corvus III. A. Cornelius Cossus	Rutilus & Tor- quatus	Corvo III. & Cosso III.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
169	413	341	109-4	. . . anlius L.F.A.N. Imperiossus Torquat. . . . os III. De Latineis Campaneis Si dicineis . . . urunceis. A: CDXIII XV. K. Junias.
170	414	340	110-1	. . . ubilius Q.F.Q.N. Philo Cos. De Latineis A CDXIV. Idib. Janar.
171	415	339	110-2	L. Furius Sp. F.M.N. Camillus Cos. De Pedaneis Tiburtibus. An. CDXV. IV. K. Oct. C. Mænius. P.F.P.N. Cos. De Antiatibus vineis Veliterneis. Ann. CDXV. Pridie Oct.
172	416	338	110-3	
173	417	337	110-4	
174	418	336	111-1	M. Valerius M.F.M.N. Corvus III. Cos. IV. De Ca sis. Ann. CDXIX. Idib. Mart.
175	419	335	111-2	
176	420	334	111-3	
177	421	333	111-4	
178	422	332	112-1	
179	423	331	112-2	
180	424	330	112-3	. . . Aimilius L . . . N. Mamercin. Privernas. C II. De Privernatibus. Ann. CDXXIV. K. Mart. C. Plautius P.F.P.N. Decianus Cos. de Privern tibus. Ann. CDXXIV. K. Mart.
181	425	329	112-4	

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 74. Marcius Manlius Troquatus	<i>Coss.</i> —VII. 38. C. Marcius Rutilus Q. Servilius	Corvinus III. & Cossus	Haala III. & Rutilo IIII.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 77. Valerius Cornelius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 1. C. Plautius II. L. Æmilius Mamercinus	† Allus † & Ru- tilius	Venno II. & Mamerco.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 82. Servilius Cicilius Rutilus	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 3. T. Manlius Torquatus III. P. Decius Mus	Venox II. & † Mamertinus †	Torquato III. & Mure.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 84. Æmilius Plotius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 12. Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus Q. Publilius Philo	Torquatus III. & Muso	Mamercino & Philo.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 89. Manlius Torquatus Decius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 13. L. Furius Camillus C. Mænius	† Mamertinus † & † Silo †	Camillo & † Ne- pote †.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVI. 99. Publius Æmilius Mamercus	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 15. C. Sulpicius Longus P. Ælius Pætus	Camillus & † Mi- nius †	Pæto & Longo.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 2. Furius Mænius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 16. L. Papirius Crassus K. Duilius	† Phistus † & Longus	Crasso & † Hella †.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 17. Sulpicius Papirius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 16. M. Valerius Corvus IV. M. Atilius Regulus	Crassus & † Du- lius †	† Caleno † & Corvo IV.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 29. Valerius Papirius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 16. T. Veturius Sp. Postumius	Regulus & Cor- vinus	Caudino and Cal- vino.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 40. Atilius Valerius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 17. A. Cornelius II. Cn. Domitius	† Albinus † & Calvinus	† Hoc anno Dic- tatores non fue- runt †.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 49. Postumius Veturius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 18. M. Claudius Marcellus C. Valerius	Albinus II. & Cossus	Calvino & Arvi- nus II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 62. Domitius Cornelius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 19. L. Papirius Crassus II. L. Plautius Venno	Potitus & Mar- cellus	Petito & Mar- cello.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 74. Valerius Clodius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 20. L. Æmilius Mamercinus C. Plautius	† Brassus † & Venox	Crasso II. & Venno.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
182	426	328	113-1	
183	427	327	113-2	Q. Publilius Q.F.Q.N. Philo II. Primus Pro De Samnitibus Palæopolitaneis. Ann. CDXXVII. Mai.
184	428	326	113-3	
185	429	325	113-4	L. Papirius Sp. F.L.N. Cursor. Dict. De Samn- ibus. An. CDXXIX. III. Non. Mart.
186	430	324	114-1	
187	431	323	114-2	L. Fulvius L.F.L.N. Curvus Cos. De Samnitibus. Ann. CDXXXI. Quirinalibus. Q. Fabius M.F.N.N. Maximus Rullianus Cos. De Samnitibus et Apuleis Ann. CDXXXI. XII. K. Mart.
188	432	322	114-3	
189	433	321	114-4	C. Ma . . . M. Fos . . . L. Corn . . . L. Papiriu . . . T. Manli . . . L. Papiriu . . .
190	434	320	115-1	L. Papirius L. Papirius Sp. F.L.N. Cursor II. Cos. III. Samnitibus. Ann. CDXXXIV. X. K. Septe- Cens. . . . C. . . . cius . . .
191	435	319	115-2	M. Plautius L.F.L.N. Venno L. Fostius C.F. . . N. Flaccina . . . Cens. L. Papirius L. F. M. N. Crassus C. Mainius P.F.P.N. Lustrum Fecer. X. V.
192	436	318	115-3	Q. Aimilius Q.F.L.N. Barbula. C. Junius C.F.C.N. Bubulcus. Brutus.
193	437	317	115-4	Sp. Nautius Sp. F. Sp. N. Rutilus M. Popilius M.F.M.N. Lænas. L. Aimilius L.F.L.N. Mamerc. Privernas. Dict. L. Fulvius L.F.L.N. Curvus. Mag. eq. Rei Ge- rund. Causa.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 82. P. Plotius P. Papirius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 22. P. Plautius Proculus P. Cornelius Scapula	Mamertinus II. & Decianus	† Privernas † II. & Deciano
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 87. P. Cornelius P. Postumius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 22. L. Cornelius Lentulus Q. Publilius Philo II.	Venox & Scipio	Deciano II. & Barbato.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 110. P. Cornelius Q. Publilius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 23. C. Pœtelius L. Papirius	Lentulus & † Silo †	Lentulo & Philo.
.....	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 29. L. Furius Camillus II. Junius Brutus Scæva	Libo & Cursor	Libone III. & Cursore II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVII. 113. P. Pœtelius P. Papirius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 37. C. Sulpicius Q. Æmilius or Aulius	Camillus & Bru- tus	Camillo II. & Bruto.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVIII. 2. P. Furius Dec. Junius	<i>Coss.</i> —VIII. 38. Q. Fabius L. Fulvius	Longus & Cera- tanus	† Hoc anno Dicta- tores non fue- runt †.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVIII. 26. P. Sulpicius C. Ælius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 1. T. Veturius Calvinus Sp. Postumius	Cursor II. & † Sullus †	Longo II. & Cere- tano.
.....	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 7. Q. Publilius Philo L. Papirius Cursor	Calvinus & † Balbinus †	† Corvo † & Rul- liano.
.....	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 15. Q. Aulius Cerretanus II. L. Papirius	Cursor III. & † Silo †	Calvino II. & Albino.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVIII. 44. Q. Publilius Q. † Publius †	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 20. M. Fostius Flaccinator L. Plautius Venno	† Papinius † & Ceratanus	Cursore II. & Philo III.
<i>Coss.</i> —XVIII. 58. Q. Ælius P. Papirius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 20. C. Junius Bubulcus Q. Æmilius Barbula	Venox & Flaccus	† Murillano † & Ceretano.
<i>Coss.</i> —XIX. 2 P. Plotius T. Fulvius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 21. Sp. Nautius M. Popillius	Barbula & Bu- bulcus	Venno & Flacci- natore

Year of the Common-wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
194	438	316	116-1	L. Papirius Sp. F.L.N. Cursor IV. ... obliilius . . F.Q.N. Philo IV. ... Fabius M.F.N.N. Maximus Rullianus. Dict. ... Aulius . . F. Ai. N. Cerretan. In Prælio oc- census est. In ejus L. F. est. Mag. eq. R.G.C. ... Fabius M.F.N.N. Ambustus. Mag. eq.
195	439	315	116-2	M. Pœtelius M.F.M.N. Libo. C. Sulpicius Ser. F.Q.N. Longus . . . C. Mainius P.F.P.N. Dict. Rei Gerund. Causa. M. Foslius C.F.M.N. Flaccinator. Mag. eq. C. Sulpicius Ser. F.Q.N. Longus Cos III. De Samnitibus. Ann. CDXXXIX. K. Quint.
196	440	314	116-3	L. Papirius Sp. F.L.N. Cursor. . . C. Junius C.F.C.N. Bubulcus. Brutus . . C. Pœtelius C.F.C.N. Libo. Visolus. Dict. M. M.F.M.N. Libo. Mag. eq. Rei Ge- rund Causa.
197	441	313	116-4	M. Valerius M.F.M.N. Maximus. P. Decius P.F. Q.N. Mus. C. Sulpicius Ser. F.Q.N. Longus Dict. R.G.C. C. Junius C.F.C.N. Bubulcus. Brutus Mag. eq. Cens. Ap. Claudius C.F. Ap. N. Cæcus. C. Plantius C.F.C.N. Qui in hoc honore. Venox appellatus est. L.F. XXVI. M. Valerius M.F.M.N. Maximus. Cos. De. Sam- nitibus Soraneisq. Ann. CDXXXI. Idib. Sext.
198	442	312	117-1	C. Junius. C.F.C.N. Bubulcus. Brutus III. Q. Aimilius Q.F.L.N. Barbula II. C. Junius. C.F.C.N. Bubulcus. Brutus. Cos. III. De Samnitibus. An. CDXLII. Nonis Sext. Q. Aimilius Q.F.L.N. Barbula. Cos. II. De Etrusceis. An. CDXLII. Idib. Sext.
199	443	311	117-2	Q. Fabius M.F.N.N. Maxim. Rullian. C. Marcius C.F.L.N. Rutilus. Qui postea Censo- nus appellatus est.
200	444	310	117-3	L. Papirius Sp. F.L.N. Cursor. Dict. C. Junius C.F.C.N. Bubulcus Brutus. Mag. eq. Rei Gerund. Causa. Hoc anno Dictator et Magist: Eq. sine Cos. fuer L. Papirius Sp. F.L.N. Cursor III. Dict. II. De Sa- nitibus. An. CDXLIV. Idibus Oct. Q. Fabius M.F.N.N. Maximus Rullian. II. Pro C De Etrusceis. An. CDXLIV. Idib: Nov.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Coss.</i> —XIX. 17. Junius Æmilius	[Names omitted.]	Rutilus & Lænas.	Barbula & Bruto.
<i>Coss.</i> —XIX. 55. Nautius Popillius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 24. M. Pætelius C. Sulpicius	Cursor IV. & Lænas II.	Lucillo & Lænas.
<i>Coss.</i> —XIX. 66. Papirius IV. Publius II.	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 28. L. Papirius V. C. Junius Bubulcus	Cursor V. & Bubulcus II.	Cursore IV. & Philo III.
<i>Coss.</i> —XIX. 73. Pætelius Sulpicius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 28. M. Valerius P. Decius	. . .	Libone & Longo III. —
<i>Coss.</i> —XIX. 77. Papirius V. Junius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 30. C. Junius Bubulcus III. Q. Æmilius Barbula II.	Maximus & Muso.	Cursore V. & Bruto II.
<i>Coss.</i> —XIX. 105. Valerius Decius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 33. Q. Fabius C. Marcus Rutilus.	Bubulcus IV. & Barbula.	Maximo & Mure.
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 3. Junius Æmilius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 41. Q. Fabius P. Decius	Rullus & Rutilius.	Bruto III. & Barbula II.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
201	445	309	117-4	P. Decius P.F.Q.N. Mus. Q. Fabius M.F.N.N. Maximus Rullian. III.
202	446	308	118-1	Ap. Claudius C.F. Ap. N. Cæcus. L. Volumnius C.F.C.N. Flamma Violens. Cens. M. Valerius M.F.M.N. Maximus. C. Junius C.F.C.N. Bubulcus Brutus. L. F. XXVII.
203	447	307	118-2	..... Tr . . . ulus P. Corn Q. Marcius Q.F.Q.N. Tremulus Cos. De Anagnine Herniceisq. Ann. CDXLVII. Prid. K. Quint. . . . N. Scipio Barbatus. Mus.
204	448	306	118-3	..... Megellus. Ti. Mi. M. M. Fulvius L.F.L.N. Curvus. Pætinus Cos. D Samnitibus. Ann. CDXLHIX. III. Non. Oct.
205	449	305	118-4	..... C. N. Sophus. P. S N. N. Maximus Rullianu . P. Sempronius P.F.C.N. Sophus Cos. de Æqueis Ann. CDXLIX. VII. K. Oct. P. Sulpicius Ser. F.P.N. Saverrio. Cos. De Samnitib Ann. CDXLIX. IIII. K. Nov.
206	450	304	119-1	..... n. F. Cn. N. Lentulus.
207	451	303	119-2	..... C. N. Den N. Bubulcus B C. Janius C.F.C.N. Bubulcus Brutus II. Dict. I Æqueis Ann. CDLI. III. K. Sext.
208	452	302	119-3	..... M.F.N.N. Max ilius L.F.L.N. no Dictat M.F.M.N. onius M. Valer IV. Dict. II. X. K. De . .

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 27. Fabius II. Marcius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 42. Ap. Claudius L. Volumnius	Muso II. & Rullus II.	Rulliano II. & Rutilo II.
<i>Coss.</i> †—XX. 36. P. Claudius † Plautius †	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 42. P. Cornelius Arvina Q. Marcius Tremulus	Appius & Violens.	† Hoc anno Dictatores non fuerunt †
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 45. Claudius Volumnius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 44. L. Postumius Ti. Minucius	† Remulus † & † Albinus †	† Mure II. & Rulliano III. †
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 73. Marcius Cornelius	<i>Coss.</i> —IX. 45. P. Sulpicius Saverrio P. Sempronius Sophus	† Metellus † & Minucius	Cæco & Violense.
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 81. Postumius Minucius	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 1. L. Genucius Ser. Cornelius	Sempronius & † Faverius †	Tremulo & Arvina.
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 91. Sempronius Sulpicius	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 1. M. Livius Denter M. Æmilius	Lentulus & † Aventesius †	Megello & Augurino.
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 102. Cornelius Minucius	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 6. M. Valerius V. Q. Appuleius	Dentonius & Æmilius	Sofa & Saberio.
<i>Coss.</i> —XX. 106. Livius Æmilius	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 9. M. Fulvius Pætinus T. Manlius Torquatus. Huic suffectus M. Valerius.	Corvinus & Pansa	Rufa & Adventinense.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
209	453	301	119-4	. . . . . F.C.N
210	454	300	120-1	. . . . . . . . . . M. Fulvius Cn. F. Cn. N. Pætinus Cos. De Samnitibus Nequinatibusque. Ann. CD . VII. K. Oc.
211	455	299	120-2	. . . . . . . . . . Cn. Fulvius Cn. F. Cn. N. Max. Centumalus. Cos. De Samnitibus Etrusceisque. Ann. CDLV. I bus Nov.
212	456	298	120-3	. . . . .
213	457	297	120-4	. . . . . . . . . . ens
214	458	296	121-1	. . . . . M. Rull. e devovit. Q. Fabius M.F.N.N. Maximus Rullianus III. C. V. De Samnitibus et Etrusceis Galleis. Ann. CDLII. Prid. Non. Sept.
215	459	295	121-2	. . . . . N. Megellu lus. Cornelius A.F.P.N. Arvin I. est XX. L. Postumius L.F. Sp. N. Megell. Coss. II. De Samnitib. et Etrusceis VI. K. April. CDLIX. M. Atilius M.F.M.N. Regulus Cos. De Volsonibus et Samnitib. A. CDLIX. V. K. Apr.
216	460	294	121-3	L. Papirius L.F. Sp. N. Cursor S mus. Sp. Carvilius C.F.C.N. Maximus Cos. De Samnitibus. Ann. CDLX. Idibus Jan. L.F. Sp. N. Cursor itibus . . . CDLX. Idibus Febr.
217	461	293	121-4	. . . . .
218	462	292	122-1	. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ximus . . . Ann. D. CDLXII. K. Sext.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
regular history of Diodorus ends with the 20th Olympiad, at the third year of 119th Olympiad, and lists of consuls here terminate.]	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 11. L. Cornelius Scipio Cn. Fulvius	Petitus & Torquatus	† Dextro † & Paulo.
	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 14. Q. Fabius Maximus IV. P. Decius III.	Scipio & Maximus	† Corvo II. & Rulliano II. †
	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 16. L. Volumnius Ap. Claudius	† Rullus III. Muso III. †	Corvo V. & Pansa.
	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 22. Q. Fabius Maximus V. P. Decius IV.	† Claudius & Violens †	Petino & Torquato.
	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 32. L. Postumius Megellus M. Atilius Regulus	Rullus IV. & Muso IV.	Scipione & Centumalo.
	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 38, 39. L. Papirius Cursor Sp. Carvilius	Claudius & Violens II.	Rulliano IV. & Mure III.
	<i>Coss.</i> —X. 47. Q. Fabius Gurgis D. Junius Brutus	Rullus V. & Muso V.	Cæco & Violense.
	[Here the 10th book of Livy ends; and the ten following books being lost, his lists of consuls are wanting till the period of the second Punic war.]	† Metellus † & Regulus	Rulliano V. & Mure IV.
		† Cursor & Maximus.	Megello II. & Regulo.
		Maximus & Gracchus	Gurgis & Scævola.

Year of the Commonwealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
219	463	291	122-2	
220	464	290	122-3	
221	465	289	122-4	
222	466	288	123-1	
223	467	287	123-2	
224	468	286	123-3	
225	469	285	123-4	
226	470	284	124-1	
227	471	283	124-2	. . . . . eisque . . . III. Non. Mart.
228	472	282	124-3	. . . cius Q.F.Q.N. Philippus . . . Etrusceis. Ann. CDLXXII. K. Apr.
229	473	281	124-4	. . . uncanius Ti. F. Ti. N. Cos. . e Vulsiniensib. Vulcientib. Ann. CDLXXIII. K. Febr. . . . milius Q.F.Q.N. Barbalu Pro Cos. De Tarenti Samnitibus et Sallentineis. Ann. DCLXXIII. VI. Idus Quint.
230	474	280	125-1	
231	475	279	125-2	C. Fabricius C.F.C.N. Luscinus II. Cos. II. De caneis Bruttieis Tarentin. Samnitibus. Ann. CDLXXV. Idibus Decembr.
232	476	278	125-3	C. Junius C.F.C.N. Brutus Bubulc. Cos. II. Lucaneis et Bruttieis. Ann. CDLXXVI. Jan.
333	477	277	125-4	Q. Fabius Q.F.M.N. Maximus. Gurges II. II. De Samnitibus Lucaneis Bruttieis. Ann. CDLXXVII. Quirinalib.
234	478	276	126-1	M' Curius M'F.M'N. Dentat. IV. nitib. Rege Pyrrho. A. CDLXXXIX ebr. . . . Ti. F. Ser. N. Lentul. . . os. De Samnitib. . . Ann. CDLXXXIX. K. Mart.
235	479	275	126-2	
236	480	274	126-3	. . . C. N. Canina neis Samnitibus . Ann. CDXXC. Quirinalibus.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
		Metellus II. & Bulbus	Megello III. & Bruto
		Maximus II. & Muso VI.	Dentato & Rufino
		† Cremolus † & † Albinus †	Corvino II. & Noctua
		Marcellus & Rutilius	Tremulo II. & Arvina.
		Potitus & † Petitus †	Marcellino & Rutilo.
		Lepidus & † Cecinna †	Maximo & Pæto.
		† Tacitus † & † Dento †	Canina & Lepido.
		Dolabella & Maximus	Tucca & Metello.
		† Lucius † & Pappus	Calvo & Maximo.
		Barbula & Philippus	Luscinio & Labo.
		Levinus & Coruncanus	Barbula & Filippo.
		Severio & Muro	Levino & Coruncanio.
		Luscinus & Pappus	Saberio & † Prorico †.
		Rufinus & Bulbus	Luscino II. & Pæto.
		Gorges & Clepsinus	Rufino II. & Bruto II.
		† Benacus † & Lentulus	Gurgis II. & Clepsina.
		† Benacus † & Merenda	Dentato II. & Lentulo.
		Licinius & † Cambius †	Dentato III. & Merenda.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
237	481	273	126-4	. . . ximus II. Tarenti An. CD . . . L. Papirius L. . . . Cos II. De Ta Brut tieis
238	482	272	127-1	
239	483	271	127-2	. . . . Corne assi
240	484	270	127-3	
241	485	269	127-4	. . . . . onius P.F. De Peicentibus . . Ap. Claudius Ap. F Cos De Peicen . . .
242	486	268	128-1	M. Atilius M.F.L.N. Cos. De Sallentineis VIII L. Julius L.F.L.N. Libo. Cos. De Sallentineis. An. C VII . . Febr.
243	487	267	128-2	D. Junius D.F.D.N. Pera Cos. De Sassinatibus An. CDXXCVII. V. K. Octobr. N. Fabius C.F.M.N. Pictor II. Cos. De Sassinatibus. An. CDXXCVII. III. Non. Oct. N. Fabius C.F.M.N. Pictor II. Cos De Salentineis Me sapieisque. An. CDXXCVII. K. Febr. D. Junius D.F.D.N. Pera II. Cos. De Sallentin- eis Messapieisque An. CDXXCVII. Non. Febr.
244	488	266	128-3	Cens. Cn. Cornelius L. F. N. Blasio C. Marcius C.F.L.N. Rutilus Qui. L.F. XXXV. in hoc honore Censorin. appel. e.
245	489	265	128-4	BELLUM PUNICUM PRIMUM. Ap. Claudius C.F. Ap. N. Caudex. M. Fulvius Q.F.M.N. Flaccus. M. Fulvius Q.F.M.N. Flaccus Cos. De Vulsiniensi- bus. An. CDXXCIX. K. Nov.
246	490	264	129-1	M' Valerius M.F.M.N. Maximus. Qui in hoc hon- ore Messal. appel. e. M' Otacilius C.F.M.N. Crassus. Cn. Fulvius Cn.F.Cn. Maxim. Centumalus. Dict. Q. Marcius Q.F.Q.N. Philip- Clavi figend. causa. pus Mag. eq. M' Valerius M.F.M.N. Maxim. Messalla Cos. De Pœneis et Rege Sicular. Hierone. An. CDXC XVI. K. April.
247	491	263	129-2	L. Postumius L.F.L.N. Megellus Q. Mamilius Q.F.M.N. Vitulus.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
		Cursor & Maximus	† Lucino † & † Cinna †
		Claudius & Clepsi- nas	Cursore II. & Maximo
		Gallus & Pictor	† Claudo † & Clepsina.
		Sempronius & Rufus	Clepsina II. & Læsio †.
		Regulus & Libo	Gallo & Pictore.
		Fabius Pictor & † Peta †	Sofo & † Ruffo †.
		Maximus & Vitu- lus	Regulo & Libone.
		† Thaugatus † & Flaccus	Pera & Pictore.
		Maximus II. & Crassus	Maximo & Vitulo.
		Albinus & Vitulus	Caudex & Flacco.
		Flaccus II. & Crassus II.	Maximo & Grasso.

Year of the Commonwealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
248	492	262	129-3	L. Valerius M.F.L.N. Flaccus T. Otacilius C.F.M.N. Crassus.
249	493	261	129-4	Cn. Cornelius L.F.Cn.N. Scipio Asina. C. Duilius M.F.M.N. C. Duilius M.F.M.N. Cos. Primus Navalem De Sicul. et classe Pœnica egit An. CDXCHL. K. Interkalar.
250	494	260	130-1	L. Cornelius L.F.Cn.N. Scipio C. Aquilius M.F.C.N. Florus L. Cornelius L.F.Cn.N. Scipio Cos. De Pœneis et Sardin. Corsica An. CDXCIV. V. Id. Mart.
251	495	259	130-2	A. Atilius A.F.C.N. Calatinus C. Sulpicius Q.F.Q.N. Paternulus C. Aquilius M.F.C.N. Florus Pro Cos. De Pœneis An. CDXCV. III. Non. Octob. C. Sulpicius Q.F.Q.N. Paternulus Cos. De Pœneis et Sardeis An. CDXC III Cens. C. Duilius M.F.M cipi
252	496	258	130-3	C. Atilius M.F.M.N. Regulus Cn. Q. Ogulnius L.F.A.N. Gallus Dict. M. Lætorius M.F.M.N. Plan- Latinar. Fer. Causa. cianus Mag. eq. A. Atilius A.F.C.N. Calatinus Pr. ex Sicilia De Pœnis. An. XIII. K. F C. Atilius M.F.M.N. Regulus Cos. De Pœnis Nava- lem egit VIII. . . .
253	497	257	130-4	L. Manlius A.F.P.N. Vulso Longus. Q. Cædicius Q.F.Q.N. In Mag. mort. e. in ejus locum factus est M. Atilius M.F.L.N. Regulus. L. Manlius A.F.P.N. Vulso Long. Cos. De Pœnis Navalem egit VII . . . An. . .
254	498	256	131-1	Ser. Fulvius M.F.M.N. Pætin. Nobilior M. Aimilius M.F.L.N. Paullus.
255	479	255	131-2	Cn. Cornelius L.F. Cn. N. Scipio Asina A. Atilius A.F.C.N. Calatinus. Ser. Fulvius M.F.M.N. Pætinus Nobilior Pro Cos. De Cossurensibus et Pœneis Navalem egit XIII. K. Febr. A. CDXCIX. M. Aimilius M.F.L.N. Paullus Pro Cos. De Cos- surensibus et Pœnis Navalem egit XII. K. Febr. An. CDXCIX.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
		Scipio & Duilius	Megello & Vitulo.
		Scipio II. & Florus	Flacco & Grasso.
		† Catacinus † & Paterculus	Asina & Duillio.
		Regulus & Blesus	Scipione & Floro.
		Vulso & † Decius†	Calatino & Paterculo.
		Petinus & Paullus	Rugulo & Blesio.
		Scipio & † Catacion †	Longo & Regulo.
		Capito & Blesus II.	Nobiliore & Paulo.

Year of the Common-wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
256	500	254	131-3	Cn. Servilius Cn. F. Cn. N. Cæpio C. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Blæsus Cens. D. Junius D.F.D.N. Pera. Abd. L. Postumius L.F.L.N. Megell. Idem qui Pr. erat. In mag. m. est. Cn. Cornelius L.F. Cn. N. Scipio Asina Pro Cos. De Pœnis X. K. April. An. D. C. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Blæsus Cos. De Pœnis K. April. An. D.
257	501	253	131-4	C. Aurelius L.F.C.N. Cotta. P. Servilius Q.F.Cn.N. Geminus Cens. M ^o Valerius M.F.M.N. Maxim. Messal. P. Sempronius P.F.P.N. Sophus L.F. XXXVII. C. Aurelius L.F.C.N. Cotta Cos. De Pœneis et Siculeis. Idibus April. An. DI.
258	502	252	132-1	L. Cæcilius L.F.C.N. Metellus C. Furius C.F.C.N. Pacilus
259	503	251	132-2	C. Atilius M.F.M.N. Regulus II. L. Manlius A.F.P.N. Vulso II. L. Cæcilius L.F.C.N. Metellus Pro Cos. De Pœne VII. Idus Septemb. A. DII.
260	504	250	132-3	P. Claudius Ap. F.C.N. Pulcher. L. Junius C.F.L.N. Pullus. M. Claudius C.F. Glicia. qui scriba fuerat. Dictator coact. abdic. Sine Mag. eq. In ejus locum factus est A. Atilius A.F.C.N. Calatinus Dict. L. Cæcilius L.F.C.N. Metellus Rei Gerund. Causa. Mag. eq.
261	505	249	132-4	C. Aurelius L.F.C.N. Cotta II. P. Servilius Q.F.Cn.N. Geminus II.
262	506	248	133-1	L. Cæcilius L.F.C.N. Metellus II. N. Fabius M.F.M.N. Buteo. Cens. A. Atilius. A.F.C.N. Calatinus A. Manlius T.F.T.N. Torquat. Attic. L.F. XXXVIII.
263	507	247	133-2	M ^o Otacilius C.F.M.N. Crassus II. M. Fabius M.F.M.N. Licinus. Ti. Coruncanius Ti. F. Ti. Nepos. Dict. M. Fulvius Q.F.M.N. Comit. Habend. Causa. Flaccus Mag. eq.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
		Cotta & Geminus	Asina II. & Calatino II.
		Metellus & † Pap- pus †	Cepio & Blesio.
		Regulus II. & Vulso	Cotta & Geminio.
		Pulcher & † Pul- cher †	Metello & Pacilo.
		Cotta II. & Gemi- nus II.	Regulo II. & Vulso.
		Metellus II. & Bu- teo	Pulcro & Pullo.
		Crassus & Licin- nius	Cotta II. & Gemi- no II.
		Buteo II. & Bul- bus	Metello & † Ru- tilo †.

Year of the Common- wealth.	Year of Rome.	Year before the Christian Era.	Olympiad.	Fasti Capitolini.
264	508	246	133-3	M. Fabius M.F.M.N. Buteo. C. Atilius A.F.A.N. Bulbus .
265	509	245	133-4	A. Manlius T.F.T.N. Torquat. Attic. C. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Blæsus II.
266	510	244	134-1	C. Fundanius C.F.Q.N. Fundulus C. Sulpicius C.F. Ser. N. Gallus
267	511	243	134-2	C. Lutatius C.F.C.N. Catulus A. Postumius A.F.L.N. Albinus.
268	512	242	134-3	A. Manlius T.F.T.N. To . . . Attic. II. Q. Lutatius . . . C.N. Ce . . . Cens. C. Aurelius L C. Lutatius C.F.C.N. Catulus Pro Cos. I Pœnis ex Sicil . . . e . . . egit. III. No Oct. A. DXII. Q. Valerius Q.F.P.N. Falto Pro Pr. ex Sicil Navalem egit Prid. Non. Octob. An. DXII. Q. Lutatius C.F.C.N. Cerco Cos. De Faliscei K. Mart. An. DXII. A. Manlius T.F.T.N. Torquatus Atticus. Co II. De Falisceis IV Non. M . . . An DXII.
269	513	241	134-4	C. Claudius. Ap. F.C.N. Centho. M. Sempronius C.F.M.N. Tuditanus.

DIODORUS.	LIVY.	Fasti Siculi.	Fasti Cuspiniani sive Norisiani.
		Torquatus & Ble- sus	Grasso II. & Lici- no II.
		Fundulus & Gal- lus	Buteo & Pullo.
		Catulus & Albinus	Attico & Blæso.
		Torquatus & † Cato †	Fundulo & Gallo.
		Cento & † Tudina- tus †	Catuto & Albino.
		Toncinus † & Falco	Attico II. & Cerco.

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLES.

I HAVE continued the tables of military tribunes and consuls from the point at which they ended in the last volume, to the end of the first Punic war. I have given, as before, the lists of consuls, from Livy and Diodorus, so far as their remaining works contain them; and I have now given all the fragments of the Fasti Capitolini which relate to the period contained in this volume without any omission, and at the same time without adding to the words or even letters which exist on the fragments of the marble hitherto discovered.

The Fasti of Diodorus end with the year 452, and those of Livy with the year 459: and the Fasti Capitolini are wanting for several years here and there both before and after that period. I have therefore given two other sets of Fasti; one of which goes by the name of the Sicilian Fasti, because Onufrio Panvini found the MS. containing it in Sicily. Casaubon copied the MS. and gave his copy to Scaliger, who published it in his edition of Eusebius, pp. 227—299, under the title of *ἐπιτομή χρόνων*.

The other Fasti were first made known by John Cuspiniani, who published extracts from them in his commentary on Cassiodorus in the sixteenth century. They have been since published entirely by Noris towards the end of the seventeenth century, and they may be found, with his dissertation on them, in the eleventh volume of Grævius' Collection of Roman Antiquities. The MS. containing them is in the imperial library at Vienna, and, according to Noris, they were compiled about the year 354 of the Christian æra.

These last Fasti are no doubt older and more correct than the Sicilian, which are full of errors; but both are useless for the period of the military tribuneships: because, representing all the years of the commonwealth as marked by consulships, they never give to any year the names of more than two magistrates. But the author of the Sicilian Fasti seems to have copied his lists from some writer who, like Cassiodorus, gave only the consulships, and purposely omitted the years of military tribuneships; and not being aware of this, and supposing that the lists of consuls were continuous in point of time, he has marked the years immediately preceding the first plebeian consulship with the names of the consuls who preceded the Gaulish invasion; insomuch

that placing that invasion in the third year of the 99th Olympiad, he notwithstanding makes it fall in the consulship of M. Genucius and C. Curtius, who were consuls only five years after the expulsion of the decemvirs. Both the Sicilian Fasti and those of Noris give merely the cognomen, or last name, of each consul: it seems as if they had looked hastily up some Fasti where all the names were given at length, and had, to save trouble, merely copied down the name which came last. Sometimes the recurrence of the same names near to each other has misled them; as, for instance, in the third Samnite war, the Sicilian Fasti give three consulships of Q. Fabius and P. Decius instead of two, and two of Ap. Claudius and Volumnius instead of one. The corruptions of the Roman names are as bad as those in the Fasti of Diodorus: Calatinus is corrupted into "Catacion," Dentatus into "Benacus," Cædicius into "Decius," Caudex into "Thaugatus," Canina, a rather uncommon cognomen of one branch of the Claudian house, becomes "Cambius" in the Sicilian Fasti, and "Cinna" in those of Noris; and many others recur which it is in general easy to correct from the corresponding years in the Fasti Capitolini, or from any correct list of the consuls. Some corruptions, however, cannot easily be restored, nor is it always easy to ascertain how much must be ascribed to mere errors of the copyist, and where the authors really meant to give different consuls from those named in the other Fasti.

With regard to Livy's Chronology, the fixed point from which we must set out is the year of Rome 400, which, according to his express statement, VII. 18, was the thirty-fifth year after the expulsion of the Gauls, and was marked by the consulship of C. Sulpicius Peticus, and M. Valerius Publicola. Reckoning the years from this point, according to Livy's own statement of events, the consulship of Q. Fabius Gurges and D. Junius Brutus, the last mentioned in his tenth book, would fall in the year 459. But Sigonius places it one year later, and makes the year 422 to have been wholly taken up by interregna, and so to have been marked by no consuls' names. This he does, in order to reconcile Livy with himself; because his reckonings elsewhere require, as he thinks, the insertion of a year more than he has actually accounted for. That is to say, Livy, in the beginning of the 31st book, says that the sixty-three years which passed between the beginning of the first Punic war and the end of the second, had furnished him with matter for as many books as the four hundred and seventy-eight years which had elapsed from the foundation of Rome to the consulship of Ap. Claudius, when the first Punic war began. Such are the numbers in almost all the MSS. But as the number four hundred and seventy-eight would agree with no system of chronology, it has been long since corrected in the printed editions to "four hundred and eighty-eight." Sigonius, however, argued that the true reading was four hundred and eighty-six, the Roman numerals CDLXXVIII having, as he thinks, been corrupted from CDLXXXVI, the third X having been altered to V, and the V separated into II. He therefore places the beginning of the first Punic war in 486; having, as I have above mentioned, inserted a whole year of interregna, not noticed by Livy, which he makes out to be the

year 422. Now, without this additional year, the first Punic war does actually, as I think, according to Livy, begin in 487; for Sigonius omits two consulships between the retreat of Pyrrhus and the consulship of Ap. Claudius and M. Fulvius, namely those of Q. Ogulnius and C. Fabius in 485, and of Q. Fabius Gurges and L. Mamilius in 489. The first of these is mentioned expressly by Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* XXXIII. § 44, as well as by Zonaras, VIII. 7, and by the Sicilian Fasti and those of Noris, and is admitted by Sigonius himself in his commentary on the Fasti Capitolini. The consulship of Q. Fabius and L. Mamilius is mentioned by the Sicilian Fasti and by those of Noris, and is required by the dates of the Fasti Capitolini, which place the consulship of D. Junius Pera and N. Fabius in 487, and that of Ap. Claudius and M. Fulvius in 489, manifestly making an interval of a year between them, although the names of the intermediate consuls are lost. Zonaras speaks of Fabius as being sent against the Volsinians, and expressly says that he was consul in that year with "Æmilius," according to the present text of Zonaras in the edition of Du Cange, Venice, 1729. But in the 2nd chapter of the same 8th book of Zonaras, L. Æmilius the colleague of Q. Marcius Philippus in 473, is in one MS. called *Μαμίλιον*, which shows how readily the names *Αἰμίλιος* and *Μαμίλιος* may be confounded with each other. And, farther, Sigonius acknowledges this consulship of Q. Fabius and L. Mamilius in his commentary on the Fasti Capitolini. Thus, according to Livy, there would be in fact the events of 486 years related in his fifteen first books, and the sixteenth book began with the year 487, that is with the consulship of Ap. Claudius and M. Fulvius; and the fifteen next books did contain also the events of sixty-three years; from the year 487 to the year 550, the consulship of Cn. Cornelius and P. Ælius Pætus, before the expiration of which the war with Carthage was concluded; as the first Punic war had begun about the middle of 487. And thus the correctness of Sigonius' alteration of Livy's date from CDLXXVIII to CDLXXXVI is indeed established, although, as I think, his way of justifying it is erroneous, and so also is his interpretation of it: for Livy does not say that App. Claudius was consul in 486, but that his own fifteen first books, which stopped at the beginning of App. Claudius' consulship, had contained the events of 486 years. And therefore, according to Livy, the first year of the war with Pyrrhus would fall in 471, the first year of the first Punic war in 487, and the end of the second Punic war in 550.

Meantime, I have continued to follow the common chronology of the years of Rome, because it is hopeless now to endeavour to supersede it by any other system, and it would be a mere perplexity to my readers, if they were to find every action recorded in this history fixed to a different year from that with which they had been accustomed to connect it. Nor does there seem any adequate object to be gained by the attempt. The æra of the foundation of Rome is itself a point impossible to fix accurately; nor can we determine the chronology of the fourth and fifth centuries of Rome either in itself, or as compared with the chronology of Greece. Our existing authorities are too uncertain and

too conflicting to allow of this ; and as I have said already in another place, the uncertainty of the history and chronology act mutually on each other, and a sure standing place is not to be found. The five years of anarchy during the discussions on the Licinian laws are indeed utterly improbable ; and we may safely assume that they could not have happened exactly as they are represented. But Cn. Flavius, in the middle of the fifth century, recorded on his Temple of Concord¹ that it was dedicated 204 years after the dedication of the Capitol ; and this agrees exactly with the *Fasti Capitolini*, which place the ædileship of Flavius and the censorship of Fabius and Decius in the year of Rome 449. It is, indeed, probable that the Gaulish invasion should be placed later than its common date ; and the five years of the anarchy may well be inserted in the early part of the commonwealth ; a period for which we have neither a history nor a chronology that will bear any inquiry. Yet Polybius followed the common date of the Gaulish invasion, and his chronology of the subsequent Gaulish wars is all based on the assumption that Rome was taken in the 98th Olympiad, and not later. Polybius doubtless may have been misled, and Cn. Fulvius may have had no sufficient authority for fixing the interval between the dedication of his temple of Concord and that of the Capitol : but if they were both mistaken, where are we to find surer guides ? and if the records on which they relied were uncertain, as indeed they very possibly were, what evidence or what probability can we find now, so as to be enabled to arrive at a more certain conclusion ?

I follow then the common chronology of Rome ; not indeed as thinking with the authors of "*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*," that it is possible to fix the very year, and even the day of the month, on which the several consuls of the fifth century entered upon their office ; but because it is a convenient standard of reference, and, if not correct, which in all probability it is not, yet is quite as much so as any other system which could be set up in its room. And this has determined me not to adopt Niebuhr's dates, even on his authority ; because I cannot persuade myself that the certainty of his amended chronology is so clear as to compensate for the manifest inconvenience of departing from a system which is fixed in the memories of all the readers of Roman history throughout Europe.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* XXXIII. § 19. Ed. Sillig.

APPENDIX I.

NOTE ON THE TRIAL AND DEATH OF MANLIUS.

ZONARAS, whose history is taken generally from Dion Cassius, relates that Manlius was holding the Capitol against the government, and that a slave having offered to betray him, went up to the Capitol as a deserter, and begged to speak with Manlius. He professed to be come to him on the part of the slaves of Rome, who were ready to rise and join him, and whilst Manlius was speaking to him apart on the edge of the cliff, the slave suddenly pushed him down it, and he was then seized by some men who had been previously placed there in ambush, and was by them carried off as a prisoner. Then he was tried in the Campus Martius; and as the people could not condemn him in sight of the Capitol, the trial was adjourned, and the people met again in another place out of sight of the Capitol, and then condemned him. The scene of the second trial is said by Livy to have been the Peteline Grove. Now we find that on two other occasions after a secession, assemblies were held in groves without the city walls, and not in the Campus Martius; once after the revolt of the soldiers and secession of the commons in 413, in this very Peteline Grove (Livy, VII. 41,) and once after the last secession to the Janiculum, in the Oak Grove, "in Esculeto." (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XVI. § 37.) Now as there is little reason to doubt that there was a secession also in the disturbance caused by Manlius, it is likely that when peace was restored the terms would have been settled in an assembly held in some sacred grove, and that there a general amnesty would be passed, and any exceptions to the amnesty discussed and determined. And if Manlius had fallen into the power of his enemies in the manner described by Zonaras, his partisans having thus lost their leader, would have been ready to submit, and could not have opposed his execution, if it were insisted upon by the government as a necessary sacrifice to public justice. The story of his trial before the centuries in the Campus Martius is every way suspicious, and may possibly have been invented to account for the fact of his death having been decreed in an assembly held in the Peteline Grove. It was obvious that trials before the centuries, the only tribunal which could legally try a Roman citizen capitally, were held in the Campus Martius; and as the fact of the secession was more and more glossed over, so the real nature of the assembly in the Peteline Grove would be less understood; and then it was attempted to be explained as a mere adjourned meeting of the

centuries, held in an unusual place, because the deliverer of the Capitol could not be condemned in the Campus Martius, where his judges had the Capitol directly before their eyes.

I may observe that the law which forbade any patrician's residing from henceforth in the Capital, strongly confirms the fact of an actual secession. Manlius had occupied the citadel as a fortified position, and had held it with an armed force against the government; and this pointed out the danger of allowing any one to reside within its precincts.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE LATER CONSTITUTION OF THE CENTURIES.

THE constitution of the comitia of the centuries, as it originally existed, is perfectly familiar to every reader, and has been described in the first volume of this history. But it is remarkable that this well known form of it never existed during those times of which we have a real history; and the form which had succeeded to it is a complete mystery. It is strange, but true, that we know how the centuries were constituted in the times of the later kings, but that we do not know what was their constitution in the time of Cicero and Cæsar.

It is quite clear that the old constitution of the centuries gave a decided ascendancy to wealth. The first class, together with the centuries of the knights, formed a majority of the whole comitia. Thus every election would have been in the hands of the rich, and such a state of things as existed in the last years of the commonwealth, when the aristocracy had no other decided influence than what they could gain by bribery, is altogether inconceivable.

Again, the division of the people into tribes had nothing to do with the earlier constitution of the centuries; the votes were taken by classes, and a man's class depended on the amount of his property. But in the later constitution the votes were taken by tribes, and a man's tribe, except in the case of the four city tribes, implied nothing as to his rank or fortune. The agents employed to purchase votes were called *divisores tribuum*; such and such tribes are mentioned as interested in behalf of particular candidates (Cicero pro Plancio); and some one tribe was determined by lot to exercise the privilege of voting before the rest. In short the tribes are mentioned as commonly at the comitia in the Campus Martius, whether held for trials or for elections, as at the comitia held in the forum.

On the other hand, the division by classes continued to exist in the later constitution. Cicero speaks of the comitia of centuries differing from the comitia of tribes, inasmuch as in the former, he says, "the people are arranged according to property, rank, and age, whilst in the latter no such distinctions are observed." *De Legibus*, III. 19. The

centuries of the first class are spoken of both in trials (Livy, XLIII. 16), and in elections (Cicero, *Phillipic.* II. 33), and in the second oration of the pseudo-Sallust to Cæsar, *de Republicâ Ordinanda*, the author notices, as a desirable change in the actual constitution, that a law formerly proposed by C. Gracchus should be again brought forward and enacted, that the centuries should be called by lot from all the five classes indiscriminately. This proves not only that the division into classes existed to the end of the commonwealth, but also that the first class continued to enjoy certain advantages above the others. The problem therefore is to determine how the system of classes was blended with that of tribes, and in what degree the centuries of the historical period of the commonwealth retained or had forfeited the strong aristocratical character impressed on them by their original constitution.

Various solutions of this problem have been offered at different times by scholars of great ability. Octavius Pantagathus in the 16th century supposed that each of the five classes had two centuries belonging to it in each of the tribes, and that the Equites had one century in each tribe, making the whole number of centuries to amount to 385, out of which those of the Equites and the first class together would amount to 105, whilst those of the other classes were 280; so that the two former, instead of being a majority of the whole comitia, stood to the other centuries only in the proportion of 3 to 8. This notion of seventy centuries in each class, or ten centuries in each tribe, has been maintained also by Savigny, according to Zumpt; and by Walther, in his *History of the Roman Law*, Vol. I. p. 136. This also is the opinion of another living authority of the highest order, who has expressed to me his full acquiescence in it.

Niebuhr, on the contrary, held that the whole division into five classes was done away with; that each tribe contained two centuries only, one of older men, the other of younger; that the thirty-one country tribes constituted the first class under this altered system, and the four city tribes the second class; and that besides these two classes there were no more. He held the aristocratical character of the comitia of centuries, as compared with the assembly of the tribes, to consist in the following points: that the plebeian knights voted distinctly from the rest of the commons, and that the patricians also had their separate votes in the *sex suffragia*, or six old centuries of knights; 2nd, that the centuries of each tribe were divided according to their age, one of older men, and the other of younger; 3rd, that the proletarians, or those who possessed property under four thousand ases, were altogether excluded; and 4th, that the auspices were necessarily taken at the comitia of centuries, and that they were thus subjected to the influence of the augurs. Niebuhr held also, that the prerogative century could only be chosen out of the tribes of the first class, and never out of the four city tribes.

Zumpt, in a recent essay on the constitution of the comitia of centuries, read before the Prussian academy in 1836, maintains that the old centuries of *Ser. Tullius* subsisted to the end of the commonwealth without any material alteration, except that those of the first class were reduced from eighty to seventy. He then supposes that two of these

centuries were allotted to each of the thirty-five tribes, together with three centuries from the four remaining classes ; and of these three, one he thinks was taken from the fifth class, and two thirds of a century from the second, third, and fourth classes. Thus the richer citizens still retained an influence in the comitia more than in proportion to their numbers, although much less than it had been in the original constitution of Ser. Tullius.

Lastly, Professor Huschke of Breslau, in his work on the constitution of Ser. Tullius, published in 1838, agrees with Niebuhr in supposing that the whole number of centuries was reduced to seventy, each tribe containing two, one of older men and the other of younger ; but these seventy centuries were divided, he thinks, into five classes ; so that about ten tribes or twenty centuries would contain the citizens of the first class, a certain number of tribes would in like manner contain all the citizens of the second class, and so on to the end : some tribes, according to this hypothesis, consisting only of richer citizens, and others only of poorer.

But I confess that all these solutions, including even that of Niebuhr himself, are to me unsatisfactory. If the first class had contained thirty-one out of the thirty-five tribes, while each tribe contained only two centuries, we should hear rather of the tribes of the first class, than of the centuries ; whilst on the other hand the positive testimony of the pseudo-Sallust, who, according to Niebuhr himself, could not have lived later than the second century after the Christian æra, to the existence of five classes down to the time of the civil war, seems to be on that point an irresistible authority.

It appears to me to be impossible to ascertain with certainty either the number of the centuries in the later constitution, or their connexion with the five classes. To guess at points of mere detail seems hopeless, and positive information on the subject there is none. But we know that the comitia of centuries differed from those of the tribes expressly in this, that whereas all the members of a tribe voted in the comitia tributa without any farther distinction between them, and, as far as appears, without any subdivisions within the tribe itself, so in the comitia of centuries the members of the same tribe were distinguished from each other ; the older men certainly voted distinctly from the younger men, and probably the richer men also voted distinctly from the poorer : so that the centuries were a less democratical body than the tribes.

In the account given by Polybius of the composition of the Roman army, we find traces at once of the existence of something like the old system of classes, and of the changes which it must have undergone. All citizens whose property exceeded four thousand ases, were now enlisted into the legions, whereas in old times none had been required to provide themselves with arms whose property fell short of twelve thousand five hundred ases. But one hundred thousand ases still appear to have been the qualification for the first class ; and it is remarkable that the peculiar distinction of this class, the coat of mail, was the same as it had been in the oldest known system of the classes. All distinctions of arms, offensive or defensive, between the second, third, and fourth

classes, seem to have been abolished : but the fifth class still, as in old times, supplied the light-armed soldiers of the legions, or the velites.

But, however much of the old system of the classes was preserved in the later constitution of the centuries, the difference in the political spirit of the tribes and centuries is scarcely, I think, perceivable. We do not find the votes of the centuries ever relied upon by the aristocracy to counterbalance the popular feeling of the tribes. It might have been conceived that a popular assembly, where wealth conferred any ascendancy, would have been decidedly opposed to one of a character purely democratical ; that the centuries in short, like our own House of Commons, during more than one period of our history, should have sympathized more and more with the senate, and have counteracted to the utmost of their power on the Campus Martius the policy embraced by the tribes in the forum. But this is not the case ; the spirit of the Roman people, as distinguished from the senate and the equestrian order, appears to have been much the same whether they were assembled in one sort of comitia or another ; the centuries elected Flaminius and Varro to the consulship in the second Punic war, although their opposition to the aristocracy seems to have been one of their chief recommendations ; and in later times the centuries elected many consuls who advocated the popular cause not less violently than the most violent of the tribunes elected by the tribes.

The cause of this is to be found in the great wealth of the equestrian order and of the senate, which drew a broad line of separation between them and the richest of the plebeians, and thus drove the members of the first class to sympathize with those below them rather than with those above them. While the possession of the judicial power was disputed by the senate and the equestrian order, it was only after many years that any share of it was communicated to the richest of the plebeians. Thus it is probable that the middle classes at Rome, as elsewhere, repelled by the pride of the highest classes, were forced back as it were into the mass of the lower ; and entered as bitterly into all measures gallant to the aristocracy, as the poorest citizens of the tribes.

If this be so, the question as to the exact form of the comitia of centuries in later times, however curious in itself, is of no great importance to our right understanding of the subsequent history. For whether the influence of the first class as compared with that of the lower classes was greater or less, it does not appear that the character of the comitia was altered from what it would have been otherwise ; the first class was as little attached to the aristocracy as the fourth or fifth. After the unsuccessful attempts of so many men of ability and learning, I have no confidence that I could approach more nearly to the true solution of the problem ; and, in fact, there seem difficulties in the way of every theory, which our present knowledge can hardly enable us to remove. If hereafter any solution should occur to me which may be free from palpable objections, and may seem to meet all the circumstances of the case, I shall hope to mention it in a subsequent volume ; in the mean time, I must at present express my belief that the exact arrangement of the classes in the later comitia of centuries is a problem no less inexplicable than that of the disposition of the rowers in the ancient ships of war.

APPENDIX III.

OF THE ROMAN LEGION IN THE FIFTH CENTURY OF ROME.

THE accounts of the Roman legion in the fourth and fifth centuries of Rome are full of perplexity. Nor is this to be wondered at, for as there were no contemporary historians, and as the military system afterwards underwent considerable changes, the older state of things could be known only from accidental notices of it in the stories of the early wars, or from uncertain memory. How little help in these inquiries is to be expected from Livy, may be understood from this single fact: that although he himself in two several places (I. 43 and VIII. 8) has expressly stated that the ancient Roman tactic was that of the phalanx, yet in no one of his descriptions of battles are any traces to be found of such a system; but the sword and not the pike is spoken of as the most efficient weapon, just as it was in the tactic of the second Punic war, or of the age of Marius and of Cæsar.

Livy, however, has preserved in one place a detailed account of the earlier legion, as it existed in the great Latin war in the beginning of the fifth century. And Polybius, as is well known, has described at length the arms and organization of the legion of his time, that is, of the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century of Rome. I shall notice the similar and dissimilar points in these two accounts, and then see how far we can explain the changes implied in them: and, finally, notice some statements in other writers which relate to the same subject.

Both accounts acknowledge the existence of four divisions of fighting men in the legion; the light-armed, (*γροσφόμαχοι* Polyb. *rorarii*, Livy,) the *hastati*, the *principes*, and the *triarii*. But to these there was in the older legion a fifth added, the *accensi*, or supernumeraries; who in ordinary cases were not armed, but went to the field to be ready to take arms and supply the places of those who fell.

In both accounts the *hastati*, when the legion is drawn up in order of battle, are placed in front of the *principes*, and the *principes* in front of the *triarii*. But in the old legion the greater part of the light-armed soldiers are described as stationed with the *triarii* in the third line, and only about a fourth part of them are with the *hastati* in the front. Whereas, in the later legion, the light troops are divided equally among the three lines.

Again, in the older legion the *triarii* were equal in numbers to the *hastati* and *principes*, respectively, each division consisting of somewhat more than nine hundred men. Whereas, in the later legion, the *triarii* were never more than six hundred men; while the *hastati* and *principes* were regularly twelve hundred each, and sometimes exceeded this number.

In the older legion the light-armed troops carried each man a pike, "*hasta*," and two or more javelins, "*gæsa*." These were the arms of

the fourth class in the Servian constitution, "*nihil præter hastam et verutum datum*:" verutum and *gæsa* alike signifying missile weapons or javelins as opposed to the *hasta* or pike. But in the later legion, the light-armed soldier carried no pike, but had a round shield, *παρμη*, and a dirk or cutlass, *μάχαιρα*, together with his javelins.

In the older legion again the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, all bore the arms of the second and third classes in the Servian constitution; that is to say, the large oblong shield, "*scutum*," the pike, and the sword, "*gladius*." But in the later legion, the *hastati* and *principes* had both dropped the pike, and were armed instead of it with two large javelins, of about six feet in length, which Polybius calls *ύσσολ* and which were no other than the formidable *pila*.

Farther, we have a remarkable notice, that there was a time when the *triarii* alone carried *pila*, and were called *pilani*, while the *hastati* and *principes* still carried pikes.²

Again, the older legion was divided into forty-five maniples or *ordines*; fifteen of *hastati*, fifteen of *principes*, and fifteen of *triarii*; but as the *triarii* were in fact a triple division, so their maniples contained one hundred and eighty-six, or possibly one hundred and eighty-nine men each, while those of the *hastati* and *principes* contained only sixty-three men each.

In the later legion, the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* contained ten maniples each; and those of the two former divisions consisted of one hundred and twenty men each, while those of the *triarii* contained only sixty. The light troops were divided into thirty divisions, one of which was added to each maniple of the heavy-armed troops, in just proportion to its respective strength; that is, that twenty-four light-armed men were added to each maniple of the *triarii*, and forty-eight to each maniple of the *hastati* and *principes*. It may be, however, that the divisions of the light-armed troops were all equal: in which case they would have raised each maniple of the *triarii* to one hundred men, and each maniple of the *hastati* and *principes* to one hundred and sixty.

In the older legion, each maniple contained two centurions; that is, it consisted of two centuries. Therefore the century of the old legion consisted of thirty men.

In the later legion each maniple also had two centurions; but the maniples being of unequal numbers, the centuries were unequal also; the centuries of the *triarii* contained thirty men each, as in the older legion, but those of the *hastati* and *principes* had each sixty.

On comparing these two forms of the legion, it is manifest that in the older there is retained one of the characteristic points of the system of the phalanx, or of fighting in columns, the keeping of the light-armed or worst-armed men mostly in the rear. The old legion consisted of a first division of about nineteen hundred men, of whom only three hundred and fifteen had inferior arms; and of a second division of nearly twenty-eight hundred men, of whom only nine hundred and thirty were

² Livy says that the *hastati* and *principes* were called *antepilani*; VIII. 8. Varro, (Ling. Lat. V. § Ed. Müller,) and Ovid (Fasti, III. 129), call the *triarii* expressly *pilani*.

well armed ; nine hundred and thirty were light-armed, and the remaining nine hundred and thirty, the *accensi*, were not armed at all. Nay, it appears doubtful whether even the *triarii*, properly so called, were quite equal to the *hastati* and *principes* ; for in the Latin war it seems to be a mistake of Livy's to suppose that they carried pikes ; they appear at that time to have borne only *pila* and swords, and were therefore less fitted than the *hastati* and *principes* for the peculiar manner of fighting then in use in the Roman army.

But even in this earlier form of the legion there seems to have been some change introduced from a form still earlier. The mixture of light-armed soldiers in the front ranks of the phalanx, unless we are to suppose that they were always thrown forward as mere skirmishers, and had no place in the line, seems to show that a modification of the tactic of the phalanx had already been found necessary, and that the use of the javelin instead of the pike was already rising in estimation.

This alteration seems to derive its origin from the Gaulish wars. The Gauls used javelins themselves, and the weight of their charge was such that the full-armed soldiers of the Roman legions were not numerous enough to withstand them ; it became of importance, therefore, to improve the efficiency of the light-armed soldiers, and at the same time to enable the Roman line to reply to the Gaulish missiles, if the enemy preferred a distant combat to fighting hand to hand.

That something of this sort was done is directly stated ; but as usual the accounts are conflicting and inconsistent with themselves. Dionysius makes Camillus say to his soldiers, that whereas "the Gauls had only javelins, they had arrows, a weapon of deadly effect. *Ἀντὶ λόγῃς ὀστίος, ἄφικτον βέλος*. Fragm. Vatic. XXX. Plutarch says that Camillus instructed his soldiers "to use their long javelins as weapons for close fight," *τοῖς ὑσσοῖς μακροῖς διὰ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι*, Camill. 40, and in the next chapter he describes the Gauls as grappling with the Romans and trying to push aside their javelins, which evidently supposes them to have been used as pikes. And yet in the very sentence before, he talks of the Gaulish shields as being weighed down by the Roman javelins, which had run through them, and hung upon them, *τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς συμπεπάρθαι καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῶν ὑσσῶν ἐφελκομένων*, (Camill. 41,) a description applicable only to weapons thrown at the enemy and not used as pikes.

A passage in Livy seems to offer the solution of this difficulty. When the Gauls attacked the Roman camp in their invasion of the Roman territory in the year 405, only ten years before the Latin war, the *triarii* were engaged in throwing up works, and the *hastati* and *principes* covered them. Then, as the Gauls advanced up hill to attack the Roman position, "all the *pila* and spears," "*pila omnia hastæque*," "took effect," says Livy, "from their own weight ; and the Gauls had either their bodies run through, or their shields weighed down by the darts that were sticking in them." VII. 23. It appears then, that both the *pilum* and *hasta* could be used as missiles ; but both also could be used as pikes, for the *pilum* was six feet in length, and therefore it is very possible that Camillus may have shortened the spear of the *has-*

tati, to render it available as a missile, and also strengthened and lengthened the pilum to make it serve on occasion the purposes of a pike.

Thus the hastati and principes were armed with swords, with large oblong shields, *scuta*, and with spears, *hastæ*; but the large shield already fitted them for a more independent and personal mode of fighting than that of the phalanx, and the spear might be used as a javelin, no less than as a pike. The Samnite wars, following so soon afterwards, decided the Romans to give up the tactic of the phalanx still more entirely: the spear which might be used as a javelin, but was more fitted for close fight, was now given only to the soldiers of the third line; while the pilum, which might be used as a pike, but was properly a missile, was taken from the third line, and given to the soldiers of the first and second lines. At the same time those citizens whose properties were rated between four thousand ases and twelve thousand five hundred, and who were not formerly required to provide themselves with arms, were now called upon to do so, and therefore the *accensi* are no more heard of; while the *rorarii*, who seem to have belonged to the fifth class of the old Servian division, and to have gone to battle with no other weapons than slings, were now called upon to provide themselves with light-arms of a better description, and became the *velites* of the new legion. Why the *triarii* should have been also reduced in number does not certainly appear; except that as the whole Roman tactic was now become a very active system of personal combats along the whole line, it was necessary to have as many men as possible available for the two first divisions, and that the mere reserve, which was not to form any part of the fighting force, except on emergency, should be kept low, and confined to the older soldiers who had no longer sufficient activity to be employed in the constantly moving battle of the regular line.

Niebuhr has attempted to explain the number of centuries in the legion, and of men in each century, by a reference to the varying number of tribes, and to the centuries in the classes of the Servian constitution. But his explanation does not seem to me satisfactory; and the question is not essential to our understanding of the military character of the legion. It may be observed, however, that the germ of the division of the legion into ten cohorts, may be traced already in the legion of the time of Polybius, as a tenfold division existed in it in each of the three lines of the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. A cohort then would be merely one maniple of each of these three lines; a miniature legion, presenting the same variety of force on a small scale, which the legion itself did on a large scale. And thus the cohorts of the legion of four thousand two hundred men would consist of four hundred and twenty men each, as afterwards in the imperial legion they consisted properly of six hundred men each.

Sallust, it is well known, makes Cæsar say that the Romans had borrowed their arms, offensive and defensive, from the Samnites. (*Bell. Catilinar.* 51.) And although the Samnites are not named, yet the order of time seems to show that they must, partly at least, be intend-

ed, where Diodorus says, *Fragm. Vatic. XXIII. 1*, that the Romans, having first adopted the tactic of the phalanx in their wars with the Etruscans, afterwards exchanged it for the system of fighting in cohorts, (*σπειραῖς* being a certain correction for *παιραῖς*, which has no meaning at all,) and with the large oblong shield, *θυρεοῖς*, because the nations whom they subsequently encountered used this tactic. And it probably is true, that the peculiar form of the Roman legion was owing to the wars with the Gauls and Samnites, which led to the total disuse of the phalanx, and to the perfecting of those weapons, such as the sword and the javelin, which, in the system of the phalanx, are of the least importance.

END OF VOL. II.

HISTORY OF ROME.

VOL. III.

FROM THE END OF THE FIRST TO THE END OF THE SECOND
PUNIC WAR.

PREFACE.

THE publication of this volume has been delayed longer than may have seemed reasonable to the wishes of the author's friends. When I was requested to superintend its progress through the press, I foresaw and stated that other calls, which would have a prior claim to my attention, would inevitably much retard it. But the request was made at a time when my own grief made me doubly anxious to do any thing that might allay the far deeper grief of others; and as it was repeated notwithstanding this objection, I did not hesitate to comply with it. Indeed, but for this, I should joyfully have welcomed the opportunity of rendering any service to the memory of so great and good a man, a friend whom I so much honoured and revered. There seemed also to be a kind of propriety in my undertaking the task, not only on account of my previous connexion with another great historian of Rome, but also because the first letter I ever received from the author of this work, was written for the purpose of making some inquiries about Niebuhr's history, of which he said he had heard me speak with much praise. This letter was written in the year 1824; and to me it is an interesting recollection, that I should thus have been the means of introducing Dr. Arnold to a writer, who was to exercise so powerful an influence over the whole frame of his thoughts.

The manuscript which was put into my hands was singularly clear and correct; one might have thought at first sight, that it was fit for going to the press immediately. But it proved that the Author's practice was not to note his references at the time he was composing his narrative: he used to keep them to be added afterwards. Hence the only notes under the text which were found in the manuscript, are the first nine to the first chapter, and that in the Basque numerals in p. 393. I conceive that, after having impregnated his mind with the liveliest conception he could gain of the events he was about to record, from a comparison of the accounts given by the ancient writers, he was unwilling to interrupt the flow of the narrative by pausing to examine the

details of the documents, and so reserved all specific remarks on their contents, until the work was revised after its completion. Else such a practice would seem to entail a considerable addition of trouble. But it was also the practice of another friend of mine, who has enriched our literature with the best of all histories of Greece ; and I have been informed that it was Niebuhr's practice also, only that Niebuhr's memory was so prodigious, he would often insert his references, with the number of the book and chapter, and at times with the words of the original, without feeling any need of verifying them.

Owing to this cause the work became considerably more arduous than I had anticipated ; at least for one whose studies during the last ten years had lain in totally different regions, and who could only find an hour or two now and then, often at long intervals, to employ on it. In executing it, I have been much aided by my connexion and friend, the Rev. Arthur Stanley, whose devoted love for his former master made him rejoice in doing any thing for his remains, and is one among many like noble monuments to Dr. Arnold's praise. Still, although through the chief part of the volume the only sources of information are the regular historians of the period, there are several statements for which it took me many hours to discover the authority : and in some instances, after having abandoned the search as hopeless, I found the passage required in one of the historical fragments recently published by Mai. After all, I have not been able to detect what the author was referring to in p. 269, where he says, that a freedman " might go out as a farmer of the taxes to Sicily," or in p. 451, where mention is made of a story, which " ascribed the foundation of Gades to Archelaus, the son of Phoenix." Perhaps some scholar with more learning, and with something better than a private library at command, may enable me to supply these omissions in a future edition. The experience of the author's singular accuracy, which I have gained from the examination of his authorities, convinces me that he cannot have written without some definite ground for his assertions. Doubtless too there is some other authority than I have been able to find for the statement in p. 328, that " the older Gaulish chiefs were often averse to war, when the younger were in favour of it."

I have made this statement as a sort of apology for the length of time that this volume has been detained in the press, and to explain why it does not appear, like its predecessors, with the accompaniment of a running commentary, which is so requisite for the history of any period of antiquity, though perhaps less so for that of the second Punic war than of any other. In a very few instances have I allowed myself to do more than add a reference to passages which I conceived the author

had in view ; indeed scarcely any where, except in pp. 319 and 322. Certain materials, which would have been digested into notes, were found among the author's papers. Of these, such as appeared fitted for publication, have been added in the Appendix.

Now that this volume does at length make its appearance, I trust that the warmest expectations entertained by the author's admirers will be fully satisfied. To me it seems far the best and most valuable portion of his history. This may be because I have been under the necessity of forming a more intimate acquaintance with it, which is often no less serviceable to books than to persons. I believe however that the superiority is real. For in the first place, the author was entering upon ground comparatively unbroken : at least it had not just been exhausted by the mighty intellect which had been reconstructing the earlier history of Rome. How strongly the author felt the difficulty of following one who had said all that could be said about that period, and who left nothing to be gleaned by such as came after him, appears from the Preface to the second volume, where, after the amplest acknowledgment of his obligations to Niebuhr, he speaks with a magnanimous humility of the inferiority of his own work. Had Niebuhr lived to write the history of the second Punic war, it is clear, from the passage at the beginning of his third volume, where he says that "Scipio towers above his nation, as Hannibal above all nations," that he would have entered upon his task with the resolution of doing justice to both the competitors in the grandest struggle ever maintained by a single man ; at least with the exception of that which Luther, above seventeen centuries after, waged also against the power of Rome. But as it is, Dr. Arnold is the first extant historian, and, we may fairly believe, is altogether the first, who has given any thing like an adequate representation of the wonderful genius and noble character of Hannibal. This representation however, the reader will observe, is to be found in the whole course of this volume, rather than in the summary which concludes it, and which was written eighteen years before, when the author was only beginning to work his way out of the mists and clouds, which for so many ages had hung over the history of the Roman republic.

Besides, while the laborious avocations of Dr. Arnold's practical life, which would have worn out any common man, would not allow him to devote so much time to his history as would have been requisite to piece together fragments amassed from the whole surface of ancient literature, into a united and living body, it was also more congenial to the tone of his mind, which was rather that of a statesman than of a philologist or philosopher, to portray the life of a state in broad definite forms, than to

sketch out an image from seemingly shapeless clouds by gazing upon them with intent divination. And the most remarkable among his talents, his singular geographical eye, which enabled him to find as much pleasure in looking at a map as lovers of painting in a picture by Raphael or Claude, comes more into play in this volume; as does also, what must be intimately connected with that eye, his talent for military affairs. Even the military genius of Hannibal can hardly have been set on its right ground before. No reader of this volume will be able to close it without deploring that the author did not live to bring the war to its termination.

A strange fatality seems to hang over the history of Rome. No people ever wrote their history like the Romans; and they wrote it out. Other great nations have employed a large portion of their intellectual energies in other fields. Of the three ancient nations who have exercised a lasting influence on the destinies of mankind, the Hebrews were appointed to write their religion on the heart of the world, and the Greeks wrote their poetry and philosophy; but the Romans from first to last were employed in writing the history of Rome, and wrote that history on the face of the whole earth in enduring characters, by their wars, their conquests, their laws, and their language, the traces of which are to be seen at this day in the chief part of Europe. They continued to write their history in larger and larger characters, from the age of the original monarchy down to that of Trajan, and even in some sort to that of Justinian; and when the mind of the nation was in its prime, great historians rose up in it, and gave an image of the history, which their countrymen had written by their deeds. But while the chief works of the Greek historians have been preserved in singular completeness, those of the Romans have all become fragments. Moreover, in modern times, when the spirit of Rome had again become substantiated in a man who knew all history and all knowledge, and who was about to revive and reanimate what Time had destroyed and scattered, he was cut off in the middle of his work. And now a second great writer, whose mind in many respects was peculiarly qualified to make him the historian of Rome, has left his work a fragment. After Niebuhr's death, when an injudicious friend was advising me to complete his history, I replied that it would be as easy to complete Cologne cathedral. This latter work seems now about to be accomplished; and it may be that a complete history of Rome will in time be written; but it will not be Niebuhr's, nor Arnold's. A great mind comes once, and does not return.

In thinking however of the death of Dr. Arnold, more especially in

the present state of the English Nation and Church, there are deeper reasons for sorrow than the non-completion of any merely literary work. The history of Rome will still be written; and when viewed with reference to this object, the loss occasioned by Dr. Arnold's death cannot be compared with that which the whole knowledge of antiquity sustained by Niebuhr's. Doubtless too God will raise up men who will be able to do His work in England in these critical times. But there was a mission to which Dr. Arnold seemed especially called, and for which he was peculiarly fitted, a mission of the highest importance, which he executed faithfully and dutifully, and in which he had few fellow-workers. In an idolatrous age, one of the men we most need is an idoloclast, to use the word which Coleridge in his Tombless Epitaph applies to his ideal self. Such indeed there ever will be, some frivolous, some reckless; but the idoloclasts whom we need, and who alone will do their work effectually and beneficially, are such as are at once zealous and fearless in demolishing the reigning idols, and at the same time animated with a reverent love for the ideas which those idols carnalize and stifle. Such an idoloclast we had in Dr. Arnold, a dauntless lover of truth, in the midst of an age when few seek or care for any truth, except such as seems to pamper their already bloated predilections and prepossessions. From his unshakable trust in the God of Truth, under the assurance that God is Truth, and that Truth can never be against God, he pursued it boldly at all risks, in the spirit of the sublime prayer, *ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὕλεσσον*. For he knew that, though he might perish, God would live; though he might fall, God would triumph; and he felt confident that every time Truth is purged with a careful and loving hand from the defilements wherewith the exhalations of the world are continually crusting her over, her form and features will come out in greater beauty and glory. This should be the spirit of all men who write, above all on religion and philosophy; but in England it is very rare among those who treat on such subjects, whatever it may be among men of science. We are so bound and shackled by all manner of prejudices, national, party, ecclesiastical, individual, that we can hardly move a limb freely; and we are so fenced and penned in, that few can look out over their neighbour's land, or up to any piece of sky, except that which is just over their heads. Many too of our ablest men in these last years, instead of seeking after truth with loving patience and candour, have rather employed their best faculties in decking out their favorite idol with all the finery and tinsel which they could scrape together, and in burning incense before it, until they are wrapt in a mist, and count the glare of their tapers more glorious than the noonday sun.

At such a time it is especially wholesome and refreshing to find a man like Dr. Arnold, who loves the truth, and seeks it, and speaks it out. I do not mean to profess an entire agreement with all his opinions : on many points we differed, more or less ; but whether differing or agreeing, when I turn from the ordinary theological or religious writers of the day to one of his volumes, there is a feeling, as it were, of breathing the fresh mountain air, after having been shut up in the morbid atmosphere of a sick room, or in the fumigated vapours of an Italian church. He did indeed yearn after truth and righteousness, with yearnings that could hardly be uttered ; and to hear of falsehood, to hear of injustice, pained him like a blow. Therefore was his death felt almost like a personal, as well as a national loss, from one end of England to the other. His yearnings now, we may trust, through the Saviour whom he delighted to glorify, are stilled with the contemplation of perfect Truth and perfect Righteousness. O that his example and his teaching may arouse others to a like zeal in the same most holy cause !

J. C. HARE.

October 20th, 1843.

CHAPTER XLI.

STATE OF ITALY AFTER THE ROMAN CONQUEST. POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE INHABITANTS, AND DIFFERENT TENURES OF LAND. LATIN COLONIES.

*Πόλεσι γὰρ—ἐπελθόντες,—καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ μεγέθη ἐχούσαις, οὐ δύναμενοι ἐπενεγκεῖν οὔτε ἐκ πολιτείας τι μεταβολῆς τὸ διάφορον αὐτοῖς, ὃ προσήγοντο ἂν, οὔτ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πολλῶν κρείσσους ὄντες, σφαλλόμενοι δὲ τὰ πλείω, —ἠπόρουν.—*THUCYDIDES, VII. 55.

THE first and second Punic wars were separated by an interval of two-and-twenty years; and the first Punic war, as we have seen, had lasted for a period of exactly the same duration. The end of the fourth Samnite war, and the final submission of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, took place¹ eight years before the beginning of the contest with Carthage; and the treaty which permanently settled the relations of Rome with the Etrurians was concluded eight years earlier still.² Thus, when Hannibal, in the spring of the year 537, invaded Etruria, few living Etrurians had seen their country independent, except in their childhood or earliest youth; and all who were still in the vigour of manhood had been born since it had become the dependent ally of Rome. And when, after his victory at the lake Thrasymenus, he marched into Samnium, and encouraged the Samnites to take up arms once more in their old national quarrel, fifty-five years had passed since the Samnites, abandoned by Pyrrhus, and having tried fortune and hope to the uttermost, had submitted to the consul Sp. Carvilius Maximus. So in Samnium, as well as in Etruria, the existing generation had grown up in peace and alliance with the Romans: and many a Samnite may have been enriched by the plunder of Sicily, and must have shared with the Romans in the memorable vicissitudes of the first

¹ In 482 A. U. C. See Vol. II. of this History, XXXVIII. 127.

² In 474 A. U. C. See Vol. II. XXXVII. 113.

Punic war; in the defeat of Drepanum, and the disastrous shipwrecks which followed it; in the five years of incessant fighting with Hannibal's father at Eryx and by Panormus; in the long and painful siege of Lilybæum; in the brilliant victory of S. Metellus, and in the final triumph of C. Lutatius at the Ægates. It is true, that fifty-five years of constrained alliance had not extinguished the old feelings of hatred and rivalry; and the Samnites joined Hannibal, as a hundred and fifty years afterwards they joined the younger Marius, against the same enemy, the dominion of the Roman aristocracy. But that their rising was not universal,³ nor persisted in with more desperate resolution; that Etruria, with some doubtful exceptions,⁴ offered no encouragement to the Carthaginian general; that the fidelity of Picenum, of Umbria, of the Vestinians, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, and Sabines never wavered; that the "Latin name" remained true to a man; and that even in Campania the fidelity of Nola and of Cuma was as marked as the desertion of Capua;—all this is to be attributed mainly to the system of government which the Romans had established after their conquest of Italy, and which, so far as it can be traced, we must now proceed to examine in its complicated details. Not that we should by any means regard this system of government as a constitution founded upon justice, and granting to all whom it embraced within its range the benefits of equal law. Its praise is rather, that it secured the Roman dominion, without adopting the extreme measures of tyranny; that its policy was admirable, its iniquity and oppression not intolerable. And so small a portion of justice has usually been dealt to the mass of mankind, that their highest hopes have commonly aspired to nothing more than an escape from extravagant tyranny. If life, and property, and female honour, and domestic, national, and religious feelings, have not been constantly and capriciously invaded and outraged, lesser evils have been contentedly endured. Political servitude, a severe conscription, and a heavy taxation, habitual arrogance on the part of the governors, and occasional outbreaks of insolence and cruelty, have been considered no less incident to the condition of humanity, than the visitations of poverty, disease, and death. The dominion of the Romans over the people of Italy therefore, as it allowed the ordinary enjoyment of many rights, and conferred some positive advantages, was viewed by its subjects, notwithstanding its constant absoluteness and occasional tyranny, as a

³ The Pentrian Samnites, that is to say, the Samnites on the north of the Matese, in whose territory Æsernia had formerly been, and who still held Bovianum, did not revolt from Rome at all. See Livy, XXII. 61. A wealthy Samnite of Bovianum, Numerius Decimius, distinguished himself on the Roman side, in an action fought by

M. Minucius against Hannibal, in the year preceding the battle of Cannæ. Livy, XXII. 24.

⁴ Such as the alleged disaffection of the people of Arretium in the eleventh year of the second Punic war, which however displayed itself in no overt acts. Livy, XXVII. 21. 24.

condition quite as likely, if overthrown, to be changed for the worse as for the better.

"The Lacedæmonians," says Thucydides,⁵ "maintained their supremacy over their allies, by taking care that an oligarchy such as suited their own interests should be every where their allies' form of government." This also was one of the means by which the Romans secured their dominion in Italy. They universally supported⁶ the aristocratical party, and thus made the principal inhabitants of every city willing instruments to uphold their sovereignty; a fact which alone would prove, if the point were otherwise doubtful, that the constitution of Rome itself, even since the passing of the Hortensian laws, was much more an aristocracy than a democracy.

Aristocratical character of the Roman sovereignty.

I have said that the Roman dominion in Italy allowed its subjects the ordinary enjoyment of many rights, and conferred on them some positive advantages. Moreover, it held out to them hopes more or less definite of rising to a higher political condition hereafter. These three points will give us the fair side of the Roman sovereignty, and they shall now be considered in order.

Its advantages.

I. According to the general practice of the ancient world, the relation between Rome and her Italian subjects was nominally that of alliance; and the very term alliance implies something of distinctness; for the members of the same commonwealth cannot be each other's allies. Thus it is understood at once, that most of the Italian states retained their municipal independence: they had their own magistrates; they could pass laws for their internal government; and their ancient⁷ laws of inheritance, and marriage, as well as their criminal law, were still preserved in full force. But this applies only to single states, or to the separate parts of a nation; for every thing like a national council or diet was carefully prohibited. Arretium, Perugia, and Volaterræ, might each legislate for themselves; but we hear no more of any general congress of the Lucumones or chiefs of the whole Etruscan nation at the temple of Voltumna. Nay, in

Ancient rights retained under it.

⁵ I. 19, 76, 144.

⁶ In the second Punic war, Livy says, "unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiæ civitates, ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent; senatus Romanis faveret, plebs ad Pœnos rem traheret." XXIV. 2. So it was at Nola; Livy, XXIII. 15. But we have the same thing already existing in the Samnite wars: where some of the Ausonian aristocracy betray their cities to the Romans, and the Lucanian aristocracy is attached to the Roman alliance, while the popular party favour the Samnites. See Vol. II. of this History, pp. 499, 16.

⁷ The Latins retained some peculiar laws relating to marriage, till they obtained the full Roman franchise after the great Italian war in the middle of the seventh century. A. Gellius, IV. 4. And their law of interest, being different from that of Rome, enabled Roman creditors to evade their own law, by nominally transferring their debts to a Latin, who according to his law might exact a greater rate of interest than was permitted at Rome. Livy, XXXV. 7.

some recorded instances,⁸ and probably in many others not recorded, the several states or districts of the same nation were so isolated from each other, that the citizens of one could neither intermarry with, nor inherit, nor purchase land, from those of another. Thus the allies were left in possession of their municipal independence; but all free national action amongst them was totally destroyed.

II. Besides the benefits which the Roman dominion did not take away from its subjects, there were some others Benefits conferred by it. which it conferred upon them, and which they could not have enjoyed without it. The first and greatest of these was the extinction of internal war. From the Rubicon to the straits of Messina, there were no more of the intolerable miseries of a plundering border warfare, no more wasting of lands, driving away of cattle, burning of houses, and carrying off the inhabitants into slavery. Those cities which had survived the Roman conquest, were thenceforward secure from destruction; their gods would be still worshipped in their old temples; their houses were no longer liable to be laid in ruins by a victorious enemy; their people would not be massacred, made slaves, or scattered over the face of the earth, and their very name and memory extinguished. The Americans feel truly that, whatever may be the inconveniences of their federal union, it has still the inestimable advantage of banishing war from the whole of their vast continent; and this blessing was conferred on ancient Italy by the Roman dominion, and was so far even more valuable, as wars between independent states in the ancient world were far more frequent than now, and produced a far greater amount of human misery.

Again, the allies of Rome, while they escaped the worst miseries of war, were enabled by the great power of their confederacy to reap largely its advantages. In the plunder of Sicily the Italian allies and the Roman legions shared equally; and after the fourth Samnite war the Campanians received as their share of the spoil a large portion of the coast⁹ of the Gulf of Salerno, which had formerly belonged to the Samnites. Individuals also amongst the allied states might enjoy the benefits of an occupation of the Roman domain land; a privilege which would naturally bind many of the wealthiest families throughout Italy to the Roman interest, some already possessing it, and others hoping to obtain it.

⁸ As in the case of the Latins after the great Latin war, Livy, VIII. 14; of the Hernicans, after their revolt, in the second Samnite war, Livy, IX. 43; and of the Macedonians, after the battle of Pydna, Livy, XLV. 29.

⁹ This appears from the statement, that the Roman colonies of Salernum and Bux-

entum, founded after the second Punic war, were settled on land which had belonged to Capua. Livy, XXXIV. 45. As the coast of the Gulf of Salernum had originally belonged to the Samnites, we may conclude that the Campanians obtained it as their share of the spoil after the third or fourth Samnite war.

III. With these actual benefits, the Roman dominion also held out hopes to its subjects of rising sooner or later to a higher political condition. The regular steps ap-^{Hopes held out by it.}pear to have been, that an allied state should first receive the Roman franchise without the right of voting; and after the lapse of years these imperfect citizens gradually gained the full franchise, and were either formed into one or more new tribes, or were admitted into one of the tribes already existing. It is true that the first step in this process was generally an unwelcome one; because it involved, under ordinary circumstances, the forfeiture of all municipal independence, and the entire adoption of a foreign system of law. But there were cases in which it was stripped of these degradations, and became, as far as appears, a mere benefit: such seems to have been the condition of a large portion of the Campanians at the beginning of the second Punic war. Capua at that time was beyond all doubt municipally independent: it had its own laws and magistrates, and its own domain lands:¹⁰ yet it is no less certain that the Campanian aristocracy at any rate were Roman citizens in all respects, except in the right of suffrage.¹¹ Other allied states might expect the same reward of their continued fidelity: and from this condition the advance to the full franchise was always to be looked for in the course of time; and would in all probability have been the reward of Capua itself, had the Campanians devoted their whole strength to the support of Rome after the battle of Cannæ, instead of opening their gates to Hannibal.

Living in such a state, with 'so much not taken from them, with so much given to them, and with the hope of one day obtaining so much more; and being farther^{Its oppressiveness.} bound to their sovereigns by geographical position in all cases, and in most by something of an acknowledged affinity in race and language, the Roman allies had many inducements to acquiesce in their actual condition, and to regard themselves as united indissolubly with Rome, whether for better or for worse. But they had also much to bear; nor can we wonder if the descendants of C. Pontius, or Gellius Egnatius, or Stimius Statilius, or of the Calavii of Capua, should have thought life intolerable under the absolute dominion of that people, against whom their fathers had fought in equal rivalry. England for many generations upheld a system of domestic slavery in her colonies, while her own law so abhorred it, that any slave landed upon English ground became immediately a freeman. What the four seas were to England, that the line running round the city at the distance of a mile from the walls, was to Rome: it was the boundary between law and

¹⁰ Livy, XXIII. 3, foll. XXVIII. 46.¹¹ Livy, VIII. 14. See Niebuhr, Vol. II. note 136.

despotism. Within this precinct the sentences of the magistrates were the sentence of the law (*legitima judicia*); and their power was controlled by the sacred interposition of the tribunes. But without this limit all was absolute dominion, *imperium*: there the magistrate wielded the sword with full sovereignty; and judicial sentences were held to proceed, not from the law, but from his personal power, so that their validity lasted in strictness no longer than the duration of his authority. Even Roman citizens had no present protection from this tyranny; they had only the resource of seeking for redress afterwards from the courts of Rome. But the allies had not even this relief, except in cases of extraordinary atrocity: for the *imperium* of the Roman magistrates conferred a plenitude of dominion over the persons and property of the subjects of Rome: any thing might be done on the plea of the service of the Roman people, or of maintaining the dignity of its officers: and the least opposition was held to be rebellion. Therefore, although barefaced robberies of private property were as yet mostly restrained by public opinion, which would not allow a magistrate to use his power for purposes of personal plunder; yet acts of insolence and cruelty, far more galling than any mere spoliations of property, were no doubt frequent from the very beginning of the Roman dominion over Italy, and arose partly out of the very position of the Roman officers with respect to the allies, and partly out of the inherent coarseness and arrogance of the Roman national character.

Thus far we have considered the subjects or allies of Rome, in their relations to Rome generally, without noticing Differences in the condition of the allies. any differences in their condition, which distinguished them more or less from each other; indeed, in that distant view of the sixth century of Rome, which is all that we are permitted to enjoy, these differences are scarcely perceptible; greatly as they must have affected the internal state of the Italian people, yet in their recorded outward movements we see scarcely any thing but the equal working of the Roman power, which all were alike obliged to obey. The treaties which fixed the relations of the several allied states with Rome, varied considerably in their conditions. Camerinum in Umbria, and Heraclea on the Ionian Sea, are noticed as having treated with the Romans on almost equal terms;¹² and Etruria, making peace at the very moment when Pyrrhus was advancing victoriously upon Rome, must surely have secured more favourable conditions, than could be obtained by the exhausted Samnites and Lucanians, when in utter helplessness they submitted to their triumphant enemy. But we neither know what these differences were, nor, if we did, would

¹² Livy, XXVIII. 46. Camertes, quum æquo fœdere cum Romanis essent. On Heraclea, see Cicero pro Arch. c. 4.

the knowledge be of much importance, without much fuller information on the other points than we can now ever recover. One great distinction however claims the attention of the most general history,—that which separated all the other Italian allies from those of the Latin name.

When Mago brought to Carthage the tidings of the victory of Cannæ, and told the council how, not only the Bruttians and Apulians, but even some of the Lucanians and Samnites, and above all the great city of Capua itself, had in consequence of it joined the Carthaginians, the leader of the party opposed to Hannibal is represented as asking, whether a single people of the Latin name had revolted, or a single citizen of the thirty-five tribes deserted to the enemy?¹³ Unfaithfulness to Rome was thought to be not more impossible in her very citizens than in her Latin allies: Samnium and Capua might revolt; but the fidelity of the Latin name was never to be shaken. What then were the ties which bound the two nations together so indissolubly?

In order to answer this question, we must first explain what was meant in the sixth century of Rome by the “Latin name.” Now if we remember that almost The Latin name. all the cities of ancient Latium were long since become Roman, so that scarcely any except Tibur and Præneste could any longer be included under the name of allies, we may wonder how the Latin name could still be spoken of as so powerful, or where could be found those eighty-five thousand Latins, who were returned as able to bear arms in the census of the great Gaulish war.¹⁴

The answer is, that the Latin name was now extended far beyond its old geographical limits, and was represented by a multitude of flourishing cities scattered Its extent. over the whole of Italy, from the frontier of the Cisalpine Gaul to the southern extremity of Apulia. The people of the Latin name in the sixth century of Rome were not the Tiburtines merely, and the Prænestines,¹⁵ but the inhabitants of Circeii and Ardea on the old coast of Latium, of Cora and Norba on the edge of the Volscian highlands, of Fregellæ and Interamna in the valley of the Liris, of Sutrium and Nepete under the Ciminian hills, of Cales, Suessa Aurunca, and Saticula on the edge of the Campanian plain, of Alba in the country of the Marsians, of Æsernia and Beneventum in the heart of Samnium, of Narnia and Spoleto in Umbria, of Luceria and Venusia in or close to the frontiers of Apulia, of Hadria and Firmum in Picenum, and finally of Brundisium, far to the south, where the Adriatic opens into the Ionian Sea, and of Ariminum on the frontiers of the Cisalpine Gauls,

¹³ Livy, XXIII. 12.

¹⁴ Polybius, II. 24.

¹⁵ See Vol. II. p. 454, foll.

where the Apennines first leave the shores of the Adriatic, and make room for the vast plain of northern Italy.¹⁶ All these states, with others which I have not noticed, formed the Latin name in the sixth century; not that they were Latins in their origin, or connected with the cities of the old Latium: on the contrary they were by extraction Romans; they were colonies founded by the Roman people, and consisting of Roman citizens: but the Roman government had resolved, that in their political relations they should be considered, not as Romans, but as Latins; and the Roman settlers, in consideration of the advantages which they enjoyed as colonists, were content to descend politically to a lower condition than that which they had received as their birth-right.

The states of the Latin name, whether cities of old Latium or Roman colonies, all enjoyed their own laws and municipal government, like the other allies; and all were, like the other allies, subject to the sovereign dominion of the Romans. They were also so much regarded as foreigners, that they could not buy or inherit land from Roman citizens; nor had they generally the right of intermarriage with Romans. But they had two peculiar privileges: one, that any Latin who left behind him a son in his own city, to perpetuate his family there, might remove to Rome, and acquire the Roman franchise; the other, that every person who had held any magistracy or distinguished office in a Latin state, might become at once a Roman citizen. So that in this manner all the principal families in the Latin cities had a definite prospect assured to them of arriving in time at the rights of citizens of Rome.

Yet it is remarkable that when twelve of the Latin colonies, in the middle of the second Punic war, renounced the sovereignty of Rome, the consuls in their remonstrance with them are represented as appealing, not to their peculiar political privileges, but to their sense of duty and gratitude towards their mother country. "They were originally Romans, settled on lands conquered by the Roman arms for the very purpose of rearing sons to do their country service; and whatever duties children owed to their parents, were owed by them to the commonwealth of Rome."¹⁷ And as no age made a son, according to the Roman law, independent of his father, but entire obedience was ever due to him, without any respect of the greater or less benefits which the son might have received from his kindness, so the Romans thought that the allegiance of their colonies was not to depend on a sense of the advantages which their connection with Rome gave to them, but was a plain matter of duty. When

¹⁶ Livy, XXVII. 9, 10. Savigny, on the Jus Latii, in the Philological Museum. I. 156.

¹⁷ Livy, XXVII. 9.

they called on the Campanians not to desert them after the battle of Cannæ, they appealed to their gratitude for the boon of political or social privileges: "We gave you," they said, "the enjoyment of your own laws, and to a great proportion of your people we communicated the rights of our own franchise."¹⁸ How different is this language from the simple admonition of the Latin colonies, "that they were the children of Rome, and should render to their parent a child's obedience!"

Yet the sense of filial duty might have been quickened in the Latin colonies by a recollection of what they owed to Rome, and how much of their political existence depended on her protection. The colonists of Beneventum and Æsernia, of Luceria and Spoletum, were not the only inhabitants of those cities: they had not been sent as settlers into a wilderness, where every work of man around them was to be their own creation. According to the Roman notions of a colony, they had been sent to occupy cities already built and inhabited, to enter into the possession of lands which man's labour had long since made productive. They were to be the masters and citizens of their new city and its territory, while the old inhabitants were to be their subjects, and strangers, as it were, in their own land. And as long as they remained true to their duties as Roman colonies, the power of Rome would maintain their dominion: but if Rome no longer upheld them, there was no slight danger of their being expelled by the old population of the colony, aided, as the latter would soon be, by their countrymen in the neighbouring cities; and Beneventum and Æsernia would then no longer be Latin colonies, but return to their old condition of independent states of Samnium.

Condition of the
Latin colonies.

It may be asked, however, why the Romans refused to their own colonies the private rights, at any rate, of Roman citizens; and as in some instances colonies of Roman citizens were founded, why was not this made the general rule, and why were the great majority of the colonies obliged to content themselves with the name and franchise of Latins? I do not believe that any existing ancient writer has answered this question directly; and the uncertain history of the early times of Rome embarrasses our conjectures. But it is probable that colonies founded during the equal alliance between Rome and Latium, such as Norba and Ardea, were properly Latin cities, to which the Latins sent colonists equally with the Romans; so that they did not belong exclusively to Rome. It is more difficult to understand why Sutrium and Nepete, colonies planted on the Etrurian frontier, and at a period when the old Latin alliance was virtually at an end, still received the Latin franchise, and not the Roman; and why Cales, and the

¹⁸ Livy, XXIII. 5.

other colonies founded after the great Latin war, were colonies, not of the Roman, but of the Latin name. We may suppose, perhaps, that in all these settlements the population of the colony was mixed from the beginning; colonists from Latin cities, some of which were always friendly to Rome, being amongst the original settlers: and after the Latin war, we may conceive that there were many Latins, whom, either as a reward or a precaution, the Romans may have been glad to establish in a colony out of their own country. We may understand also, that as the Roman colonists were often taken, not only from the class of poorer citizens, but also from the freedmen, the government would be glad to get them off from the roll of Roman citizens, which could only be done by their consenting to join a Latin colony, in consideration of its providing them with a grant of land. And generally, as the country of a Greek or a Roman was essentially a single city, it was natural that men leaving that city, and settling in another at a distance, should in the common course of things cease to be citizens of their old country. In the Greek colonies the connexion was broken off altogether: but, as this would have defeated the very purpose for which Rome founded hers, it was not entirely severed, but exchanged for the relation of subject and sovereign, or, in the Roman language, of child and parent.

Besides the allies and the Latin name, there was yet a third class of Roman subjects, those who were Romans in their private rights, but not in their political, who possessed the rights of intermarriage, and of inheritance, or purchase of land by mancipation, *connubium* and *commercium*, but had no vote in the comitia, and were ineligible to all public offices of authority. This condition, although it was often a preparatory step to receiving the full Roman franchise, was yet in itself considered far inferior to that of the allies or of the Latin name, inasmuch as it implied the complete forfeiture of all a nation's laws and institutions, and a complete adoption of the laws and customs of Rome. It was a natural consequence of this state, that it did away all municipal government. A people thus become subject to Rome had properly no magistrates of its own; such public officers as it still retained had merely an honorary office: they were to superintend the sacrifices, preside at festivals, and direct other matters of pageantry and ceremonial. The administration of justice was vested in the hands of a præfect sent from Rome; and districts so governed were properly called præfectures. These præfectures were probably very numerous all over Italy; for the magistrates of the cities had no jurisdiction beyond the city walls; and even in the territories of the colonies themselves the country district was called a præfecture, although in these cases the præfect was not sent from Rome, but appointed by the colony. It is possible that this may explain what otherwise seems so puzzling, the application of the terms præfectura and municipium to the

Subjects of Rome enjoying the lower franchise of the city, under the jurisdiction of præfects.

same places, and that too in cases where municipium undoubtedly expresses the existence of a municipal government, as at Cumæ, Fundi, and Formiæ.¹⁹ In these instances the towns were municipia, and had their own magistrates; but the country around them may have been a præfecture; and the præfect was not appointed, as in the colonies, by the government of what may be called its local capital, but was sent immediately from Rome.

This intermixture of different kinds of government, within the same geographical limits, may lead us to consider another point of some importance; the variety of Various tenures of land. the tenures of land which the Roman conquest had introduced into every part of Italy; so that in each separate country, for instance in Etruria, Umbria, Samnium, or Lucania, as there were great differences of political condition, so also was there the greatest diversity in the tenures of property. There might be found every where three sorts of land,—1st, Land held by the old inhabitants, whether it had never been forfeited, or, if forfeited at the period of their conquest, formally restored to them by the Roman government; 2dly, Land held by a Roman or Latin colony, by grant from the Roman people; and 3dly, Land still held by the Roman people as domain, whether it was let or farmed by the government, or was in the occupation of individuals, whether Romans, Latins, or Italians of other nations. We have no Domesday-book of Italy remaining, which would enable us to determine the relative proportion of these three kinds of land; but the amount of the third kind, or domain land, was absolutely enormous; for the Roman people retained their full right of property, as we have seen before, in all land occupied (possessus) by individuals; whereas a large proportion of the manors which Domesday-book records as belonging to the crown, when granted, as they soon were, to private persons, ceased to be domain, and became to all intents and purposes private property. Thus in England, and in other countries of modern Europe, the domain lands have become gradually less and less extensive; but as at Rome nothing could alienate them except a regular assignation, and as various circumstances from time to time added to their amount, on the whole their extent went on increasing rather than diminishing; and we are astonished at the vast proportion of domain land belonging to the commonwealth, even at the end of the seventh century, all of which would have come within the disposal of a general agrarian law.

The later effects of these enormous tracts of domain land are well known, and will require our notice hereafter. Effects of the domain land on the state of Italy. But from the beginning they must have greatly injured the spirit and life of Italy. The whole spring of social and

¹⁹ Festus, v. Præfecturæ.

civil activity in the ancient world lay in its cities; and domain land and cities could not exist together. Towns, therefore, which had been taken at the first conquest of the country, and their inhabitants massacred or sold for slaves, becoming in many instances the domain of the conqueror, were condemned to perpetual desolation. Their old population was dispersed or destroyed; and the wealthy Roman, who became the occupant of their territory, allowed a large part of it perhaps to lie waste, and settled the slaves whom he employed in cultivating the remainder, rather in farm buildings or workhouses in the country, than in the houses of the old town. Thus a scanty and scattered slave population succeeded in the place of those numerous free cities, which, small as they were, yet well answered the great object of civil society, in bringing out at once the faculties and affections of mankind; while by the frequent interposition of these large and blank districts, the free towns which were left became more isolated, and their resources diminished, because they too had lost a part of their territory to the conqueror. The larger cities had in many instances become Latin colonies, and were lost to their old nation: and thus, when the Samnites joined Hannibal, it was like the insurrection of a peasantry, where all the fortresses are in possession of the enemy. Beneventum and Æsernia, the principal cities remaining in Samnium, were Latin colonies, or in other words Roman garrisons; the Samnite towns were all inconsiderable; and as soon as Hannibal's protection was withdrawn, the first Roman army which invaded the country recovered them almost without resistance.

Many questions might be asked concerning the state of Italy, to which the above sketch contains no answer. Many indeed I could not answer satisfactorily; and the discussion of doubtful points of law or antiquities, where the greatest men have been unable to arrive at any certain conclusion, seems to me to encumber history, rather than illustrate it. Some points I have forbore to notice at present, because their bearing on the general course of the story is not yet manifest. I have wished, not to write an essay on the condition of ancient Italy in the abstract, but to connect my notices of it with the history of the period, that this chapter may catch some portion of the interest attached to Hannibal's great invasion; whilst it may render the narrative of that invasion more intelligible, and may enable me to pursue it with fewer interruptions.

Meantime we must follow the course of events abroad and at home, through the two and twenty years which still separate us from the beginning of the expedition of Hannibal.

CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL HISTORY FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, ILLYRIAN WAR. GREAT GAULISH INVASION. MUSTER OF THE FORCES OF ALL ITALY. DEFEAT OF THE GAULS. ROMAN INVASIONS OF CISALPINE GAUL. M. MARCELLUS AND C. FLAMINIUS. A. U. C. 513 TO 535. A. C. 241 TO 219.

ALREADY at the end of the first Punic war some eminent Romans were in their full manhood, whose names are enduringly associated with the events of the second. **Q.** Eminent Romans of this period.

Fabius Maximus, the great dictator, "who by his caution saved the Roman state," was consul eight years after the conclusion of the treaty with Carthage; **Q.** Fulvius Flaccus, the conqueror and butcher of Capua, obtained his first consulship four years earlier, in the year 517; and M. Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, must have been thirty years old at the end of the first Punic war, had already won honours by his personal prowess as a soldier in Sicily, and had held the office of curule ædile. The earliest Roman historians, C. Fabius Pictor, and L. Cincius Alimentus, must have been at this time old enough to retain some impression of things around them; Nævius, the earliest known Roman poet, had served in the last war in Sicily; Livius Andronicus, the oldest dramatist, brought his first piece upon the stage in the very year after the conclusion of the war. Hannibal himself, whose genius was to be the mover and controller of the future invasion of Italy, was already born; but he was as yet an innocent child, only six years old, playing in his father's house at Carthage.

The transition from war to peace, which we remember five or six and twenty years ago, after a contest of very nearly the same length as the first Punic war, brought rather an increase than an abatement of embarrassment. A great stimulant was withdrawn; but a great burden remained to be borne; and the end is not yet manifest. But no sooner do the marks of battles pass away from the fields where they were fought, than the effects even of an exhausting war were shaken off in ancient times by nations not yet fallen into decline; because wars in those days were not maintained at the expense of posterity.

The sole debt which Rome had contracted had been incurred for the building of her last fleet ; and this could be paid off immediately by the Carthaginian contributions. Population repairs its losses with wonderful rapidity ; and to the dominions which the Romans had possessed before the war, was now added the greatest portion of Sicily. Q. Lutatius, the brother and successor of the consul who had won the decisive victory of the Ægates, passed the whole summer of his consulship in Sicily after the conclusion of the peace, and settled the future condition of the Roman part of the island.¹ Sicily was the earliest Roman province ; and in it was first exhibited that remarkable system of provincial government, which was gradually extended over so large a part of the ancient world. The peculiar character of this system did not consist in the absolute dominion of the Roman magistrates ; for their power was no less uncontrolled in Italy itself, every where beyond the immediate precinct of Rome, than it could be in the provinces. But the nations of Italy, like the allies of Lacedæmon, aided the sovereign state with their arms, and paid no tribute ; while the provinces were disarmed, like the allies of Athens, and served their sovereign with their money, and not with their men. Hence the perpetual difference in Roman law between land in Italy and land in the provinces ; that the former might be held by individuals as their freehold, and was liable to no payments of tithe or land tax ; while the property of the latter was vested solely in the Roman people. When we hear that a Sicilian state had its forfeited lands restored to it,² this means only that they were restored subjected to the sovereign rights of the conqueror ; and therefore they were still burdened with the payment of tithes, as an acknowledgment that they were not held by their possessors in full property.

No sooner was the provincial system established in Sicily, than the monied men of Rome, the famous Publicani, began to flock over to the island to farm the tithes and the various other revenues which came in from a province to the Roman people. Then were opened all those sources of acquiring wealth at the expense of the provincials, which rich or influential Roman citizens drained so unsparingly. Many Sicilian states were hindered from buying land in each other's territories ;³ but the Roman could purchase every where ; and competition being thus restricted, he was enabled to purchase at greater advantage. If any state, or any individual in it, had sustained losses which disabled them from paying what they owed to the government at the appointed time, a wealthy Roman was always ready to lend them money ; and as the Roman law of

¹ Zonaras, VIII. 17.

² Cicero in Verrem, III. 6.

³ Cicero in Verrem, II. 50. III. 40.

interest did not extend to the provinces, he lent it on his own terms, and availed himself of the necessities of the borrower to the utmost. Even in common commercial transactions the Roman merchant in the provinces came into the market with great advantages. If he wished to buy, a provincial would often be afraid to bid against him: if he sold at a high price, the provincial dealers in the same commodity would be afraid to undersell him. The money thus gained by Roman citizens in the provinces gave them influence at Rome; and this again made their friendship or enmity of importance to the Roman provincial governors. Thus they were armed not only with the general authority of the Roman name, but with the direct countenance and support of the Roman magistrates; and those magistrates held the lives and properties of the provincials at their absolute disposal.

While the wealthy had these means afforded them of becoming more wealthy, the end of a long war seemed a fit season for rewarding the faithful services of some of the poorer citizens, and of the subjects of the commonwealth. I have already noticed the large assignation of lands which took place somewhere about this period, and for the direction of which no fewer than fifteen commissioners were appointed. And the censors of the year 513 created two new tribes of Roman citizens, the Quirinian and the Velinian,⁴ containing, as the names show, the Sabines of the neighbourhood of Cures and of the valley of the Velinus, and the people possibly of some other towns and districts also. These new tribes raised the whole number of tribes to thirty-five: and none were ever added afterwards. Nearly sixty years had elapsed since the last creation of two tribes, the Aniensian and Terentine, between the second and third Samnite wars. But before another period of sixty years could elapse, Hannibal's invasion had so changed the state of Italy and of the Roman people, that the old practice was never again repeated; and thus the Roman tribes remained fixed at the number of thirty-five, rather from accident, as I believe, than from deliberate design.

But the remedy in human affairs is seldom commensurate with the evil. Neither the assignation of lands by the fifteen commissioners, nor the grant of the full Roman franchise to a portion of the Sabine people, could compensate to Italy for the wide destruction of the poorest classes of free citizens occasioned by the naval losses of the first Punic war. "The Romans," says Polybius,⁵ "lost in battle and by shipwreck, in the course of the war, no fewer than 700 quinqueremes." They lost besides, at one time, nearly 800 corn ships in the great storm which wrecked the two fleets of L. Junius, on the south

Two new tribes, raising the number to thirty-five.

Destruction of agricultural labourers supplied by slaves.

⁴ Livy, Epitom. XIX.

⁵ I. 63.

coast of Sicily, in the year 505. Now the seamen, as is well known, were taken exclusively from the poorest class of freemen; from those who, in many instances no doubt, like the corresponding class in Greece, lived only by their labour; who in Etruria, especially, and elsewhere, resembled the *Coloni*, so well known from the law books of the latter empire, a class of men humble and dependent, but not slaves. As the war drained this class more and more, it had at the same time supplied the slave market beyond all former example. Nor did the supply cease with the war against Carthage; for several years afterwards we read of expeditions against the Ligurians, Sardinians, or Corsicans;⁶ and every expedition brought off slaves as a part of its plunder. "Sardinians for sale"⁷ became a proverb to express any thing of the least possible value; and the Corsicans were a race so brutish, according to the judgment of the slave dealers of the Augustan age, that they would fetch only the smallest price in the market.⁸ These poor wretches therefore would not pay the expense of carrying them to the distant markets of Greece or Asia; they must be sold at home; and their purchasers would commonly be the holders of large estates of domain land, who employed them there in the place of free labourers. Thus began that general use of slave labour in Italy, which in the course of a hundred years had in some places almost extirpated the free population.

At the end of the summer of 513, the consul Q. Lutatius returned home from the settlement of Sicily: but before he went out of office in the following spring, both he and his colleague, A. Manlius, were obliged to employ the whole force of the commonwealth against an enemy scarcely thirty miles distant from the walls of Rome. These enemies were the Faliscans, or people of Falerii;⁹ a name which has not been heard of in Roman history for more than a hundred and fifty years; when it is said that the four new tribes created after the recovery of Rome from the Gauls, in the year 368, were composed partly out of the inhabitants of the territory of Falerii. What could tempt a single city to brave the power of Rome at a period when there was no foreign war to make a diversion in its favour, we know not, and can scarcely conjecture. But the Romans thought the example so dangerous, that they exerted their whole force to put an immediate stop to it; and in six days the Faliscans, after a desperate resistance, were obliged to submit at discretion. They were forced to surrender all their arms, horses and movable property, and half of their domain land: their city

⁶ Zonaras, VIII. 18.

⁸ Strabo, V. p. 224.

⁷ *Sardi venales*. Aurelius Victor, de Vir. Ill. c. LVII. attributes the origin of this saying to the time of the conquest of Sardinia by Tiberius Gracchus.

⁹ Livy, Epitom. XIX. Zonaras, VIII. 18. Polybius, I. 65. Eutropius, II. 28. Orosius, IV. 11.

was destroyed; and they were removed to another spot less strongly situated; a condition similar to that which had been imposed on the people of Volsinii, four and twenty years earlier. For this conquest both consuls obtained a triumph.

With the exception of this six days' war, the three years which followed the treaty with Carthage were to Rome a period of perfect peace. While the Carthaginians Employments during three years of peace. in Africa were struggling for their existence against their revolted subjects and their rebellious mercenary soldiers, the Roman annals record nothing but friendly embassies, works of internal improvement, new festivals, and new kinds of amusement. Ambassadors were sent to Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, to offer him the aid of Rome against the king of Syria;¹⁰ but it was declined with thanks, as the war was already at an end. A carriage road was made to the top of the Aventine by the ædiles, L. and M. Publicius, with the fines which they had recovered from persons convicted of pasturing their cattle illegally on the domains of the commonwealth: with another portion of these same fines was defrayed the expense of the games of Flora,¹¹ now for the first time instituted, and celebrated from henceforward every year, beginning on the 28th of April: and in 514, as I have already mentioned, the first regular drama was exhibited at Rome by L. Livius Andronicus.¹² It may be noticed as a curious coincidence, that the next year, 515, witnessed the birth of Q. Ennius, who may be called the father of the existing poetry of the Latin language.

This season of peace appears to have infused a spirit of unwonted moderation and honesty into the Roman councils. Some Italian vessels carrying corn to Friendly relations with Carthage. the African rebels were interrupted by the Carthaginians, and the crews thrown into prison.¹³ The Romans sent an embassy to require their liberation, which the Carthaginians granted; and this ready compliance so gratified the Roman government, that they released without ransom all the Carthaginian prisoners still left in their hands, permitted supplies of all kinds to be carried to Africa for the use of the Carthaginians, while they strictly forbade all traffic with the rebels; and even, it is said, allowed the Carthaginians to levy soldiers in their dominions; that is, to enlist, as they had been wont in times long past, Lucanian, or Samnite, or Bruttian mercenaries. Nor was this all; for when the mercenaries in Sardinia revolted from Carthage, and called in the Romans to their aid, their request was not listened to; and when the people of Utica, dreading the vengeance of the Carthaginians, offered to give themselves up to Rome, the Romans rejected this offer also.

¹⁰ Eutropius, III. 1.

¹² Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. I. 1. Brut.

¹¹ Ovid, Fast. V. 279-294. Festus, 18.

v. Publicius.

¹³ Polybius, I. 83.

But when Hamilcar's genius had delivered his country from its extreme peril, when the rebel mercenaries were destroyed, and when Utica and the other revolted towns and people of Africa had been obliged to submit at discretion, when perhaps also rumours were already abroad of Hamilcar's intended expedition to Spain, then the jealousy of the Romans seems to have revived, and their whole conduct towards Carthage underwent a total change. The mercenaries of Sardinia, after having revolted from Carthage, and applied at that time vainly for the aid of the Romans, were overpowered by the natives and obliged to fly from the island.¹⁴ They took refuge in Italy, and had probably never ceased soliciting the Roman government to espouse their quarrel, and take possession of Sardinia for themselves. But now the Romans began to listen to them; and it was resolved to send over a fleet to Sardinia to restore them. The Carthaginians meanwhile, having recovered their dominion in Africa, were proceeding to reduce the revolted islands; and an armament was prepared to attack Sardinia. Then the Romans complained that the Carthaginians, while employing their fleet to prevent the African rebels from receiving supplies by sea, had committed many outrages upon Roman subjects sailing to and from Africa; that this had manifested their hostile feeling towards Rome; and that the armament, prepared ostensibly for the recovery of Sardinia, was intended to attack Italy. Accordingly the senate and people passed a resolution for war with Carthage. The Carthaginians, utterly unable to engage in a new contest, offered any terms for the sake of peace: and the Romans not only obliged them to make a formal cession of Sardinia, but required them to pay 1200 talents, in addition to the sum stipulated by the last treaty, as a compensation for the injuries sustained by the Roman merchants, and a penalty for their meditated aggression.¹⁵ Hamilcar advised compliance with these demands; but he hastened, no doubt with tenfold eagerness, the preparations for his expedition to Spain.

When all was ready, the general performed a solemn sacrifice, to propitiate the gods for the success of his enterprise.¹⁶ The omens were declared favourable; Hamilcar had poured the libation on the victim, which was duly offered on the altar, when on a sudden he desired all his officers, and the ministers of the sacrifice, to step aside to a little distance, and then called his son Hannibal. Hannibal, a boy of nine years old, went up to his father, and Hamilcar asked him kindly, if he would like to go with him to the war. The boy eagerly caught at the offer, and with a child's earnestness implored his

¹⁴ Polybius, I. 29.¹⁶ Polybius, III. 11.¹⁵ Polybius, I. 88. Appian de Reb.

Punic. c. 5.

father to take him. Then Hamilcar took him by the hand, and led him up to the altar, and bade him, if he wished to follow his father, lay his hand upon the sacrifice, and swear "that he would never be the friend of the Romans." Hannibal swore, and never to his latest hour forgot his vow. He went forth devoted to his country's gods as the appointed enemy and destroyer of their enemies; and the thought of his high calling dwelt ever on his mind, directing and concentrating the spirit and enthusiasm of his youth, and mingling with it the forecast, the great purposes, and the deep and unwavering resolution of the maturest manhood.

This story of his solemn vow was told by Hannibal himself many years afterwards to Antiochus, king of Syria; but at the time it was heard by no other ears than Renewed disputes with Carthage. his father's; and when he sailed with Hamilcar to Spain, none knew that he went with any feelings beyond the common light-hearted curiosity of a child. But the Romans viewed Hamilcar's expedition with alarm, and were probably well aware that he would brook his country's humiliation only so long as he was unable to avenge it. More than once they renewed their complaints that the Carthaginians annoyed their merchants at sea, and that they were intriguing with the Sardinians, to excite them to revolt from Rome. A fresh sum of money was paid by Carthage; but the complaints still continued; and the Romans, for the second time it is said, passed a resolution for war. Embassy after embassy was sent to Rome by the Carthaginian gov- A. U. C. 519. A. C. 235. ernment, to deprecate a renewal of the contest;¹⁷ and at last ten of the principal members of the council of elders were appointed ambassadors, if perhaps their rank and dignity might at once move the Romans to pity, and inspire confidence in the peaceful intentions of Carthage. Still the Romans were for a long time inexorable; till Hanno, the youngest of the ambassadors, and, if he was, as is probable, the famous opponent of Hannibal, himself sincerely inclined to maintain the peace, remonstrated with the senate plainly and boldly. "If you will not have peace with us," he said, "then give us back Sardinia and Sicily; for we yielded them to you, not to purchase a brief truce, but your lasting friendship."¹⁸ Then the Romans were persuaded; and the treaty of peace was again renewed and ratified. This was in the year of Rome 519, in the consulship of T. Manlius Torquatus and C. Atilius Bulbus. It was apparently to assure the Carthaginians that the peace thus ratified was to be sincere and lasting, that the old ceremony of shutting the gates of Janus was now performed;¹⁹ for the first time, it was said, since the reign

¹⁷ Zonaras, VIII. 18. Orosius, IV. 12.¹⁸ Eutropius, III. 3. Orosius, IV. 12.¹⁹ Dion Cassius, *Fragm.* Ursin. CL.

of King Numa ; for the last time also until they were closed by Augustus after his conquest of Egypt.

But in this very year, as well as for several years before and after it, the Roman arms found employment against barbarian enemies in Sardinia, in Corsica, in Liguria, and in Cisalpine Gaul.²⁰ These wars served to exercise the citizens in arms, to furnish the consuls with an occasion of triumphs, and to bring fresh multitudes of slaves into Italy. Q. Fabius Maximus, afterwards so famous, was consul for the first time in 521, and obtained a triumph for his victories over the Ligurians.²¹

Twelve years after the end of the first Punic war, and six after the solemn confirmation of the treaty, a Roman army was sent, for the first time, across the Ionian gulf. More than forty years had now passed since the death of Pyrrhus ; his family in the second generation had become extinct ; and the Epirots were governing themselves without a king. But their power had sunk almost to nothing ; and the only name now dreaded in those parts was that of the Illyrians.

The various tribes of the Illyrian nation occupied the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic, from its most northern extremity to its mouth. Their extent inland can scarcely be determined : in the later Roman geography the name of Illyricum was applied to the whole country between Macedonia and the Danube ;²² while the early Greek writers distinguished the Illyrians from the Pæonians or Pannonians, and appear to have confined the Illyrian name to the tract of country more or less narrow where the streams flow into the Adriatic ; and placed other nations, the Triballians, Pæonians, and Thracians, in the country beyond the watershed, where the streams run northwards to the Danube. In truth all these nations were probably connected with each other ; and their language, if it belonged, as seems likely, to the Sclavonic branch of the great Indo-Germanic family, was not wholly foreign either to the Hellenic, spoken on their southern borders, or to the various dialects of Italy, from which they are so little distant on their western frontier. The Illyrians on the Adriatic coast, and on the western border of Upper Macedonia, were held by the Greeks in great respect for their courage ; but, like most barbarians, they loved to maintain themselves by plunder instead of labour ; and the innumerable harbours along their coast tempted them to plunder by sea rather than by land. Seventy years before this, they were already formidable to all who navigated the Adriatic : but now, since the

²⁰ For the wars in Corsica and Sardinia, see Zonaras VIII. 28. Livy, Epit. XX. Valerius Maximus, VI. 3, § 3. Eutropius, III. 3 ; for the war in Liguria, Dion Cas-

sius, Fragm. Peiresc. XLV. ; and for that in Cisalpine Gaul, Polybius, II. 21.

²¹ Plutarch, Fabius, 2.

²² Zonaras, VIII. 19. Appian, Illyr. I.

fall of the Epirot power, the coast to the southward lay unprotected ; and their vessels made frequent plundering descents, not only on Epirus, but even on the western shores of Peloponnesus, on Elis, and on Messenia. This brought them more in the way of the merchant ships of Italy, which were engaged in traffic with Greece and the East ; and complaints of the Illyrian piracies had been frequently brought before the Roman government. These were for a time neglected, but at last they became more numerous and pressing ; and they were farther supported by the people of the island of Issa, a Greek colony, who, being attacked by the Illyrians, sent to implore the protection of the Romans.

The senate accordingly sent, as was its custom, three ambassadors to Illyria, to learn the state of the Illyrian power,²³ and to find out what friends the Romans would be likely to have within the country itself, if they should have occasion to declare war. The ambassadors found the king of the Illyrians dead ; and his widow Teuta, as the Illyrian law permitted, was governing in the name of her step-son, Pinnes, who was still a child. At the moment when the ambassadors arrived, the Illyrian queen was besieging Issa, and was highly elated with the recent success of her fleet, which had returned loaded with spoil from a plundering expedition against Epirus. She was in no mood therefore to brook the peremptory language always used by Roman ambassadors ; and one of the three so offended her, that she sent one of her ships after them on their return home, to seize them. Two of them were killed, and the third was brought to the queen, and thrown into prison.²⁴

The Romans without delay declared war against the Illyrians, and both consuls, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus and L. Postumius Albinus were sent across the Adriatic with a fleet and army such as had rarely been seen in those parts. As usual, they found allies within the country ; Demetrius, a Greek of the island of Pharos, who was holding Corcyra for the Illyrian queen, surrendered it at once to the Roman fleet,²⁵ and guided the consuls in all their subsequent operations. A Roman fleet of two hundred quinqueremes, and a regular consular army of 22,000 men, were, as opposed to the piratical barks and robber soldiery of Queen Teuta, like a giant amongst pigmies. Town after town, and tribe after tribe, yielded to them, and Teuta, having taken refuge in Rhizon, which was almost her last remaining

A. U. C. 525. A. C. 229.

Ambassadors sent to Illyria put to death.

War with the Illyrians.

²³ Polybius, II. 8. Dion, Fragm. Ur-sin. CLI. Zonaras, VIII. 19.

²⁴ Polybius, II. 8, gives Caius and Lucius Coruncanius as the names of the ambassadors. Pliny, XXXIV. 11, says that statues (*tripedaneæ*) were raised by

the republic to P. Junius and Titus Coruncanius, who were killed by Teuta, queen of the Illyrians. "Hoc a republica tribui solebat injuria cæsis."

²⁵ Polybius, II. 11.

stronghold, was glad to obtain peace on the conqueror's terms. The greater part of her former dominion was bestowed on Demetrius; she was to pay a fixed tribute to the Romans, and was never to allow more than two of her ships together, and these not armed vessels, to sail to the south of the port of Lissus, the last place in the Illyrian dominions.²⁶ In the course of this short war, not only Corcyra, but Apollonia also, and Epidamnus, submitted to the Romans at discretion, and received their liberty, as was afterwards the fate of all Greece, as a gift from the Roman people.

The Illyrian war having been settled rather by the Roman fleet than by the army, Cn. Fabius, who had commanded the fleet, returned home alone to obtain a triumph; while his colleague L. Postumius was left with a small force at Corcyra. He sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and the Archæan league, to explain the grounds on which the Romans had crossed the sea, and to read the treaty which had been concluded with the Illyrians. As all the Greeks had suffered from or dreaded the Illyrian piracies, the Roman ambassadors met with a most friendly reception, and were welcomed as the benefactors of Greece. Soon afterwards the Romans sent other embassies to Corinth and to Athens, with no other object, so far as appears, than of introducing themselves to some of the most illustrious states of the Greek name, which many of the Romans had already learnt to admire. At Corinth they received the solemn thanks of the Corinthians for the services they had rendered to the Greek nation; and the Romans were allowed to take part in the Isthmian games, as if they were acknowledged to have some connexion with the Hellenian race.²⁷ The Athenians, it is said, went farther, granted to the Roman people the honorary franchise of Athenian citizens, and admitted them to the Eleusinian mysteries. That this honour was not despised by the highest Roman nobility may be concluded from the fact, that A. Manlius Torquatus, who was censor in 506, and consul in 509 and 512, has the surname of Atticus, in the Capitoline Fasti, a name borne, so far as we know, by no other member of his family, either before or afterwards.

Nearly about the time when the consuls, Cn. Fulvius and L. Postumius, left Rome on their expedition to Illyria, the Romans must have heard the tidings of the death of Hamilcar. From his first landing in Spain he had advanced with uninterrupted success, training his army in this constant warfare with the bravest of barbarians, and gaining fresh popularity and influence both at home and with his soldiers, by his free distribution of his spoils; spoils not to be estimated by the common poverty of barbarians, but rich in silver and gold, the produce of the still abundant mines of Spain. In the ninth year

Roman embassies
into Greece.

Death of Hamilcar.

²⁶ Polybius, II. 12.

²⁷ Polybius, II. 12. Zonaras, VIII. 19.

of his command he had reached the Tagus, when he was killed in a battle with the Vettonians, a tribe who dwelt between the Tagus and the Douro, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal.²⁸

The work which Hamilcar had begun by the sword, was continued and consolidated by the policy of his successor. Hasdrubal was one of those men who are especially fitted to exercise an ascendancy over the minds of barbarians ;²⁹ his personal appearance was engaging ; he understood the habits and feelings of the Spaniards, and spared no pains to accommodate himself to them. Thus the native princes far and near sought his friendship, and were eager to become the allies of Carthage ; while

Hasdrubal's progress in Spain. Measures taken by the Romans to check him.

A. U. C. 526. A. C. 228.

by the foundation of New Carthage, or Carthagena, a place possessing one of the best harbours in the Mediterranean, and naturally strong on the land side, he was enabled to command the heart of Spain, from a position close at hand, instead of beginning his operations from a distant corner of the country, like Gades. The Romans observed his progress with no small alarm ; but their dread of an approaching Gaulish invasion made them unwilling to provoke a war at this moment with Carthage. They endeavoured therefore to secure themselves by treaty, and concluded a convention with Hasdrubal, by which he bound himself not to extend his conquests to the north of the Iberus or Ebro.³⁰ By this stipulation the Romans hoped to keep him at a sufficient distance, not from Italy only, but from their old allies the people of Massalia, some of whose colonies had been founded south of the Pyrenees, along the coast of what is now Catalonia. Nor were they abandoning to him the whole country southward of the Iberus ; for they had lately formed an alliance with the Saguntines, a people partly of Greek, or at any rate not of Spanish extraction, who lived near the coast between the Iberus and the Sucro, and who, in their fear of the Carthaginian power, had put themselves under the protection of Rome.³¹ The treaty concluded with Hamilcar, at the end of the first Punic war, had contained a clause forbidding either of the contracting parties to molest the allies of the other ;³² Saguntum, therefore, was safe from attack ; and the Romans hoped, no doubt, to secure their footing in Spain through its means, and from thence, so soon as the Gaulish war was over, to sap the newly-formed dominion of Carthage, by offering their aid to all the native tribes who might wish to escape from it.

But these hopes and fears for their dominion in Spain were overpowered at present by a nearer anxiety, the dread of a Gaulish invasion. The Cisalpine Gauls

Threatenings of an invasion by the Gauls.

²⁸ Polybius, II. 1. Zonaras, VIII. 19. Nepos. Diodor. Ecl. lib. XXV.

³⁰ Polybius, II. 13. III. 27. 9.

³¹ Polybius, III. 15, 21, 30.

²⁹ Polybius, II. 13, 36. Appian, VI.

³² Polybius, III. 21.

had for the last ten years resumed their old hostile dispositions, which before that time had slumbered for nearly forty-five years, since their great defeat by the consul Q. Æmilius Papus, two years before the invasion of Pyrrhus.³³ In that interval they had seen two Roman colonies founded on the land which had formerly been theirs; Sena immediately after the war,³⁴ and Ariminum about fourteen years afterwards, or four years before the beginning of the war with Carthage. But neither of these occupations of what they must have considered their own land, provoked them, as it seems, to attack the Romans; and they remained quiet through the whole of the first Punic war, when the Romans, engaged year after year in Sicily, would have resisted them at the greatest disadvantage. But three years after the peace with Carthage, we find the Roman consuls invading the territory of the Gauls. It is difficult to believe that these renewed hostilities were wholly owing, as Polybius says,³⁵ to the innate restlessness of the Gaulish character, and to the rising up of a new generation who had forgotten the defeats of their fathers. But this new generation must have been ready for war at least ten years earlier; and their impatience would scarcely have waited so long only to break forth at last when the favourable opportunity was over.

The Cisalpine Gauls called in their brethren from beyond the Alps to aid them; but these new comers excited jealousies; and on one occasion there was a regular battle fought between them and the Cisalpine Gauls, with such slaughter on both sides as relieved the Romans from all present danger.³⁶ But afterwards, in the year 521, when Fabius Maximus was for the first time consul, an agrarian law was proposed and carried by C. Flaminius, one of the tribunes, for a general assignation of the land between Ariminum and Sena,³⁷ a measure which not only ejected perhaps many of the old Gaulish inhabitants, who had still been suffered to enjoy their former possessions, but seemed an earnest of the intention of the Romans to extirpate the Gauls altogether from every portion of Gaulish territory which the fortune of war might hereafter give them. Accordingly there was now an unanimous cry amongst the Gauls for war, and for obtaining the aid of their Transalpine countrymen. Their preparations were made with unusual patience; there was no premature movement; but they

Preparations of the
Gauls for war.¹

A. U. C. 528. A. C.
226.

³³ A. U. C. 472. Vol. II. of this History, ch. XXXVII. p. 98.

³⁴ Polybius, II. 19.

³⁵ II. 21.

³⁶ Polybius, II. 21.

³⁷ Cicero, De Senectute, c. 4, places this law in 526, when Q. Fabius, *consul iterum*, C. Flaminius, quoad potuit, restitit,

agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti. But from Polybius, II. 21, it appears that the law was carried into effect by M. Lepidus, who was consul in 523; so that it must have been passed in the previous year, when Fabius was consul along with M. Pomponius Matho.

endeavoured to provide themselves with money, of which they had none of their own, by selling various commodities, wool and hides, and, above all, captive slaves, to merchants who would pay for them in gold and silver.³⁸ Thus they were enabled to engage the services of a large body of Transalpine Gauls, whom they tempted besides with the prospect of a permanent settlement in Italy; whilst the Romans, knowing full well that the storm was gathering, yet unwilling to provoke it by commencing hostilities, were kept year after year in a state of anxious preparation, till the invasion at last, as it seems, actually burst upon them unexpectedly.

In this state of suspense, superstitious terrors possessed men's minds readily. The Capitol was struck with lightning, an unwonted prodigy; and the Sibylline Superstitious terrors. books were consulted in consequence. The books said, "When the lightning shall strike the Capitol and the temple of Apollo, then must thou, O Roman, beware of the Gauls."³⁹ And another prophecy said that a time should come "when the race of the Greeks and the race of the Gauls should occupy the Forum of Rome." It is characteristic of superstition to transfer to its idols that mockery of truth which itself so delights in, and to believe that they care not for wickedness, if it be done to promote their service. A man and woman of the Gaulish race, with a Greek man and woman, were buried alive in the Forum Boarium, that the prophecy might be fulfilled in word, and might, so the Romans hoped, be proved to be in spirit a lie.³⁹

It was the spring of the year 529, and the consuls chosen were L. Æmilius Papus and C. Atilius Regulus, son of Revolt of Sardinia. that Regulus who had been so famous in the first Punic war. The Transalpine Gauls had not yet crossed the Alps; and, on the other hand, tidings arrived that the Sardinians, impatient of the dominion of a Roman prætor, to which they had now, for the first time, been made regularly subject, had broken out into a general revolt. Accordingly C. Regulus, with one consular army, was sent over to Sardinia to put down the revolt.⁴⁰

He was already arrived in his province, when the Transalpine Gauls, on the first melting of the snows, crossed the Alps; and the Cisalpine Gauls joining them Preparations for the Gaulish war. with all their own disposable forces, the invasion of Italy was no longer delayed. The alarm was given at Rome; and then was seen with what vast power and energy the Roman government could meet an emergency of real danger. The whole free population of Italy, of an age to bear arms, was reported to Rome in the returns of the census of the several states; and in a contest

³⁸ Zonaras, VIII. 19.

³⁹ Orosius, IV. 13. Plutarch, Marcell.

³⁹ See the fragments of Dion, published 3. Zonaras, VIII. 19.

⁴⁰ Polybius, II. 23. Zonaras, VIII. 19.

by Mai, p. 185.

A. U. C. 527. A. C.
227.

with barbarians such as the Gauls, every state and every man could be depended on; for no evil could equal the victory of such an enemy. Thus knowing the whole extent of its resources, the government prepared accordingly its active armies, and its armies of reserve, while every important city was duly provisioned, and provided with large magazines of arms, and the system being never forgotten of securing allies to act on the enemy's flank or rear, the friendship of the Cenomanians and Venetians was timely obtained, whose country lying along the lower part of the course of the Po, and on the shores of the Adriatic, was in direct communication with the Romans at Ariminum, and commanded the whole eastern frontier of the hostile Gauls, so as to threaten their territory with invasion, as soon as their army should begin to march southwards. In fact, this desertion of the Gaulish cause by the Cenomanians and Venetians crippled the invasion at the very outset; for a large force was kept at home to cover the frontier, and the invading army, according to Polybius, did not finally amount to more than 50,000 foot, and 20,000 cavalry and war chariots.⁴¹

Position of the
Roman armies.

Two roads led from Cisalpine Gaul into the heart of Italy; the one by Ariminum and Umbria, the other by Etruria. Of these the former was covered by a consular army of 27,000 men, by the disposable force of the Umbrians, amounting to 20,000 men, and by the Cenomanian and Venetian auxiliaries, who are computed at 20,000 men more. The Umbrians and the barbarian auxiliaries were stationed on the edge of the Gaulish frontier, westward probably of Sarsina, to be ready to pour down upon the Boian country, near the modern towns of Forlì and Faenza; while the consul L. Æmilius was posted at some point in the direction of Ariminum: but whether he was actually at Ariminum to defend the frontier, or in some position nearer to Rome, from whence he might more easily co-operate with the army covering Etruria, the narrative of Polybius does not state clearly.⁴² On the other line, which led through Etruria, there lay an army of 54,000 Sabines and Etruscans, commanded by a Roman prætor; whilst Rome itself was covered by a reserve army of more than 50,000, under the command, we may suppose, of the prætor of the city. These forces were actually called out and organized; but the returns of the population capable of bearing arms, and which in case of need might recruit and support the troops already in the field, presented, it is said, a sum total, inclusive of the soldiers really enlisted, of no fewer than 750,000.⁴³

⁴¹ II. 23.

⁴² Δεῦκτον Αἰμίλιον . . . ἐξάπεσταιλαν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀριμίνον.

⁴³ Polybius, II. 24. Eutropius, III. 5.

Polybius, after giving this enormous muster, adds, ἐφ' οὗς Ἀννίβας, ἐλάττους ἔχων δισμυρίων, ἐπέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

The invaders seem to have conducted their march skilfully ; for passing between the Roman armies, they descended from the Apennines into the valley of the upper Arno, followed it down nearly to Arretium, and from thence advanced towards Clusium, in the very heart of Etruria, after having ravaged the whole country near the line of their march without any opposition. When the Roman prætor became aware that the enemy were between him and Rome, he put his army in motion to pursue them. The Gauls met him and defeated him, but were prevented from completing the destruction of his army by the sudden appearance of the consul L. Æmilius, who had also hastened to the scene of action, when he heard that the enemy were in Etruria.⁴⁴ Then the Gauls, enriched, but at the same time encumbered, with their plunder, and having been entirely successful hitherto, determined to carry off their prisoners and spoil in safety to their own country, and afterwards, when their army was again fit for action, to repeat their invasion. As the Roman armies were between them and the Apennines, they resolved to retreat by the coast road into Liguria, and descended into the valley of the Ombrone with that object. But when they had reached the coast, and were marching northwards towards the mouth of the Arno, they suddenly encountered a new enemy. The consul, C. Regulus, having been recalled from Sardinia, had just landed at Pisa, and was now on his march by the very same coast road towards Rome.⁴⁵ The Gauls were thus placed between two enemies ; for L. Æmilius was hanging on their rear ; and they were obliged to engage both the consular armies at once. The battle was long and bloody, and the Romans lost one of their consuls, C. Regulus ; but in the end they won a complete victory, and the Gaulish army was almost destroyed.⁴⁶ Immediately after the victory, L. Æmilius hastened to invade the Gaulish territory by the same road which the Gauls had intended to make their line of retreat ; and as the Gauls were mostly on their other frontier, to oppose the Umbrians and their barbarian allies, the consul overran the country without resistance. He returned to Rome and triumphed ; and the golden chains worn by the Gauls round their necks and arms were hung up as a splendid monument of the victory in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter.⁴⁷

A. U. C. 529. A. C. 225. The Gauls invade Etruria, and are defeated.

Conquest of the Boians and Insubrians.

⁴⁴ Polybius, II. 25, 26.

⁴⁵ Polybius, II. 27.

⁴⁶ Polybius, II. 28-31.

⁴⁷ Polybius, II. 31.

nearer enemies, before they turned their attention seriously to the affairs of Spain. Accordingly for the next three years both consuls were each year employed in Cisalpine Gaul, and with such success, that the Boian and Insubrian nations, whose country stretched from the Apennines to the Alps across the whole plain of Northern Italy, and extended from the neighbourhood of Ariminum westward as far as the Ticinus, were obliged one after the other to submit at discretion.⁴⁸

The details of battles fought with barbarians are rarely worth recording; but among the consuls of these three years were men whose personal fame attracts our notice; and some of the circumstances connected with their military proceedings will lead us naturally to a subject of far deeper interest, the political state of Rome on the eve of the second Punic war.

The consuls of the year 530, who succeeded L. Æmilius and C. Regulus, had both of them been consuls before, and censors; and in their censorship they had been colleagues, as now in their second consulship. These were T. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, men of kindred character; Manlius possessing all the traditional sternness of his race, and Q. Fulvius, in his unyielding and unrelenting nature, rivalling the proudest patricians in Rome. They were made consuls together, in the hope that the Gaulish war, under their conduct, would be brought to a speedy conclusion: but in this they disappointed their countrymen; for although they reduced the Boians to submission, yet they could do nothing against the Insubrians, owing to an unusually rainy season, which, filling all the streams, made the country about the Po impracticable, and occasioned epidemic diseases among the soldiers.⁴⁹ The consuls were apparently required to abdicate before the end of the year; for the old and blind L. Metellus, the pontifex maximus, was named dictator, to hold the comitia; and by him were elected the consuls of the following year, C. Flaminius Nepos and P. Furius Philus.

Flaminius, as we have seen, had been tribune ten years before, and had then carried an agrarian law for a general assignation of the land formerly conquered from the Gauls near Ariminum. It was perhaps from some expectation that, if he made fresh conquests, he would propose a similar assignation of them, that the people elected him consul: the senate, on the other hand, used their utmost endeavours to make his consulship wholly inactive. He was already in the field with his colleagues, and had entered the enemy's country, when the senate sent orders to both the consuls to return instantly to Rome. Dreadful prodigies had been manifested; three

A. U. C. 530. A. C. 224.

Flaminius defeats the Gauls and triumphs in spite of the senate.

⁴⁸ Polybius, II. 32–35. Zonaras, VIII. 19. Orosius, IV. 13.

⁴⁹ Polybius, II. 31.

moons had been seen at once in the sky ; a vulture had haunted the Forum ; and a stream in Picenum had run blood.⁵¹ The augurs declared that the omens had not been duly observed at the election of the consuls ; they must therefore be forthwith recalled. Flaminius, guessing the purport of the senate's despatches, and receiving them when he was on the very eve of a battle, would not read them till the action was over ; and having gained a complete victory, he declared, when he did read them, that the gods themselves had solved the senate's scruples as to the lawfulness of his appointment, and that it A. U. C. 531. A. C. 223. was needless for him now to return. He continued his operations therefore till the end of the season with much success ; he took a great many prisoners, and a large amount of plunder, all of which he distributed to his soldiers ; and on his return to Rome he demanded a triumph. The senate, resenting his disobedience, refused it ; but he obtained it, as the popular consuls Horatius and Valerius had done 220 years before, by a decree of the comitia.⁵²

Flaminius was through life the enemy of the aristocratical party ; and our accounts of these times come from writers whose feeling was strongly aristocratical. Character of Flaminius.

Besides, his defeat and death at Thrasymenus made the Romans in general unfriendly to his memory ; as national pride is always ready to ascribe disasters in war to the incapacity either of the general or the government. But Flaminius was a brave and honest man, over confident, it is true, and over vehement, but neither a demagogue, nor a mere blind partisan. Like many others of the noblest of the plebeians, he was impatient of that craft of augury, which he well knew was no genuine and simple-hearted superstition, but an engine of aristocratical policy used by the nobility against those whom they hated or feared. Yet the time was not come when the people at large saw this equally ; and therefore Flaminius shared the fate, and incurred the blame, of those premature reformers, who putting the sickle to the corn before it is ripe, reap only mischief to themselves, and obtain no fruit for the world.

Flaminius and Furius were succeeded in the consulship by M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius Scipio. A. U. C. 532. A. C. 222. Character of Marcellus.

Marcellus, afterwards so famous, was at this time nearly fifty years old, and in his natural character seems greatly to have resembled Flaminius. Like him he was a brave and hardy soldier, open in his temper, active and enterprising in the highest degree ; but so adventurous and imprudent, that even in old age he retained the thoughtlessness of a boy, and perished at sixty by plunging into a snare which a stripling might have expected and shunned. But he attached himself to the aristocracy, which

⁵¹ Zonaras, VIII. 20. Orosius, IV. 13. ⁵² Zonaras, VIII. 20.

Flaminius opposed; and all his military successes met with their full share of honour and reward. In this his first consulship he encountered Britomarus, or Viridomarus, one of the Gaulish chiefs, in single combat, and slew him in the sight of his army. For this exploit he was ranked with Romulus and Cornelius Cossus, who, like him, when commanding the Roman armies, had slain the enemy's general with their own hand; and he offered the *Spolia Opima*, or choice spoils, of the slain chief to Jupiter Feretrius, as the most striking part of the spectacle of his splendid triumph.⁵³

The two following years, 533 and 534, were only marked by wars with new barbarian enemies; the Istrians, whose country ran out like a peninsula into the Adriatic, at the very head of the gulf, to the east of the country of the Venetians, and the Gaulish or mixed Gaulish tribes, which lived to the north of the Insubrians, on the very roots of the Alps. The Istrians, a people of kindred race and habits to the Illyrians of the more southern parts of the Adriatic, were accused like them of having committed acts of piracy on the Roman merchant vessels. They were defeated, but not without a severe loss on the side of the Romans. One of the consuls employed against them was M. Minucius Rufus, so famous four years afterwards as master of the horse to the dictator Q. Fabius.⁵⁴

The year of Rome 534 was marked by the censorship of L. *Æmilius Papus* and C. Flaminius; a censorship distinguished by several memorable regulations and public works, and which throws great light on the character of Flaminius, and through him on the general state of parties in the commonwealth. In the first place, we may be quite certain that no mere demagogue, nor any one who was considered a bad or unwise man, would have been elected a censor at this period. The high dignity of the office repelled from it all but citizens of the very first reputation; nor were the bravery and activity of a good soldier the qualities which most fitted a man to discharge its many important duties. Flaminius had carried an agrarian law, and had continued to command his army as consul, in direct opposition to the majority of the senate; but he knew how to distinguish between the selfishness and jealousy of an aristocracy, and those aristocratical elements which are essential to all good government; and the great measure of his censorship was a repetition of the regulation made by the famous censors Q. Fabius Rullus and P. Decius, about eighty years before: he removed all freedmen from the country tribes, and enrolled them in the four city tribes, the Palatine, the Esquiline, the Colline, and the Suburran.

A. U. C. 533. A. C. 221. War with the Istrians.

Censorship of Flaminius.

⁵³ Plutarch. Marcell. 7, 8. Livy, Epit. XX. Eutropius, III. 6.

⁵⁴ Zonaras, VIII. 20. Orosius, IV. 13. Eutropius, III. 7.

A single line in the epitome of Livy's twentieth book contains all our information respecting this measure, and it relates the fact merely, without a word of explanation. We must suppose that the regulation of Fabius and Decius had been regarded as a remedy for a crying evil at a particular time, and not as a general rule to be observed for ever. In common times the freedman, being still closely connected with his old master, who was now become his patron, patronus, would be enrolled in his patron's tribe; and this would seem the most natural course, when the particular case was considered, without reference to the political consequences of the system, so soon as it was generally adopted. These consequences would be to give political influence to a class of men in all respects unlike the old agricultural commons. The class of freedmen contained many rich citizens, and many poor ones; but rich and poor alike lived by trade rather than by agriculture,—in Rome, rather than in the country. It is said that the freed negro in America is confined by public feeling to the exercise of two or three trades or callings only, and these humble ones; but the freedman of the ancient world laboured under no such restriction. He might keep a little stall in the Forum, or he might be a merchant trafficking with Egypt and with Carthage: or again, he might be a monied man, and live on the interest of his loans; or he might go out as a farmer of the taxes to Sicily, and acquire an immense fortune at the expense of the province. But in no case were his habits like those of the agricultural citizen; and Flaminius, like M. Curius, and P. Decius, and like C. Marius in later times, was an enemy to every thing which might elevate the mercantile and monied classes, and still more the small shopkeepers and low populace of the city, above the proprietors and cultivators of the land.

Transfer of the freedmen to the city tribes.

It was probably in the same spirit that Flaminius shortly afterwards supported the bill of an unknown tribune, Q. Claudius, which forbade all senators and sons of senators from being the owners of a ship of the burden of more than 300 amphoræ. The express object of this bill was to hinder the Roman aristocracy from becoming, like the Venetian nobles, a company of wealthy merchants. The corn ships which the Istrians were accused of intercepting, belonged, no doubt, to some of the nobility, and were engaged in carrying the corn grown on their extensive occupation lands in Picenum and the coast of Umbria, to the markets of Greece and Macedonia. Flaminius thought that traffic was unworthy of the Roman nobility: perhaps he fancied that they who derived their wealth from foreign trade would be too much afraid of offending their customers, and would compromise their country's honour for the sake of their own profit. But on this occasion he stood alone in the senate: neither Q. Fabius, nor T. Manlius, nor M.

Bill to check the growth of a mercantile spirit among the senators.

Marcellus, nor any of the Atilii, or Sempronii, or Carvili, supported him; but as the comitia by the Hortensian law enjoyed the supreme legislative power, the opposition of the senate was vain, and the bill was passed.⁵⁵

Yet, while Flaminius imitated Fabius and Decius in their political regulations, he rivalled Appius Claudius in the greatness of his public works. He perfected the direct communication between Rome and Ariminum,⁵⁶ the great road, which, turning to the right after crossing the Milvian bridge, ascended the valley of the Tiber, leaving Soracte on its left, till it again joined the line of the modern road where it recrosses the Tiber and ascends to Otricoli; which then ascended the valley of the Nar to Narnia and Interamna, passed over the lofty ridge of the Monte Somma, descended on the newly-founded colony of Spoleto, and passed through the magnificent plain beyond till it reached Fulginia; which there again penetrating into the green valley of the Calcignolo, wound its way along the stream to Nuceria; which then, by an imperceptible ascent, rose through the wide upland plain of Helvillum (Sigillo) to the central ridge of the Apennines; which, the moment it had crossed the ridge, plunged precipitately down into the deep and narrow gorge of the Cantiano, and, hemmed in between gigantic walls of cliff, struggled on for many miles through the defile, till it came out upon the open country, where the Cantiano joins the Metaurus; which then, through a rich and slightly-varied plain, followed the left bank of that fateful stream till it reached the shores of the Adriatic; and which finally kept the line of the low coast to Ariminum, the last city of Italy, on the very edge of Cisalpine Gaul. This great road, which is still one of the chief lines of communication in Italy, and which still exhibits in its bridges, substructions, and above all in the magnificent tunnel of Furlo, splendid monuments of Roman greatness, has immortalized the name of C. Flaminius, and was known throughout the times of the Commonwealth and the Empire as the Flaminian Way.

His other great work was the building of a Circus in the Campus Martius, which was also called by his name, and which, like the Greek theatres, was used not only for the exhibition of games, but also occasionally for meetings of the senate and assemblies of the people, when they were held without the walls of the city.

Flaminius, although opposed to the overbearing rule of the aristocracy, stood aloof, as we have seen, from the party of the populace, and wished to do no more than to tread in the steps of the best citizens of former times, of

Public works. The Flaminian Way.

The Flaminian Circus.

Growth of a lower democratical party.

⁵⁵ Livy, XXI. 63.

⁵⁶ Livy, Epit. XX.

Fabius Rullus and Decius, of M. Curius and Fabricius. But we find symptoms of the growth of another party, which, in the later times of the Commonwealth, was almost the sole representative of the popular cause, the party of the poorer classes within Rome itself, the Forum populace, as they were called, in whom the ancient political writers saw the worst form of democracy. By the influence of this party, it seems C. Terentius Varro, a butcher's son, had already been raised to the quæstorship, and had been made plebeian and curule ædile, and was now looking forward to still higher distinctions. But the war with Carthage crushed it for the present, and delayed its revival for nearly a hundred years, and established the power of the aristocracy on the firmest base, that of the public respect and love, feelings which their conduct in the great national struggle had justly earned for them.

Hasdrubal had died in the year before Flaminius' censorship, having been assassinated in his tent by a Gaulish slave, in revenge for the death of his master.⁵⁷ The voice of the army had immediately called Hannibal to the command, and the government of Carthage had ratified their choice. He had made two campaigns, and had so put down all opposition to the Carthaginian dominion, that the Saguntines, expecting to be attacked next, as the only people still left independent, sent earnest embassies to Rome, to request the interference of the Romans in their behalf.⁵⁸ Towards the close of the year 534, Roman ambassadors visited Hannibal in his winter quarters at New Carthage, warning him not to attack Saguntum, which was an ally of Rome, nor to carry his arms beyond the Iberus. Receiving unsatisfactory answers, they proceeded to Carthage, and declared to the government that the Romans would consider any attack upon Saguntum, or any advance of the Carthaginians beyond the Iberus, as acts of direct hostility against Rome. They could not imagine that Carthage would dare to incur such a penalty; she had paid money and ceded parts of her territory to escape the resentment of the Romans; would she now voluntarily brave it by acts of aggression? Hannibal's party could not have obtained so complete an ascendancy; and his opponents would surely recover their influence, when his policy threatened to involve his country in the dreaded evils of another war with Rome. So L. Æmilius Paullus and M. Livius were chosen consuls for the year 535, as if the peace would not be broken; and they were both sent over to Illyria with two consular armies to chastise the revolt of Demetrius of Pharos, who, relying on his intimate connection with the court of Macedon, had com-

Death of Hasdrubal: Hannibal takes the command: ambassadors sent to Hannibal and to Carthage.

⁵⁷ Polybius, II. 36. Appian, Hispan. 8.

⁵⁸ Polybius, III. 15. Appian, Hispan. 11. Livy, XXI. 10.

mitted various breaches of treaty, and was setting the Romans at defiance.⁵⁹

L. Æmilius was a brave and able officer ; and he and his colleague did their work effectually ; they reduced all the enemy's strongholds, took Pharus itself, and obliged Demetrius to escape for his life to Macedonia, and finally received the submission of all Illyria, and settled its affairs at their discretion. They returned to Rome at the end of the season, and obtained a triumph ; the last that was for some years enjoyed by any Roman officer : for already the falsehood of the Roman calculations was manifest ; Saguntum, unaided by Rome, had been taken and destroyed ; war with Carthage was no longer doubtful ; and the seat of that war was likely to be no longer Spain, but Italy.

⁵⁹ Polybius, III. 16, 18. Zonaras, VIII. 20.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SECOND PUNIC WAR.

HANNIBAL. MARCH OF HANNIBAL FROM SPAIN TO ITALY. PASSAGE OF THE ALPS. BATTLES OF THE TREBIA, AND OF THRASYMENUS. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, DICTATOR. BATTLE OF CANNÆ. A. U. C. 535 TO 538.

TWICE in history has there been witnessed the struggle of the highest individual genius against the resources and institutions of a great nation; and in both cases the nation has been victorious. For seventeen years Hannibal strove against Rome; for sixteen years Napoleon Buonaparte strove against England: the efforts of the first ended in Zama, those of the second in Waterloo.

A. U. C. 535. A. C. 219. Second Punic war.

True it is, as Polybius has said, that Hannibal was supported by the zealous exertions of Carthage;¹ and the strength of the opposition to his policy has been very possibly exaggerated by the Roman writers. But the zeal of his country in the contest, as Polybius himself remarks in another place,² was itself the work of his family. Never did great men more show themselves the living spirit of a nation than Hamilcar, and Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, during a period of nearly fifty years, approved themselves to be to Carthage. It is not then merely through our ignorance of the internal state of Carthage, that Hannibal stands so prominent in all our conceptions of the second Punic war: he was really its moving and directing power; and the energy of his country was but a light reflected from his own. History therefore gathers itself into his single person: in that vast tempest, which from north and south, from the west and the east, broke upon Italy, we see nothing but Hannibal.

Greatness of Hannibal.

But if Hannibal's genius may be likened to the Homeric god, who in his hatred of the Trojans rises from the deep to rally the fainting Greeks, and to lead them against the enemy; so the calm courage with which

Greatness of Rome. The success of Rome has been for the good of mankind.

¹ Polybius, III. 10.

² IX. 22.

Hector met his more than human adversary in his country's cause, is no unworthy image of the unyielding magnanimity displayed by the aristocracy of Rome. As Hannibal utterly eclipses Carthage, so on the contrary Fabius, Marcellus, Claudius Nero, even Scipio himself, are as nothing when compared to the spirit, and wisdom, and power of Rome. The senate which voted its thanks to its political enemy Varro, after his disastrous defeat, "because he had not despaired of the Commonwealth," and which disdained either to solicit, or to reprove, or to threaten, or in any way to notice the twelve colonies which had refused their accustomed supplies of men for the army, is far more to be honoured than the conqueror of Zama. This we should the more carefully bear in mind, because our tendency is to admire individual greatness far more than national; and as no single Roman will bear comparison with Hannibal, we are apt to murmur at the event of the contest, and to think that the victory was awarded to the least worthy of the combatants. On the contrary, never was the wisdom of God's providence more manifest than in the issue of the struggle between Rome and Carthage. It was clearly for the good of mankind, that Hannibal should be conquered: his triumph would have stopped the progress of the world. For great men can only act permanently by forming great nations; and no one man, even though it were Hannibal himself, can in one generation effect such a work. But where the nation has been merely enkindled for a while by a great man's spirit, the light passes away with him who communicated it; and the nation, when he is gone, is like a dead body, to which magic power had for a moment given an unnatural life: when the charm has ceased, the body is cold and stiff as before. He who grieves over the battle of Zama, should carry on his thoughts to a period thirty years later, when Hannibal must, in the course of nature, have been dead, and consider how the isolated Phœnician city of Carthage was fitted to receive and to consolidate the civilization of Greece, or by its laws and institutions to bind together barbarians of every race and language into an organized empire, and prepare them for becoming, when that empire was dissolved, the free members of the commonwealth of Christian Europe.

Hannibal was twenty-six years of age when he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Carthaginian armies in Spain, upon the sudden death of Hasdrubal. Two years, we have seen, had been employed in expeditions against the native Spaniards; the third year was devoted to the siege of Saguntum. Hannibal's pretext for attacking it was, that the Saguntines had oppressed one of the Spanish tribes in alliance with Carthage;³ but no caution in the Saguntine government could

Hannibal takes Saguntum.

³ Polybius, III. 15. Appian. Hispan. XI.

have avoided a quarrel, which their enemy was determined to provoke. Saguntum, although not a city of native Spaniards, resisted as obstinately as if the very air of Spain had breathed into foreign settlers on its soil the spirit so often, in many different ages, displayed by the Spanish people. Saguntum was defended like Numantia and Gerona: the siege lasted eight months; and when all hope was gone, several of the chiefs kindled a fire in the market-place, and after having thrown in their most precious effects, leapt into it themselves, and perished. Still the spoil found in the place was very considerable: there was a large treasure of money, which Hannibal kept for his war expenses; there were numerous captives, whom he distributed amongst his soldiers as their share of the plunder; and there was much costly furniture from the public and private buildings, which he sent home to decorate the temples and palaces of Carthage.⁴

It must have been towards the close of the year, but apparently before the consuls were returned from Illyria, that the news of the fall of Saguntum reached Rome. Ambassadors sent to Carthage, who declare war. Immediately ambassadors were sent to Carthage; M. Fabius Buteo, who had been consul seven and twenty years before, C. Licinius Varus, and Q. Bæbius Tamphilus. Their orders were simply to demand that Hannibal and his principal officers should be given up for their attack upon the allies of Rome, in breach of the treaty, and, if this were refused, to declare war. The Carthaginians tried to discuss the previous question, whether the attack on Saguntum was a breach of the treaty; but to this the Romans would not listen. At length M. Fabius gathered up his toga, as if he was wrapping up something in it, and holding it out thus folded together, he said, "Behold, here are peace and war; take which you choose!" The Carthaginian suffete or judge answered, "Give whichever thou wilt." Hereupon Fabius shook out the folds of his toga, saying, "Then here we give you war;" to which several members of the council shouted in answer, "With all our hearts we welcome it." Thus the Roman ambassadors left Carthage, and returned straight to Rome.

But before the result of this embassy could be known in Spain, Hannibal had been making preparations for his intended expedition, in a manner which showed, Hannibal's preparations for war. not only that he was sure of the support of his government, but that he was able to dispose at his pleasure of all the military resources of Carthage. At his suggestion fresh troops from Africa were sent over to Spain to secure it during his absence, and to be commanded by his own brother, Hasdrubal; and their place was to be supplied by other troops raised in Spain;⁶ so that Africa

⁴ Livy, XXI. 14. Polybius, III. 18.

⁶ Polybius, III. 33. Livy, XXI. 21.

⁵ Livy, XXI. 18. Polybius, III. 20.
Zonaras, VIII. 32.

was to be defended by Spaniards, and Spain by Africans, the soldiers of each nation, when quartered amongst foreigners, being cut off from all temptation or opportunity to revolt. So completely was he allowed to direct every military measure, that he is said to have sent Spanish and Numidian troops to garrison Carthage itself; in other words, this was a part of his general plan, and was adopted accordingly by the government. Meanwhile he had sent ambassadors into Gaul, and even across the Alps, to the Gauls who had so lately been at war with the Romans, both to obtain information as to the country through which his march lay, and to secure the assistance and guidance of the Gauls in his passage of the Alps, and their co-operation in arms when he should arrive in Italy. His Spanish troops he had dismissed to their several homes at the end of the last campaign, that they might carry their spoils with them, and tell of their exploits to their countrymen, and enjoy, during the winter, that almost listless ease which is the barbarian's relief from war and plunder. At length he received the news of the Roman embassy to Carthage, and the actual declaration of war; his officers also had returned from Cisalpine Gaul. "The natural difficulties of the passage of the Alps were great," they said, "but by no means insuperable; while the disposition of the Gauls was most friendly, and they were eagerly expecting his arrival."⁷ Then Hannibal called his soldiers together, and told them openly that he was going to lead them into Italy. "The Romans," he said, "have demanded that I and my principal officers should be delivered up to them as malefactors. Soldiers, will you suffer such an indignity? The Gauls are holding out their arms to us, inviting us to come to them, and to assist them in revenging their manifold injuries. And the country which we shall invade, so rich in corn and wine and oil, so full of flocks and herds, so covered with flourishing cities, will be the richest prize that could be offered by the gods to reward your valor." One common shout from the soldiers assured him of their readiness to follow him. He thanked them, fixed the day on which they were to be ready to march, and then dismissed them.

In this interval, and now on the very eve of commencing his appointed work, to which for eighteen years he had been solemnly devoted, and to which he had so long been looking forward with almost sickening hope, he left the head-quarters of his army to visit Gades, and there, in the temple of the supreme god of Tyre, and all the colonies of Tyre, to offer his prayers and vows for the success of his enterprise.⁸ He was attended only by those immediately attached to his person; and amongst these was a Sicilian Greek, Silenus, who followed

⁷ Polybius, III. 34.

⁸ Livy, XXI. 21. Compare Polybius, XXXIV. 9.

him throughout his Italian expedition, and lived at his table. When the sacrifice was over, Hannibal returned to his army at New Carthage; and every thing being ready, and the season sufficiently advanced, for it was now late in May, he set out on his march for the Iberus.

And here the fulness of his mind, and his strong sense of being the devoted instrument of his country's gods to destroy their enemies, haunted him by night as they possessed him by day. His vision. In his sleep, so he told Silenus, he fancied that the supreme god of his fathers had called him into the presence of all the gods of Carthage, who were sitting on their thrones in council. There he received a solemn charge to invade Italy; and one of the heavenly council went with him and with his army, to guide him on his way. He went on, and his divine guide commanded him, "See that thou look not behind thee." But after a while, impatient of the restraint, he turned to look back; and there he beheld a huge and monstrous form, thick set all over with serpents; wherever it moved, orchards and woods and houses fell crashing before it. He asked his guide in wonder, what that monster form was? The god answered, "Thou seest the desolation of Italy; go on thy way, straight forward, and cast no look behind."⁹ Thus, with no divided heart, and with an entire resignation of all personal and domestic enjoyments for ever, Hannibal went forth, at the age of twenty-seven,¹⁰ to do the work of his country's gods, and to redeem his early vow.

The consuls at Rome came into office at this period on the 15th of March: it was possible therefore for a consular army to arrive on the scene of action in time Miscalculations of the Romans. to dispute with Hannibal not only the passage of the Rhone, but that of the Pyrenees. But the Romans exaggerated the difficulties of his march, and seem to have expected that the resistance of the Spanish tribes between the Iberus and the Pyrenees, and of the Gauls between the Pyrenees and the Rhone, would so delay him that he would not reach the Rhone till the end of the season. They therefore made their preparations leisurely.

Of the consuls for this year, the year of Rome 536, and 218 before the Christian æra, one was P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of L. Scipio, who had been consul in Their preparations for war. the sixth year of the first Punic war, and the grandson of L. Scipio Barbatus, whose services in the third Samnite war are recorded in his famous epitaph. The other was Ti. Sempronius Longus, probably, but not certainly, the son of that C. Sempronius Blæsus, who had been consul in the year 501. The consuls'

⁹ Cicero de Div. I. 24. Livy, XXIV. 22. Valerius, Maximus, I. 7, 1, Externa. Zonaras, VIII. 22.

¹⁰ Nepos, Hannibal, c. 3.

provinces were to be Spain and Sicily ; Scipio, with two Roman legions, and 15,600 of the Italian allies, and with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes, was to command in Spain ; Sempronius, with a somewhat larger army, and a fleet of 160 quinqueremes, was to cross over to Lilybæum, and from thence, if circumstances favoured, to make a descent on Africa. A third army, consisting also of two Roman legions, and 11,000 of the allies, was stationed in Cisalpine Gaul, under the prætor, L. Manlius Vulso.¹¹ The Romans suspected that the Gauls would rise in arms ere long ; and they hastened to send out the colonists of two colonies, which had been resolved on before, but not actually founded, to occupy the important stations of Placentia and Cremona on the opposite banks of the Po. The colonists sent to each of these places were no fewer than six thousand ; and they received notice to be at their colonies in thirty days. Three commissioners, one of them, C. Lutatius Catulus, being of consular rank, were sent out, as usual, to superintend the allotment of lands to the settlers ; and these 12,000 men, together with the prætor's army, were supposed to be capable of keeping the Gauls quiet.¹²

It is a curious fact, that the danger on the side of Spain was considered to be so much the least urgent, that
Revolt of the Gauls. Scipio's army was raised the last, after those of his colleague and of the prætor L. Manlius.¹³ Indeed Scipio was still at Rome, when tidings came that the Boians and Insubrians had revolted, had dispersed the new settlers at Placentia and Cremona, and driven them to take refuge at Mutina, had treacherously seized the three commissioners at a conference, and had defeated the prætor L. Manlius, and obliged him also to take shelter in one of the towns of Cisalpine Gaul, where they were blockading him.¹⁴ One of Scipio's legions, with five thousand of the allies, was immediately sent off into Gaul under another prætor, C. Atilius Serranus ; and Scipio waited till his own army should again be completed by new levies. Thus he cannot have left Rome till late in the summer ; and when he arrived with his fleet and army at the mouth of the eastern branch of the Rhone, he found that Hannibal had crossed the Pyrenees ; but he still hoped to impede his passage of the river.

Hannibal meanwhile, having set out from New Carthage with
Hannibal conquers the north of Spain. an army of 90,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, crossed the Iberus ;¹⁵ and from thenceforward the hostile operations of his march began. He might probably have marched through the country between the Iberus and the Pyrenees, had that been his sole object, as easily as he made his way from the Pyrenees to the Rhone ; a few presents and civilities would easily

¹¹ Polybius, III. 40, 41.

¹² Polybius, III. 40.

¹³ Livy, XXI. 26.

¹⁴ Polybius, III. 40.

¹⁵ Polybius, III. 35. Livy, XXI. 23.

have induced the Spanish chiefs to allow him a free passage. But some of the tribes northward of the Iberus were friendly to Rome : on the coast were the Greek cities of Rhoda and Emporiæ, Massaliot colonies, and thus attached to the Romans as the old allies of their mother city : if this part of Spain were left unconquered, the Romans would immediately make use of it as the base of their operations, and proceed from thence to attack the whole Carthaginian dominion. Accordingly Hannibal employed his army in subduing the whole country, which he effected with no great loss of time, but at a heavy expense of men, as he was obliged to carry the enemy's strongholds by assault, rather than incur the delay of besieging them. He left Hanno with eleven thousand men to retain possession of the newly-conquered country : and he further diminished his army by sending home as many more of his Spanish soldiers, probably those who had most distinguished themselves, as an earnest to the rest, that they too, if they did their duty well, might expect a similar release, and might look forward to return ere long to their homes full of spoil and of glory. These detachments, together with the heavy loss sustained in the field, reduced the force with which Hannibal entered Gaul to no more than 50,000 foot, and 9000 horse.¹⁶

From the Pyrenees to the Rhone his progress was easy. Here he had no wish to make regular conquests ; and presents to the chiefs mostly succeeded in conciliating their friendship, so that he was allowed to pass freely. But on the left bank of the Rhone the influence of the Massaliots with the Gaulish tribes had disposed them to resist the invader ; and the passage of the Rhone was not to be effected without a contest.

Scipio by this time had landed his army near the eastern mouth of the Rhone ; and his information of Hannibal's movements was vague and imperfect. His men had suffered from sea-sickness on their voyage from Pisa to the Rhone ; and he wished to give them a short time to recover their strength and spirits, before he led them against the enemy. He still felt confident that Hannibal's advance from the Pyrenees must be slow, supposing that he would be obliged to fight his way ; so that he never doubted that he should have ample time to oppose his passage of the Rhone. Meanwhile he sent out 300 horse, with some Gauls, who were in the service of the Massaliots, ordering them to ascend the left bank of the Rhone, and discover, if possible, the situation of the enemy. He seems to have been unwilling to place the river on his rear, and therefore never to have thought of conducting his operations on the right bank, or even of sending out reconnoitring parties in this direction.¹⁷

He marches to the Rhone.

Scipio's movements.

¹⁶ Polybius, III. 35.

¹⁷ Polybius, II. 41. Livy, XXI. 26.

The resolution which Scipio formed a few days afterwards, of sending his army to Spain, when he himself returned to Italy, was deserving of such high praise, that we must hesitate to accuse him of over caution or needless delay at this critical moment. Yet he was sitting idle at the mouth of the Rhone, while the Gauls were vainly endeavouring to oppose Hannibal's passage of the river. We must understand that Hannibal kept his army as far away from the sea as possible in order to conceal his movements from the Romans; therefore he came upon the Rhone, not on the line of the later Roman road from Spain to Italy, which crossed the river at Tarasco, between Avignon and Arles, but at a point much higher up, above its confluence with the Durance, and nearly half way, if we can trust Polybius' reckoning, from the sea to its confluence with the Isere.¹⁸ Here he obtained from the natives on the right bank, by paying a fixed price, all their boats and vessels of every description with which they were accustomed to traffic down the river: they allowed him also to cut timber for the construction of others; and thus in two days he was provided with the means of transporting his army. But finding that the Gauls were assembled on the eastern bank to oppose his passage, he sent off a detachment of his army by night with native guides, to ascend the right bank, for about two and twenty miles, and there to cross as they could, where there was no enemy to stop them. The woods which then lined the river, supplied this detachment with the means of constructing barks and rafts enough for the passage; they took advantage of one of the many islands in this part of the Rhone, to cross where the stream was divided; and thus they all reached the left bank in safety. There they took up a strong position, probably one of those strange masses of rock which rise here and there with steep cliffy sides like islands out of the vast plain, and rested for four and twenty hours after their exertions in the march and the passage of the river.

Hannibal allowed eight and forty hours to pass from the time when the detachment left his camp; and then, on the morning of the fifth day after his arrival on the Rhone, he made his preparations for the passage of his main army. The mighty stream of the river, fed by the snows of the high Alps, is swelled rather than diminished by the heats of summer; so that, although the season was that when the southern rivers are generally at their lowest, it was rolling the vast mass of its waters along with a startling fulness and rapidity. The heaviest vessels were therefore placed on the left, highest up the stream, to form something of a breakwater for the smaller craft crossing below; the small boats held the flower of the light armed

Hannibal's preparations for passing the Rhone.

The army crosses the river.

¹⁸ Polybius, III. 42.

foot, while the cavalry were in the larger vessels; most of the horses being towed astern swimming, and a single soldier holding three or four together by their bridles. Every thing was ready, and the Gauls on the opposite side had poured out of their camp, and lined the bank in scattered groups at the most accessible points, thinking that their task of stopping the enemy's landing would be easily accomplished. At length Hannibal's eye observed a column of smoke rising on the farther shore, above or on the right of the barbarians. This was the concerted signal which assured him of the arrival of his detachment; and he instantly ordered his men to embark, and to push across with all possible speed. They pulled vigorously against the rapid stream, cheering each other to the work; while behind them were their friends, cheering them also from the bank; and before them were the Gauls singing their war songs, and calling them to come on with tones and gestures of defiance. But on a sudden a mass of fire was seen on the rear of the barbarians; the Gauls on the bank looked behind, and began to turn away from the river; and presently the bright arms and white linen coats of the African and Spanish soldiers appeared above the bank, breaking in upon the disorderly line of the Gauls. Hannibal himself, who was with the party crossing the river, leaped on shore amongst the first, and forming his men as fast as they landed, led them instantly to the charge. But the Gauls, confused and bewildered, made little resistance; they fled in utter rout; whilst Hannibal, not losing a moment, sent back his vessels and boats for a fresh detachment of his army; and before night his whole force, with the exception of his elephants, was safely established on the eastern side of the Rhone.¹⁹

As the river was no longer between him and the enemy, Hannibal early on the next morning sent out a party of Numidian cavalry to discover the position and numbers of Scipio's forces, and then called his army together, to see and hear the communications of some chiefs of the Cisalpine Gauls, who were just arrived from the other side of the Alps. Their words were explained to the Africans and Spaniards in the army by interpreters; but the very sight of the chiefs was itself an encouragement; for it told the soldiers that the communication with Cisalpine Gaul was not impracticable, and that the Gauls had undertaken so long a journey for the purpose of obtaining the aid of the Carthaginian army against their old enemies, the Romans. Besides, the interpreters explained to the soldiers that the chiefs undertook to guide them into Italy by a short and safe route, on which they would be able to find provisions; and spoke strongly of the great extent and richness of Italy, when they did arrive there, and how zealously the Gauls would aid

Arrival of emissaries
from the Cisalpine
Gauls.

¹⁹ Polybius, III. 42, 43.

them. Hannibal then came forward himself and addressed his army: their work, he said, was more than half accomplished by the passage of the Rhone; their own eyes and ears had witnessed the zeal of their Gaulish allies in their cause; for the rest, their business was to do their duty, and obey his orders implicitly, leaving every thing else to him. The cheers and shouts of the soldiers again satisfied him how fully he might depend upon them; and he then addressed his prayers and vows to the gods of Carthage, imploring them to watch over the army, and to prosper its work to the end, as they had prospered its beginning. The soldiers were now dismissed, with orders to prepare for their march on the morrow.²⁰

Scarcely was the assembly broken up, when some of the Numidians who had been sent out in the morning, were seen riding for their lives to the camp, manifestly in flight from a victorious enemy. Not half of the original party returned; for they had fallen in with Scipio's detachment of Roman and Gaulish horse, and after an obstinate conflict had been completely beaten. Presently after, the Roman horsemen appeared in pursuit; but when they observed the Carthaginian camp, they wheeled about and rode off, to carry back word to their general. Then at last Scipio put his army in motion, and ascended the left bank of the river to find and engage the enemy.²¹ But when he arrived at the spot where his cavalry had seen the Carthaginian camp, he found it deserted, and was told that Hannibal had been gone three days, having marched northwards, ascending the left bank of the river. To follow him seemed desperate: it was plunging into a country wholly unknown to the Romans, where they had neither allies nor guides, nor resources of any kind; and where the natives, over and above the common jealousy felt by all barbarians toward a foreign army, were likely, as Gauls, to regard the Romans with peculiar hostility. But if Hannibal could not be followed now, he might easily be met on his first arrival in Italy; from the mouth of the Rhone to Pisa was the chord of a circle, while Hannibal was going to make a long circuit; and the Romans had an army already in Cisalpine Gaul; while the enemy would reach the scene of action exhausted with the fatigues and privations of his march across the Alps. Accordingly Scipio descended the Rhone again, embarked his army and sent it on to Spain under the command of his brother Cnæus Scipio, as his lieutenant; while he himself in his own ship sailed for Pisa, and immediately crossed the Apennines to take the command of the forces of the two prætors, Manlius and Atilius, who, as we have seen, had an army of about 25,000 men, over and

²⁰ Polybius, III. 44.

²¹ Polybius, III. 45.

above the colonists of Placentia and Cremona, still disposable in Cisalpine Gaul.²²

This resolution of Scipio to send his own army on to Spain, and to meet Hannibal with the army of the two prætors, appears to show that he possessed the highest qualities of a general, which involve the wisdom of a statesman no less than of a soldier. As a mere military question, his calculation, though baffled by the event, was sound: but if we view it in a higher light, the importance to the Romans of retaining their hold on Spain would have justified a far greater hazard; for if the Carthaginians were suffered to consolidate their dominion in Spain, and to avail themselves of its immense resources, not in money only, but in men, the hardiest and steadiest of barbarians, and, under the training of such generals as Hannibal and his brother, equal to the best soldiers in the world, the Romans would hardly have been able to maintain the contest. Had not P. Scipio then dispatched his army to Spain at this critical moment, instead of carrying it home to Italy, his son in all probability would never have won the battle of Zama.

Meanwhile Hannibal, on the day after the skirmish with Scipio's horse, had sent forward his infantry, keeping the cavalry to cover his operations, as he still expected the Romans to pursue him; while he himself waited to superintend the passage of the elephants. These were thirty-seven in number; and their dread of the water made their transport a very difficult operation. It was effected by fastening to the bank large rafts of 200 feet in length, covered carefully with earth: to the end of these, smaller rafts were attached, covered with earth in the same manner, and with towing lines extended to a number of the largest barks, which were to tow them over the stream. The elephants, two females leading the way, were brought upon the rafts by their drivers without difficulty; and as soon as they came upon the smaller rafts, these were cut loose at once from the larger, and towed out into the middle of the river. Some of the elephants in their terror leaped overboard, and drowned their drivers; but they themselves, it is said, held their huge trunks above water, and struggled to the shore; so that the whole thirty-seven were landed in safety.²³ Then Hannibal called in his cavalry, and covering his march with them and with the elephants, set forward up the left bank of the Rhone to overtake the infantry.

In four days they reached the spot where the Isere,²⁴ coming down from the main Alps, brings to the Rhone a stream hardly less full or mighty than his own.

Wisdom of this resolution.

The elephants are carried over the Rhone.

Hannibal's march through Gaul.

²² Polybius, III. 47.

²³ Polybius, III. 46. Livy, XXI. 28.

²⁴ Polybius, III. 49.

In the plains above the confluence two Gaulish brothers were contending which should be chief of their tribe; and the elder called in the stranger general to support his cause. Hannibal readily complied, established him firmly on the throne, and received important aid from him in return. He supplied the Carthaginian army plentifully with provisions, furnished them with new arms, gave them new clothing, especially shoes, which were found very useful in the subsequent march, and accompanied them to the first entrance on the mountain country, to secure them from attacks on the part of his countrymen.

The attentive reader, who is acquainted with the geography of the Alps and their neighbourhood, will perceive Difficulty of determining his line of march. that this account of Hannibal's march is vague. It does not appear whether the Carthaginians ascended the left bank of the Isere, or the right bank; or whether they continued to ascend the Rhone for a time, and leaving it only so far as to avoid the great angle which it makes at Lyons, rejoined it again just before they entered the mountain country, a little to the left of the present road from Lyons to Chamberri. But these uncertainties cannot now be removed, because Polybius neither possessed a sufficient knowledge of the bearings of the country, nor sufficient liveliness as a painter, to describe the line of the march so as to be clearly recognized. I believe however that Hannibal crossed the Isere, and continued to ascend the Rhone; and that afterwards, striking off to the right across the plains of Dauphine, he reached what Polybius calls the first ascent of the Alps, at the northern extremity of that ridge of limestone mountains, which, rising abruptly from the plain to the height of 4000 or 5000 feet, and filling up the whole space between the Rhone at Belley and the Isere below Grenoble, first introduces the traveller coming from Lyons to the remarkable features of Alpine scenery.

At the end of the lowland country, the Gaulish chief, who had accompanied Hannibal thus far, took leave of him: Hannibal finds the mountaineers ready to oppose him. his influence probably did not extend to the Alpine valleys; and the mountaineers, far from respecting his safe conduct, might be in the habit of making plundering inroads on his own territory. Here then Hannibal was left to himself; and he found that the natives were prepared to beset his passage. They occupied all such points as commanded the road; which, as usual, was a sort of terrace cut in the mountain side, overhanging the valley whereby it penetrated to the central ridge. But as the mountain line is of no great breadth here, the natives guarded the defile only by day, and withdrew when night came on to their own homes, in a town or village among the mountains, and lying in the valley behind them.²⁵ Hannibal, having learnt this

²⁵ Polybius, III. 50.

from some of his Gaulish guides whom he sent among them, encamped in their sight just below the entrance of the defile; and as soon as it was dusk, he set out with a detachment of light troops, made his way through the pass, and occupied the positions which the barbarians, after their usual practice, had abandoned at the approach of night.

Day dawned; the main army broke up from its camp, and began to enter the defile; while the natives, finding their positions occupied by the enemy, at first looked on quietly, and offered no disturbance to the march. But when they saw the long narrow line of the Carthaginian army winding along the steep mountain side, and the cavalry and baggage cattle struggling at every step with the difficulties of the road, the temptation to plunder was too strong to be resisted; and from many points of the mountain above the road they rushed down upon the Carthaginians. The confusion was terrible; for the road or track was so narrow, that the least crowd or disorder pushed the heavily loaded baggage cattle down the steep below; and the horses, wounded by the barbarians' missiles, and plunging about wildly in their pain and terror, increased the mischief. At last Hannibal was obliged to charge down from his position, which commanded the whole scene of confusion, and to drive the barbarians off. This he effected: yet the conflict of so many men on the narrow road made the disorder worse for a time; and he unavoidably occasioned the destruction of many of his own men.²⁶ At last, the barbarians being quite beaten off, the army wound its way out of the defile in safety, and rested in the wide and rich valley which extends from the lake of Bourget, with scarcely a perceptible change of level, to the Isere at Montmeillan. Hannibal meanwhile attacked and stormed the town, which was the barbarians' principal stronghold; and here he not only recovered a great many of his own men, horses, and baggage cattle, but also found a large supply of corn and cattle belonging to the barbarians, which he immediately made use of for the consumption of his soldiers.

He baffles them.

Difficulties of the march.

In the plain which he had now reached, he halted for a whole day, and then, resuming his march, proceeded for three days up the valley of the Isere on the right bank, without encountering any difficulty. Then the natives met him with branches of trees in their hands, and wreaths on their heads in token of peace: they spoke fairly, offered hostages, and wished, they said, neither to do the Carthaginians any injury, nor to receive any from them. Hannibal mistrusted them, yet did not wish to offend them; he accepted their terms, received their hostages, and obtained large supplies of cattle; and their whole

²⁶ Polybius, III. 51.

behaviour seemed so trustworthy, that at last he accepted their guidance, it is said, through a difficult part of the country, which he was now approaching.²⁷ For all the Alpine valleys become narrower, as they draw nearer to the central chain; and the mountains often come so close to the stream, that the roads in old times were often obliged to leave the valley and ascend the hills by any accessible point, to descend again when the gorge became wider, and follow the stream as before. If this is not done, and the track is carried nearer the river, it passes often through defiles of the most formidable character, being no more than a narrow ledge above a furious torrent, with cliffs rising above it absolutely precipitous, and coming down on the other side of the torrent abruptly to the water, leaving no passage by which man or even goat could make its way.

It appears that the barbarians persuaded Hannibal to pass through one of these defiles, instead of going round it; and while his army was involved in it, they suddenly, and without provocation, as we are told, attacked him. Making their way along the mountain sides above the defile, they rolled down masses of rock on the Carthaginians below, or even threw stones upon them from their hands, stones and rocks being equally fatal against an enemy so entangled. It was well for Hannibal, that, still doubting the barbarians' faith, he had sent forward his cavalry and baggage, and covered the march with his infantry, who thus had to sustain the brunt of the attack. Foot soldiers on such ground were able to move, where horses would be quite helpless; and thus at last Hannibal, with his infantry, forced his way to the summit of one of the bare cliffs overhanging the defile, and remained there during the night, whilst the cavalry and baggage slowly struggled out of the defile.²⁸ Thus again baffled, the barbarians made no more general attacks on the army; some partial annoyance was occasioned at intervals; and some baggage was carried off; but it was observed, that wherever the elephants were, the line of march was secure; for the barbarians beheld those huge creatures with terror, having never had the slightest knowledge of them, and not daring to approach when they saw them.

Without any farther recorded difficulty, the army on the ninth day after they had left the plains of Dauphiné arrived at the summit of the central ridge of the Alps. Here there is always a plain of some extent, immediately overhung by the snowy summits of the high mountains, but itself in summer presenting in many parts a carpet of the freshest grass, with the chalets of the shepherds scattered over it, and gay with a thousand flowers. But far different is its aspect through the

Attacks of the mountaineers.

Hannibal reaches the summit of the Alps.

²⁷ Polybius, III. 52.

²⁸ Polybius, III. 53.

greatest part of the year: then it is one unvaried waste of snow; and the little lakes, which on many of the passes enliven the summer landscape, are now frozen over, and covered with snow, so as to be no longer distinguishable. Hannibal was on the summit of the Alps about the end of October: the first winter snows had already fallen; but two hundred years before the Christian æra, when all Germany was one vast forest, the climate of the Alps was far colder than at present, and the snow lay on the passes all through the year. Thus the soldiers were in dreary quarters; they remained two days on the summit, resting from their fatigues, and giving opportunity to many of the stragglers, and of the horses and cattle, to rejoin them by following their track; but they were cold and worn and disheartened; and mountains still rose before them, through which, as they knew too well, even their descent might be perilous and painful.

But their great general, who felt that he now stood victorious on the ramparts of Italy, and that the torrent which rolled before him was carrying its waters to the rich plains of Cisalpine Gaul, endeavoured to kindle his soldiers with his own spirit of hope. He called them together; he pointed out the valley beneath, to which the descent seemed the work of a moment: "That valley," he said, "is Italy; it leads us to the country of our friends the Gauls; and yonder is our way to Rome." His eyes were eagerly fixed on that point of the horizon; and as he gazed, the distance between seemed to vanish, till he could almost fancy that he was crossing the Tiber, and assailing the capitol.²⁹

Looks down upon
Italy.

After the two days' rest the descent began. Hannibal experienced no more open hostility from the barbarians, only some petty attempts here and there to plunder; a fact strange in itself, but doubly so, if he was really descending the valley of the Doria Baltea, through the country of the Salassians, the most untamable robbers of all the Alpine barbarians. It is possible that the influence of the Insubrians may partly have restrained the mountaineers; and partly also they may have been deterred by the ill success of all former attacks, and may by this time have regarded the strange army and its monstrous beasts with something of superstitious terror. But the natural difficulties of the ground on the descent were greater than ever. The snow covered the track so that the men often lost it, and fell down the steep below: at last they came to a place where an avalanche had carried it away altogether for about three hundred yards, leaving the mountain side a mere wreck of scattered rocks and snow. To go round was impossible; for the depth of the snow on the heights above rendered it hopeless to scale them; nothing therefore was

Descent.

²⁹ Polybius, III. 54. Livy, XXI. 35.

left but to repair the road. A summit of some extent was found, and cleared of the snow; and here the army were obliged to encamp, whilst the work went on. There was no want of hands; and every man was labouring for his life: the road therefore was restored, and supported with solid substructions below; and in a single day it was made practicable for the cavalry and baggage cattle, which were immediately sent forward, and reached the lower valley in safety, where they were turned out to pasture. A harder labour was required to make a passage for the elephants: the way for them must be wide and solid; and the work could not be accomplished in less than three days. The poor animals suffered severely in the interval from hunger; for no forage was to be found in that wilderness of snow, nor any trees whose leaves might supply the place of other herbage. At last they too were able to proceed with safety:³⁰ Hannibal overtook his cavalry and baggage; and in three days more the whole army had got clear of the Alpine valleys, and entered the country of their friends, the Insubrians, on the wide plain of northern Italy.

Hannibal was arrived in Italy, but with a force so weakened by its losses in men and horses, and by the exhausted state of the survivors, that he might seem to have accomplished his great march in vain. According to his own statement, which there is no reason to doubt, he brought out of the Alpine valleys no more than 12,000 African and 8000 Spanish infantry, with 6000 cavalry;³¹ so that his march from the Pyrenees to the plains of northern Italy must have cost him 33,000 men; an enormous loss, which proves how severely the army must have suffered from the privations of the march and the severity of the Alpine climate; for not half of these 33,000 men can have fallen in battle. With his army in this condition, some period of repose was absolutely necessary: accordingly, Hannibal remained in the country of the Insubrians, till rest, and a more temperate climate, and wholesome food, with which the Gauls plentifully supplied him, restored the bodies and spirits of his soldiers, and made them again ready for action.³² His first movement was against the Taurinians, a Ligurian people, who were constant enemies of the Insubrians, and therefore would not listen to Hannibal, when he invited them to join his cause. He therefore attacked and stormed their principal town, put the garrison to the sword, and struck such terror into the neighbouring tribes, that they submitted immediately, and became his allies. This was his first accession of strength in Italy, the first fruits, as he hoped, of a long succession of defections among the allies of Rome, so that the swords of the Italians might effect for him the conquest of Italy.

³⁰ Polybius, III. 54, 55.

³¹ Polybius, III. 56.

³² Polybius, III. 60.

Meanwhile Scipio had landed at Pisa, had crossed the Apennines, and taken the command of the prætors' army, sending the prætors themselves back to Rome, Scipio marches to meet him. had crossed the Po at Placentia, and was ascending its left bank, being anxious to advance with all possible haste, in order to hinder a general rising of the Gauls by his presence.³³ Hannibal, for the opposite reason, was equally anxious to meet him, being well aware that the Gauls were only restrained from revolting to the Carthaginians by fear, and that on his first success in the field they would join him.³⁴ He therefore descended the left bank of the Po, keeping the river on his right; and Scipio having thrown a bridge over the Ticinus, had entered what are now the Sardinian dominions, and was still advancing westward, with the Po on his left, although, as the river here makes a bend to the southward, he was no longer in its immediate neighbourhood.³⁵

Each general was aware that his enemy was at hand, and both pushed forward with their cavalry and light troops in advance of their main armies, to recon- Engagement on the Ticinus. noitre each other's position and numbers. Thus was brought on accidentally the first action between Hannibal and the Romans in Italy, which, with some exaggeration, has been called the battle of the Ticinus.³⁶ The Numidians in Hannibal's army, being now properly supported by heavy cavalry, were able to follow their own manner of fighting, and, falling on the flanks and rear of the Romans, who were already engaged in front with Hannibal's heavy horsemen, took ample vengeance for their defeat on the Rhone. The Romans were routed; and the consul himself was severely wounded, and owed his life, it is said, to the courage and fidelity of a Ligurian slave.³⁷ With their cavalry thus crippled, it was impossible to act in such an open country; the Romans therefore hastily retreated, recrossed the Ticinus, and broke down the bridge, yet with so much hurry and confusion, that 600 men were left on the right bank, and fell into the enemy's hands; and then, crossing the Po also, established themselves under the walls of their colony Placentia.

Hannibal, finding the bridge over the Ticinus destroyed, reascended the left bank of the Po till he found a convenient point to cross, and then, having constructed Hannibal's advance. a bridge with the river boats, carried over his army in safety. Immediately, as he had expected, the Gauls on the right bank received him with open arms; and again descending the river, he arrived on the second day after his passage in sight of the Roman army, and on the following day offered them battle. But as the Romans did not move, he chose out a spot for his camp,

³³ Polybius, III. 56.³⁴ Polybius, III. 60.³⁵ Polybius, III. 64.³⁶ Polybius III. 65.³⁷ Polybius, III. 66. Livy, XXI. 46.

and posted his army five or six miles from the enemy, and apparently on the east of Placentia, cutting off their direct communication with Ariminum and Rome.³⁸

On the first news of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, the senate had sent orders to the other consul, Ti. Sempronius, to return immediately to reinforce his colleague.³⁹ No event of importance had marked the first summer of the war in Sicily. Hannibal's spirit so animated the Carthaginian government, that they were every where preparing to act on the offensive; and before the arrival of Sempronius, M. Æmilius, the prætor, had already had to fight a naval action with the enemy, in order to defend Lilybæum.⁴⁰ He had defeated them, and prevented their landing, but the Carthaginian fleets still kept the sea; and whilst Sempronius was employing his whole force in the conquest of the island of Melita, the enemy were cruising on the northern side of Sicily, and making descents on the coast of Italy. On his return to Lilybæum he was going in pursuit of them, when he received orders to return home and join his colleague. He accordingly left part of his fleet with the prætor in Sicily, and part he committed to Sex. Pomponius, his lieutenant, for the protection of the coasts of Lucania and Campania; while, from a dread of the dangers and delays of the winter navigation of the Adriatic, his army was to march from Lilybæum to Mesana, and after crossing the strait to go by land through the whole length of Italy, the soldiers being bound by oath to appear on a certain day at Ariminum. They completed their long march, it is said, in forty days; and from Ariminum they hastened to the scene of action, and effected their junction with the army of Scipio.⁴¹

Sempronius found his colleague no longer in his original position, close by Placentia and the Po, but withdrawn to the first hills which bound the great plain on the south, and leave an interval here of about six miles between themselves and the river.⁴² But Hannibal's army lying, as it seems, to the eastward, the Roman consul retreated westward, and leaving Placentia to its own resources, crossed to the left bank of the Trebia, and there lay encamped, just where the stream issues from the last hills of the Apennines. It appears that the Romans had several magazines on the right bank of the Po above Placentia, on which the consul probably depended for his subsistence; and these posts, together with the presence of his army, kept the Gauls on the immediate bank of the river quiet, so that they gave Hannibal no assistance. When the Romans fell back behind the Trebia, Hannibal followed them, and

³⁸ Polybius, III. 66.

³⁹ Polybius, III. 61.

⁴⁰ Livy, XXI. 49, 50.

⁴¹ Polybius, III. 61, 68. Livy, XXI. 51.

⁴² Polybius, III. 67.

encamped about five miles off from them, directly between them and Placentia.⁴³ But his powerful cavalry kept his communications open in every direction; and the Gauls who lived out of the immediate control of the Roman army and garrisons, supplied him with provisions abundantly.

It is not explained by any existing writer how Sempronius was able to effect his junction with his colleague without any opposition from Hannibal. The regular road from Ariminum to Placentia passes through a country unvaried by a single hill; and the approach of a large army should have been announced to Hannibal by his Numidian cavalry, soon enough to allow him to interrupt it. But so much in war depends upon trifling accidents, that it is in vain to guess where we are without information. We only know that the two consular armies were united in Scipio's position on the left bank of the Trebia; that their united forces amounted to 40,000 men; and that Hannibal, with an army so reinforced by the Gauls since his arrival in Italy, that it was little inferior to his enemy's,⁴⁴ was so far from fearing to engage either consul singly, that he wished for nothing so much as to bring on a decisive battle with the combined armies of both. Depending on the support of the Gauls for his subsistence, he must not be too long a burden to them: they had hoped to be led to live on the plunder of the enemy's country, not to maintain him at the expense of their own. In order to force the Romans to a battle, he began to attack their magazines. Clastidium, now Castiggio, a small town on the right bank of the Po, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Ticinus, was betrayed into his hands by the governor; and he here found large supplies of corn.⁴⁵

Hannibal's policy.

On the other hand, Sempronius, having no fears for the event of a battle, was longing for the glory of a triumph over such an enemy as Hannibal;⁴⁶ and as Scipio was still disabled by his wound, he had the command of the whole Roman army. Besides, the Gauls who lived in the plain between the Trebia and Placentia, not knowing which side to espouse, had been plundered by Hannibal's cavalry, and besought the consuls to protect them. This was no time, Sempronius thought, to neglect any ally who still remained faithful to Rome: he sent out his cavalry and light troops over the Trebia to drive off the plunderers; and in such skirmishes he obtained some partial success, which made him the more disposed to risk a general battle.⁴⁷

Sempronius commands the Roman army, and is anxious to engage.

For this, as a Roman officer, and before Hannibal's military

⁴³ Polybius, III. 68.

⁴⁶ Polybius, III. 70.

⁴⁴ Polybius, III. 72. Livy, XXI. 52.

⁴⁷ Polybius, III. 69.

⁴⁵ Polybius, III. 69.

His rashness.

talents were fully known, he ought not to be harshly judged; but his manner of engaging was rash, and unworthy of an able general. He allowed the attacks of Hannibal's light cavalry to tempt him to follow them to their own field of battle. Early in the morning the Numidians crossed the river, and skirmished close up to the Roman camp: the consul first sent out his cavalry, and then his light infantry, to repel them;⁴⁸ and when they gave way and recrossed the river, he led his regular infantry out of his camp, and gave orders for the whole army to advance over the Trebia and attack the enemy.

It was mid-winter, and the wide pebbly bed of the Trebia, which the summer traveller may almost pass dry-shod, was now filled with a rapid stream running breast-high. In the night it had rained or snowed heavily; and the morning was raw and chilly, threatening sleet or snow.⁴⁹ Yet Sempronius led his soldiers through the river, before they had eaten any thing; and wet, cold, and hungry as they were, he formed them in order of battle on the plain. Meanwhile Hannibal's men had eaten their breakfast in their tents, and had oiled their bodies, and put on their armour around their fires. Then, when the enemy had crossed the Trebia, and were advancing in the open plain, the Carthaginians marched out to meet them; and about a mile in front of their camp, they formed in order of battle. Their disposition was simple: the heavy infantry, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans, to the number of 20,000, were drawn up in a single line: the cavalry, 10,000 strong, was, with the elephants, on the two wings; the light infantry and Balerian slingers were in the front of the whole army. This was all Hannibal's visible force. But near the Trebia, and now left in their rear by the advancing Roman legions, were lying close hid in the deep and overgrown bed of a small watercourse, two thousand picked soldiers, horse and foot, commanded by Hannibal's younger brother Mago, whom he had posted there during the night, and whose ambush the Romans passed with no suspicion. Arrived on the field of battle, the legions were formed in their usual order, with the allied infantry on the wings; and their weak cavalry of 4000 men, ill able to contend with the numerous horsemen of Hannibal, were on the flanks of the whole line.

The Roman velites, or light infantry, who had been in action since daybreak, and had already shot away half their darts and arrows, were soon driven back upon the hastati and principes, and passed through the intervals of the maniples to the rear. With no less ease were the cavalry beaten on both wings, by Hannibal's horse and elephants. But when the heavy infantry, superior in numbers and better armed

Commencement of the battle on the Trebia.

Defeat of the Roman light infantry and cavalry.

⁴⁸ Polybius, III. 71.

⁴⁹ Polybius, III. 72.

both for offence and defence, closed with the enemy, the confidence of Sempronius seemed to be justified: and the Romans, numbed and exhausted as they were, yet, by their excellence in all soldierly qualities, maintained the fight with equal advantage.⁵⁰

On a sudden a loud alarm was heard; and Mago, with his chosen band, broke out from his ambush, and assailed them furiously in the rear. Meantime both wings of the Roman infantry were broken down by the elephants, and overwhelmed by the missiles of the light infantry, till they were utterly routed, and fled towards the Trebia. The legions in the centre, finding themselves assailed on the rear, pushed desperately forwards, forced their way through the enemy's line, and marched off the field straight to Placentia. Many of the routed cavalry made off in the same direction, and so escaped. But those who fled towards the river were slaughtered unceasingly by the conquerors till they reached it; and the loss here was enormous. The Carthaginians however stopped their pursuit on the brink of the Trebia: the cold was piercing, and to the elephants so intolerable that they almost all perished; even of the men and horses many were lost, so that the wreck of the Roman army reached their camp in safety; and when night came on, Scipio again led them across the river, and, passing unnoticed by the camp of the enemy, took refuge with his colleague within the walls of Placentia.⁵¹

Rout of the whole army.

So ended Hannibal's first campaign in Italy. The Romans, after their defeat, despaired of maintaining their ground on the Po; and the two consular armies retreated in opposite directions, Scipio's upon Ariminum, and that of Sempronius across the Apennines into Etruria. Hannibal remained master of Cisalpine Gaul; but the season did not allow him to besiege Placentia and Cremona; and the temper of the Gauls rendered it evident that he must not make their country the seat of war in another campaign. Already they bore the burden of supporting his army so impatiently, that he made an attempt, in the dead of the winter, to cross the Apennines into Etruria, and was only driven back by the extreme severity of the weather, the wind sweeping with such fury over the ridges, and through the passes of the mountains, that neither men nor beast could stand against it.⁵² He was forced therefore to winter in Gaul; but the innate fickleness and treachery of the people led him to suspect that attempts would be made against his life, and that a Gaulish assassin might hope to purchase forgiveness from the Romans for his country's revolt, by destroying the general who had seduced them. He therefore put on a variety of disguises to baffle such

Hannibal winters in Gaul.

⁵⁰ Polybius, III. 73.

⁵¹ Polybius, III. 74.

⁵² Livy, XXI. 58.

designs ; he wore false hair, appearing sometimes as a man of mature years, and sometimes with the gray hairs of old age ;⁵³ and if he had that taste for humour which great men are seldom without, and which some anecdotes of him imply, he must have been often amused by the mistakes thus occasioned, and have derived entertainment from that which policy or necessity had dictated.

We should be glad to catch a distinct view of the state of Rome, when the news first arrived of the battle of the Trebia. Since the disaster of Caudium, more than a hundred years before, there had been known no defeat of two consular armies united ; and the surprise and vexation must have been great. Sempronius, it is said, returned to Rome to hold the comitia ; and the people resolved to elect as consul a man who, however unwelcome to the aristocracy, had already distinguished himself by brilliant victories in the very country which was now the seat of war. They accordingly chose C. Flaminius for the second time consul ; and with him was elected Cn. Servilius Geminus, a man of an old patrician family, and personally attached to the aristocratical party, but unknown to us before his present consulship. Flaminius' election was most unpalatable to the aristocracy ; and as numerous prodigies were reported, and the Sibylline books consulted, and it was certain that various rites would be ordered to propitiate the favour of the gods,⁵⁴ he had

some reason to suspect that his election would again be declared null and void, and he himself thus deprived of his command. He was anxious therefore to leave Rome as soon as possible : as his colleague was detained by the religious ceremonies, and by the care of superintending the new levies, Flaminius, it is said, left the city before the 15th of March, when his consulship was to begin, and actually entered upon his office at Ariminum, whither he had gone to superintend the formation of magazines, and to examine the state of the army.⁵⁵ But the aristocracy thought it was no time to press party animosities ; they made no attempt to disturb Flaminius' election ; and he appears to have had his province assigned him without opposition, and to have been appointed to command Sempronius' army in Etruria, while Servilius succeeded Scipio at Ariminum. The levies of soldiers went on vigorously ; two legions were employed in Spain ; one was sent to Sicily, another to Sardinia, and another to Tarentum ; and four legions, more or less thinned by the defeat at the Trebia, still formed the nucleus of two armies in Ariminum and in Etruria. It appears that four new legions were levied, with an unusually large proportion of soldiers from the Italian allies and the Latin name ; and these being divided be-

Flaminius is chosen consul and takes the command.

A. U. C. 537. A. C. 217.

⁵³ Polybius, III. 78.

⁵⁴ Livy, XXI. 62.

⁵⁵ Livy, XXI. 63.

tween the two consuls, the armies opposed to Hannibal on either line, by which he might advance, must have been in point of numbers exceedingly formidable. Servilius, as we have seen, had his head-quarters at Ariminum; and Scipio, whom he superseded, sailed as proconsul into Spain, to take command of his original army there. Flaminius succeeded to Sempronius in Etruria, and lay encamped, it is said, in the neighbourhood of Arretium.⁵⁶

Thus the main Roman armies lay nearly in the same positions which they had held eight years before, to oppose the expected invasion of the Gauls. But as the Gauls then broke into Etruria unperceived by either Roman army, so the Romans were again surprised by Hannibal on a line where they had not expected him. He crossed the Apennines, not by the ordinary road to Lucca, descending the valley of the Macra, but, as it appears, by a straighter line down the valley of the Anser or Serchio; and leaving Lucca on his right, he proceeded to struggle through the low and flooded country which lay between the right bank of the Arno and the Apennines below Florence, and of which the marsh or lake of Fucecchio still remains a specimen. Here again the sufferings of the army were extreme; but they were rewarded when they reached the firm ground below Fæsulæ, and were let loose upon the plunder of the rich valley of the upper Arno.⁵⁷

Flaminius lay quietly at Arretium, and did not attempt to give battle, but sent messengers to his colleague, to inform him of the enemy's appearance in Etruria. Hannibal was now on the south of the Apennines, and in the heart of Italy; but the experience of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus had shown that the Etruscans were scarcely more to be relied on than the Gauls; and it was in the south, in Samnium and Lucania and Apulia, that the only materials existed for organizing a new Italian war against Rome. Accordingly Hannibal advanced rapidly into Etruria, and finding that Flaminius still did not move, passed by Arretium, leaving the Roman army in his rear, and marching, as it seemed, to gain the great plain of central Italy, which reaches from Perugia to Spoletum, and was traversed by the great road from Ariminum to Rome.

The consul Flaminius now at last broke up from his position, and followed the enemy. Hannibal laid waste the country on every side with fire and sword, to provoke the Romans to a hasty battle; and leaving Cortona on his left untouched on its mountain seat, he approached the lake of Thrasymenus, and followed the road along its north-eastern shore, till it ascended the hills which divide the lake from the basin of

Hannibal enters
Etruria.

Advances towards
Perugia.

Flaminius follows
him.

⁵⁶ Livy, XXII. 2.

⁵⁷ Polybius, III. 78, 79.

the Tiber.⁵⁸ Flaminius was fully convinced that Hannibal's object was not to fight a battle, but to lay waste the richest part of Italy : had he wished to engage, why had he not attacked him when he lay at Arretium, and while his colleague was far away at Ariminum ? With this impression he pressed on his rear closely, never dreaming that the lion would turn from the pursuit of his defenceless prey, to spring on the shepherds who were dogging his steps behind.

The modern road along the lake, after passing the village of Passignano, runs for some way close to the water's edge on the right, hemmed in on the left by a line of cliffs, which make it an absolute defile. Then it turns from the lake and ascends the hills ; yet, although they form something of a curve, there is nothing to deserve the name of valley ; and the road, after leaving the lake, begins to ascend almost immediately, so that there is a very short distance during which the hills on the right and left command it. The ground therefore does not well correspond with the description of Polybius, who states that the valley in which the Romans were caught, was not the narrow interval between the hills and the lake, but a valley beyond this defile, and running down to the lake, so that the Romans when engaged in it had the water not on their right flank, but on their rear.⁵⁹ Livy's account is different, and represents the Romans as caught in the defile beyond Passignano, between the cliff and the lake. It is possible that, if the exact line of the ancient road could be discovered, it might assist in solving the difficulty : in the mean time the battle of Thrasymenus must be one of the many events in ancient military history, where the accounts of historians, differing either with each other or with the actual appearances of the ground, are to us inexplicable.

The consul had encamped in the evening on the side of the lake, just within the present Roman frontier, and on the Tuscan side of Passignano : he had made a forced march, and had arrived at his position so late that he could not examine the ground before him.⁶⁰ Early the next morning he set forward again ; the morning mist hung thickly over the lake and the low grounds, leaving the heights, as is often the case, quite clear. Flaminius, anxious to overtake his enemy, rejoiced in the friendly veil which thus concealed his advance, and hoped to fall upon Hannibal's army while it was still in marching order, and its columns encumbered with the plunder of the valley of the Arno. He passed through the defile of Passignano, and found no enemy : this confirmed him in his belief that Hannibal did not mean to fight. Already the Numidian cavalry were on the edge

Difficulty of marking
out the field of battle.

Flaminius advances
to attack Hannibal.

⁵⁸ Polybius, III. 82. Livy, XXII. 3.

⁵⁹ III. 83.

⁶⁰ Polybius, III. 83, 84.

of the basin of the Tiber : unless he could overtake them speedily, they would have reached the plain ; and Africans, Spaniards, and Gauls, would be rioting in the devastation of the garden of Italy. So the consul rejoiced as the heads of his columns emerged from the defile, and, turning to the left, began to ascend the hills, where he hoped at least to find the rear guard of the enemy.

At this moment the stillness of the mist was broken by barbarian war-cries on every side ; and both flanks of the Roman column were assailed at once. Their right was overwhelmed by a storm of javelins and arrows, shot as if from the midst of darkness, and striking into the soldier's unguarded side, where he had no shield to cover him ; while ponderous stones, against which no shield or helmet could avail, came crashing down upon their heads. On the left were heard the trampling of horse, and the well known war-cries of the Gauls ; and presently Hannibal's dreaded cavalry emerged from the mist, and were in an instant in the midst of their ranks ; and the huge forms of the Gauls and their vast broad swords broke in upon them at the same moment. The head of the Roman column, which was already ascending to the higher ground, found its advance also barred ; for here was the enemy whom they had so longed to overtake ; here were some of the Spanish and African foot of Hannibal's army drawn up to wait their assault. The Romans instantly attacked these troops, and cut their way through ; these must be the covering parties, they thought, of Hannibal's main battle ; and, eager to bring the contest to a decisive issue, they pushed forward up the heights, not doubting that on the summit they should find the whole force of the enemy. And now they were on the top of the ridge, and to their astonishment no enemy was there ; but the mist drew up, and, as they looked behind, they saw too plainly where Hannibal was : the whole valley was one scene of carnage, while on the sides of the hills above were the masses of the Spanish and African foot witnessing the destruction of the Roman army, which had scarcely cost them a single stroke.

Destruction of the
main body of the
Romans.

The advanced troops of the Roman column had thus escaped the slaughter ; but being too few to retrieve the day, they continued their advance, which was now become a flight, and took refuge in one of the neighbouring villages. Meantime, while the centre of the army was cut to pieces in the valley, the rear was still winding through the defile beyond, between the cliffs and the lake. But they too were attacked from the heights above by the Gauls, and forced in confusion into the water. Some of the soldiers in desperation struck out into the deep water swimming, and weighed down by their armour presently sank : others ran in as far as was within their depth, and there stood helplessly, till the enemy's cavalry dashed in after

Of the rear guard.

them. Then they lifted up their hands, and cried for quarter : but on this day of sacrifice, the gods of Carthage were not to be defrauded of a single victim ; and the horsemen pitilessly fulfilled Hannibal's vow.

Thus, with the exception of the advanced troops of the Roman column, who were about 6000 men, the rest of the army was utterly destroyed. The consul himself had not seen the wreck consummated. On finding himself surrounded, he had vainly endeavoured to form his men amidst the confusion, and to offer some regular resistance : when this was hopeless, he continued to do his duty as a brave soldier, till one of the Gaulish horsemen, who is said to have known him by sight from his former consulship, rode up and ran him through the body with his lance, crying out, "So perish the man who slaughtered our brethren, and robbed us of the lands of our fathers."¹⁶ In these last words we probably rather read the unquenchable hatred of the Roman aristocracy to the author of an agrarian law, than the genuine language of the Gaul. Flaminius died bravely, sword in hand, having committed no greater military error than many an impetuous soldier, whose death in his country's cause has been felt to throw a veil over his rashness, and whose memory is pitied and honoured. The party feelings which have so coloured the language of the ancient writers respecting him, need not be shared by a modern historian : Flaminius was indeed an unequal antagonist to Hannibal ; but in his previous life, as consul and as censor, he had served his country well ; and if the defile of Thrasymenus witnessed his rashness, it also contains his honourable grave.

Capture of the advanced guard. Conduct of Hannibal to the prisoners.

The battle must have been ended before noon ; and Hannibal's indefatigable cavalry, after having destroyed the centre and rear of the Roman army, hastened to pursue the troops who had broken off from the front, and had for the present escaped the general overthrow. They were supported by the light-armed foot and the Spaniards, and finding the Romans in the village to which they had retreated, proceeded to invest it on every side. The Romans, cut off from all relief, and with no provisions, surrendered to Maharbal, who commanded the party sent against them. They were brought to Hannibal : with the other prisoners taken in the battle, the whole number amounted to 15,000. The general addressed them by an interpreter ; he told the soldiers who had surrendered to Maharbal, that their lives if he pleased, were still forfeited, for Maharbal had no authority to grant terms without his consent : then he proceeded, with the vehemence often displayed by Napoleon in similar circumstances, to inveigh against the Roman government and

¹⁶ Livy, XXII. 6.

people, and concluded by giving all his Roman prisoners to the custody of the several divisions of his army. Then he turned to the Italian allies: they were not his enemies, he said; on the contrary, he had invaded Italy to aid them in casting off the yoke of Rome; he should still deal with them as he had treated his Italian prisoners taken at the Trebia; they were free from that moment, and without ransom.⁶² This being done, he halted for a short time to rest his army, and buried with great solemnity thirty of the most distinguished of those who had fallen on his own side in the battle. His whole loss had amounted only to 1500 men, of whom the greater part were Gauls. It is said also that he caused careful search, but in vain, to be made for the body of the consul, Flaminius, being anxious to give him honourable burial.⁶³ So he acted afterwards to L. Æmilius and to Marcellus; and these humanities are worthy of notice, as if he had wished to show that, though his vow bound him to unrelenting enmity towards the Romans while living, it was a pleasure to him to feel that he might honour them when dead.

The army of Hannibal now broke up from the scene of its victory, and leaving Perusia unassailed, crossed the infant stream of the Tiber, and entered upon the

He ravages Umbria.

plains of Umbria. Here Maharbal, with the cavalry and light troops, obtained another victory over a party of some thousand men, commanded by C. Centenius, and killed, took prisoners, or dispersed the whole body.⁶⁴ Then that rich plain, extending from the Tiber under Perusia to Spoletum at the foot of the Monte Somma, was laid waste by the Carthaginians without mercy. The white oxen of the Clitumnus, so often offered in sacrifice to the gods of Rome by her triumphant generals, were now the spoil of the enemy, and were slaughtered on the altars of the gods of Carthage, amidst prayers for the destruction of Rome. The left bank of the Tiber again heard the Gaulish war-cry; and the terrified inhabitants fled to the mountains or into the fortified cities from this unwonted storm of barbarian invasion. The figures and arms of the Gauls, however formidable, might be familiar to many of the Umbrians; but they gazed in wonder on the slingers from the Balearian islands, on the hardy Spanish foot, conspicuous by their white linen coats bordered with scarlet;⁶⁵ on the regular African infantry, who had not yet exchanged their long lances and small shields for the long shield and stabbing sword of the Roman soldier; on the heavy cavalry, so numerous, and mounted on horses so superior to those of Italy; above all, on the bands of wild Numidians, who rode without saddle or bridle, as if the rider and his horse were one creature, and who

⁶² Polybius, III. 85.

⁶⁴ Polybius, III. 86.

⁶³ Livy, XXII. 7. Compare Valerius Maximus, V. 1, Ext. 6.

⁶⁵ Polybius, III. 114. Livy, XXII. 46.

scoured over the country with a speed and impetuosity defying escape or resistance. Amidst such a scene the colonists of Spoletum deserved well of their country, for shutting their gates boldly, and not yielding to the general panic; and when the Numidian horsemen reined up their horses, and turned away from its well-manned walls, the colonists, with an excusable boasting, might claim the glory of having repulsed Hannibal.⁶⁶

But Hannibal's way lay not over the Monte Somma, although its steep pass, rising immediately behind Spoletum, was the last natural obstacle between him and Rome. Beyond that pass the country was full, not of Roman colonies merely, but of Roman citizens: he would soon have entered on the territory of the thirty-five Roman tribes, where every man whom he would have met was his enemy. His eyes were fixed elsewhere: the south was entirely open to him; the way to Apulia and Samnium was cleared of every impediment. He crossed the Apennines in the direction of Ancona, and invaded Picenum: he then followed the coast of the Adriatic, through the country of the Marrucinians and Frentanians, till he arrived in the northern part of Apulia, in the country called by the Greeks Daunia.⁶⁷ He advanced slowly and leisurely, encamping after short marches, and spreading devastation far and wide: the plunder of slaves, cattle, corn, wine, oil, and valuable property of every description, was almost more than the army could carry or drive along. The soldiers, who after their exhausting march from Spain over the Alps, had ever since been in active service, or in wretched quarters, and who from cold and the want of oil for anointing the skin had suffered severely from scorbutic disorders, were now revelling in plenty in a land of corn and olives and vines, where all good things were in such abundance that the very horses of the army, so said report, were bathed in old wines to improve their condition.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, wherever the army passed, all Romans or Latins, of an age to bear arms, were by Hannibal's express orders put to the sword.⁶⁹ Many an occupier of domain land, many a farmer of the taxes, or of those multiplied branches of revenue which the Roman government possessed all over Italy, collectors of customs and port duties, surveyors and farmers of the forests, farmers of the mountain pastures, farmers of the salt on the sea coast, and of the mines in the mountains, were cut off by the vengeance of the Carthaginians; and Rome, having lost thousands of her poorer citizens in battle, and now losing hundreds of the richer classes in this exterminating march, lay bleeding at every pore.

But her spirit was invincible. When the tidings of the disaster

⁶⁶ Livy, XXII. 9.

⁶⁷ Polybius, III. 86. Livy, XXII. 9.

⁶⁸ Polybius, III. 87, 88.

⁶⁹ Polybius, III. 86.

of Thrasymentus reached the city, the people crowded to the Forum, and called upon the magistrates to tell them the whole truth.⁷⁰ The prætor peregrinus, M. Pomponius Matho, ascended the rostra, and said to the assembled multitude, "We have been beaten in a great battle; our army is destroyed; and C. Flaminius, the consul, is killed." Our colder temperaments scarcely enable us to conceive the effect of such tidings on the lively feelings of the people of the south, or to image to ourselves the cries, the tears, the hands uplifted in prayer, or clenched in rage, the confused sounds of ten thousand voices, giving utterance with breathless rapidity to their feelings of eager interest, of terror, of grief, or of fury. All the northern gates of the city were beset with crowds of wives and mothers, imploring every fresh fugitive from the fatal field for some tidings of those most dear to them. The prætors, M. Æmilius and M. Pomponius, kept the senate sitting for several days from sunrise to sunset, without adjournment, in earnest consultation on the alarming state of their country.

State of Rome on hearing the news of the battle.

Peace was not thought of for a moment: nor was it proposed to withdraw a single soldier from Spain, or Sicily, or Sardinia; but it was resolved that a dictator ought to be appointed, to secure unity of command. There had been no dictatorship for actual service since that of A. Atilius Calatinus, two-and-thirty years before, in the disastrous consulship of P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Junius Pullus. But it is probable that some jealousy was entertained of the senate's choice, if, in the absence of the consul Cn. Servilius, the appointment, according to ancient usage, had rested with them: nor was it thought safe to leave the dictator to nominate his master of the horse. Hence an unusual course was adopted: the centuries in their comitia elected both the one and the other, choosing one from each of the two parties in the state; the dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus, from one of the noblest, but at the same time the most moderate families of the aristocracy, and himself a man of a nature no less gentle than wise; the master of the horse, M. Minucius Rufus, as representing the popular party.⁷¹

Fabius Maximus is appointed dictator.

Religion in the mind of Q. Fabius was not a mere instrument for party purposes: although he may have had little belief in its truth, he was convinced of its excellence, and that a reverence for the gods was an essential element in the character of a nation, without which it must assuredly degenerate. Therefore, on the very day that he entered on his office, he summoned the senate, and dwelling on the importance of propitiating the gods, moved that the sibylline books

Measures to propitiate the gods.

⁷⁰ Polybius, III. 85. Livy, XXII. 7.

⁷¹ Polybius, III. 87. Livy, XXII. 8.

should forthwith be consulted.⁷² They directed among other things, that the Roman people should vow to the gods, what was called "a holy spring," that is to say, that every animal fit for sacrifice born in the spring of that year, between the first day of March and the thirtieth of April, and reared on any mountain or plain or river bank or upland pasture throughout Italy, should be offered to Jupiter.⁷³ Extraordinary games were also vowed to be celebrated in the Circus Maximus; prayers were put up at all the temples; new temples were vowed to be built; and for three days those solemn sacrifices were performed, in which the images of the gods were taken down from their temples, and laid on couches richly covered, with tables full of meat and wine set before them, in the sight of all the people, as if the gods could not but bless the city where they had deigned to receive hospitality.

Then the dictator turned his attention to the state of the war. A long campaign was in prospect; for it was still so early in the season that the prætors had not yet gone out of their provinces; and Hannibal was already in the heart of Italy. All measures were taken for the defence of the country; even the walls and towers of Rome were ordered to be made good against an attack. Bridges were to be broken down; the inhabitants of open towns were to withdraw into places of security; and in the expected line of Hannibal's march, the country was to be laid waste before him, the corn destroyed, and the houses burnt.⁷⁴ This would probably be done effectually in the Roman territory; but the allies were not likely to make such extreme sacrifices: and this of itself was a reason why Hannibal did not advance directly upon Rome.

More than thirty thousand men, in killed and prisoners had been lost to the Romans in the late battle. The consul Cn. Servilius commanded above thirty thousand in Cisalpine Gaul; and he was now retreating in all haste, after having heard of the total defeat of his colleague. Two new legions were raised, besides a large force out of the city tribes, which was employed partly for the defence of Rome itself, and partly, as it consisted largely of the poorer citizens, for the service of the fleet. This last indeed was become a matter of urgent necessity; for the Carthaginian fleet was already on the Italian coast, and had taken a whole convoy of corn-ships, off Cosa, in Etruria, carrying supplies to the army in Spain; while the Roman ships, both in Sicily and at Ostia, had not yet been launched after the winter.⁷⁵ Now all the ships at Ostia and in the Tiber were sent to sea in haste, and the consul Cn. Servilius commanded them; whilst the dictator and master of the horse,

⁷² Livy, XXII. 9.

⁷³ Livy, XXII. 10.

⁷⁴ Livy, XXII. 11.

⁷⁵ Livy, XXII. 11.

having added the two newly raised legions to the consul's army, proceeded through Campania and Samnium into Apulia, and, with an army greatly superior in numbers, encamped at the distance of about five or six miles from Hannibal.⁷⁶

Besides the advantage of numbers, the Romans had that of being regularly and abundantly supplied with provisions. They had no occasion to scatter their forces in order to obtain subsistence; but keeping their army together, and exposing no weak point to fortune, they followed Hannibal at a certain distance, watched their opportunity to cut off his detached parties, and above all, by remaining in the field with so imposing an army, overawed the allies, and checked their disposition to revolt.⁷⁷ Thus Hannibal, finding that the Apulians did not join him, recrossed the Apennines, and moved through the country of the Hirpinians into that of the Caudinian Samnites. But Beneventum, once a great Samnite city, was now a Latin colony; and its gates were close shut against the invader. Hannibal laid waste its territory with fire and sword, then moved onwards under the south side of the Matese, and took possession of Telesia, the native city of C. Pontius, but now a decayed and defenceless town: thence descending the Calor to its junction with the Vulturnus, and ascending the Vulturnus till he found it easily fordable, he finally crossed it near Allifæ, and passing over the hills behind Calatia, descended by Cales into the midst of the Falernian plain, the glory of Campania.⁷⁸

Fabius steadily followed him, not descending into the plain, but keeping his army on the hills above it, and watching all his movements. Again the Numidian cavalry were seen scouring the country on every side; and the smoke of burning houses marked their track. The soldiers in the Roman army beheld the sight with the greatest impatience: they were burning for battle, and the master of the horse himself shared and encouraged the general feeling. But Fabius was firm in his resolution; he sent parties to secure even the pass of Taracina, lest Hannibal should attempt to advance by the Appian road upon Rome; he garrisoned Casilinum on the enemy's rear; the Vulturnus from Casilinum to the sea barred all retreat southwards; the colony of Cales stopped the outlet from the plain by the Latin road; while from Cales to Casilinum the hills formed an unbroken barrier, steep and wooded, the few paths over which were already secured by Roman soldiers.⁷⁹ Thus Fabius thought that Hannibal was caught as in a pitfall; that his escape was cut off, while his army, having soon wasted its plunder, could not possibly winter where it was, without magazines, and with-

Hannibal ravages
Samnium and enters
Campania.

Fabius follows him.

⁷⁶ Polybius, III. 88.

⁷⁷ Polybius, III. 90.

⁷⁸ Polybius, III. 90. Livy, XXII. 13.

⁷⁹ Livy, XXII. 15.

out a single town in its possession. For himself, he had all the resources of Campania and Samnium on his rear; while on his right the Latin road, secured by the colonies of Cales, Casinum, and Fregellæ, kept his communications with Rome open.

Hannibal on his part had no thought of wintering where he was; but he had carefully husbanded his plunder, that it might supply his winter consumption, so that it was important to him to carry it off in safety. He had taken many thousand cattle; and his army besides was encumbered with its numerous prisoners, over and above the corn, wine, oil, and other articles, which had been furnished by the ravage of one of the richest districts in Italy. Finding that the passes in the hills between Cales and the Vulturnus were occupied by the enemy, he began to consider how he could surprise or force his passage without abandoning any of his plunder. He first thought of his numerous prisoners; and dreading lest in a night march they should either escape or overpower their guards and join their countrymen in attacking him, he commanded them all, to the number it is said of 5000 men, to be put to the sword. Then he ordered 2000 of the stoutest oxen to be selected from the plundered cattle, and pieces of split pine wood, or dry vine wood, to be fastened to their horns. About two hours before midnight the drovers began to drive them straight to the hills, having first set on fire the bundles of wood about their heads; while the light infantry following them till they began to run wild, then made their own way to the hills, scouring the points just above the pass occupied by the enemy. Hannibal then commenced his march; his African infantry led the way, followed by the cavalry; then came all the baggage; and the rear was covered by the Spaniards and Gauls. In this order he followed the road in the defile, by which he was to get out into the upper valley of the Vulturnus, above Casilinum and the enemy's army.⁸⁰

He found the way quite clear; for the Romans who had guarded it, seeing the hills above them illuminated on a sudden with a multitude of moving lights, and nothing doubting that Hannibal's army was attempting to break out over the hills in despair of forcing the road, quitted their position in haste, and ran towards the heights to interrupt or embarrass his retreat. Meanwhile Fabius, with his main army, confounded at the strangeness of the sight, and dreading lest Hannibal was tempting him to his ruin as he had tempted Flaminius, kept close within his camp till the morning. Day dawned only to show him his own troops who had been set to occupy the defile, engaged on the hills above with Hannibal's light infantry. But presently the Spanish foot were seen scaling the heights to

Hannibal's artifice to escape the Roman army.

Its success.

⁸⁰ Polybius, III. 93. Livy, XXII. 16. 17.

reinforce the enemy ; and the Romans were driven down to the plain with great loss and confusion ; while the Spaniards and the light troops, having thoroughly done their work, disappeared behind the hills, and followed their main army.⁸¹ Thus completely successful, and leaving his shamed and baffled enemy behind him, Hannibal no longer thought of returning to Apulia by the most direct road, but resolved to extend his devastations still farther before the season ended. He mounted the valley of the Vulturnus towards Venafrum, marched from thence into Samnium, crossed the Apennines, and descended into the rich Pelignian plain by Sulmo, which yielded him an ample harvest of plunder ; and thence retracing his steps into Samnium, he finally returned to the neighbourhood of his old quarters in Apulia.

The summer was far advanced ; Hannibal had overrun the greater part of Italy : the meadows of the Clitumnus and the Vulturnus, and the forest glades of the high Apennines, had alike seen their cattle driven away by the invading army ; the Falernian plain and the plain of Sulmo, had alike yielded their tribute of wine and oil ; but not a single city had as yet opened its gates to the conqueror, not a single state of Samnium had welcomed him as its champion, under whom it might revenge its old wrongs against Rome. Every where the aristocratical party had maintained its ascendancy, and had repressed all mention of revolt from Rome. Hannibal's great experiment therefore had hitherto failed. He knew that his single army could not conquer Italy ; as easily might king William's Dutch guards have conquered England : and six months had brought Hannibal no fairer prospect of aid within the country itself, than the first week after his landing in Torbay brought to King William. But among Hannibal's greatest qualities was the patience with which he knew how to abide his time ; if one campaign had failed of its main object, another must be tried ; if the fidelity of the Roman allies had been unshaken by the disaster of Thrasymenus, it must be tried by a defeat yet more fatal. Meantime he would take undisputed possession of the best winter quarters in Italy ; his men would be plentifully fed ; his invaluable cavalry would have forage in abundance ; and this at no cost to Carthage, but wholly at the expense of the enemy. The point which he fixed upon to winter at, was the very edge of the Apulian plain, where it joins the mountains : on one side was a boundless expanse of corn, intermixed with open grass land, burnt up in summer, but in winter fresh and green ; whilst on the other side were the wide pastures of the mountain forests, where his numerous cattle might be turned out till the first snows of autumn fell. These were as yet

His plan for the winter.

⁸¹ Polybius, III. 94. Livy, XXII. 18.

far distant; for the corn in the plain, although ripe, was still standing; and the rich harvests of Apulia were to be gathered this year by unwonted reapers.

Descending from Samnium, Hannibal accordingly appeared before the little town of Geronium, which was situated somewhat more than twenty miles north-west of the Latin colony of Luceria, in the immediate neighbourhood of Larinum.⁸² The town, refusing to surrender, was taken, and the inhabitants put to the sword; but the houses and walls were left standing, to serve as a great magazine for the army; and the soldiers were quartered in a regularly fortified camp without the town. Here Hannibal posted himself; and, keeping a third part of his men under arms to guard the camp and to cover his foragers, he sent out the other two-thirds to gather in all the corn of the surrounding country, or to pasture his cattle on the adjoining mountains. In this manner the storehouses of Geronium were in a short time filled with corn.

Meanwhile the public mind at Rome was strongly excited against the dictator. He seemed like a man, who, having played a cautious game, at last makes a false move, and is beaten; his slow, defensive system, unwelcome in itself, seemed rendered contemptible by Hannibal's triumphant escape from the Falernian plain. But here too Fabius showed a patience worthy of all honour. Vexed as he must have been at his failure in Campania, he still felt sure that his system was wise; and again he followed Hannibal into Apulia, and encamped as before on the high grounds in his neighbourhood. Certain religious offices called him at this time to Rome; but he charged Minucius to observe his system strictly, and on no account to risk a battle.⁸³

The master of the horse conducted his operations wisely: he advanced his camp to a projecting ridge of hills, immediately above the plain, and sending out his cavalry and light troops to cut off Hannibal's foragers, obliged the enemy to increase his covering force, and to restrict the range of his harvesting. On one occasion he cut off a great number of the foragers, and even advanced to attack Hannibal's camp, which, owing to the necessity of detaching so many men all over the country, was left with a very inferior force to defend it. The return of some of the foraging parties obliged the Romans to retreat; but Minucius was greatly elated, and sent home very encouraging reports of his success.⁸⁴

The feeling against Fabius could no longer be restrained.

⁸² Polybius, III. 100. Livy, XXII. 23.

⁸⁴ Polybius, III. 101, 102. Livy,

⁸⁸ Polybius, III. 94. Livy, XXII. 18. XXII. 34.

Minucius had known how to manage his system more ably than he had done himself; such merit at such a crisis deserved to be rewarded; nor was it fit that the popular party should continue to be deprived of its share in the conduct of the war. Even among his own party Fabius was not universally popular: he had magnified himself and his system somewhat offensively, and had spoken too harshly of the blunders of former generals. Thus it does not appear, that the aristocracy offered any strong resistance to a bill brought forward by the tribune M. Metilius, for giving the master of the horse power equal to the dictator's. The bill was strongly supported by C. Terentius Varro, who had been prætor in the preceding year, and was easily carried.⁸⁵

The dictator and master of the horse now divided the army between them, and encamped apart, at more than a mile's distance from each other. Their want of co-operation was thus notorious; and Hannibal was not slow to profit by it. He succeeded in tempting Minucius to an engagement on his own ground; and having concealed about 5000 men in some ravines and hollows close by, he called them forth in the midst of the action to fall on the enemy's rear. The rout of the Trebia was well nigh repeated; but Fabius was near enough to come up in time to the rescue; and his fresh legions checked the pursuit of the conquerors, and enabled the broken Romans to rally. Still the loss already sustained was severe; and it was manifest that Fabius had saved his colleague from total destruction. Minucius acknowledged this generously: he instantly gave up his equal and separate command, and placed himself and his army under the dictator's orders.⁸⁶ The rest of the season passed quietly; and the dictator and master of the horse resigning their offices as usual at the end of six months, the army during the winter was put under the command of the consuls; Cn. Servilius having brought home and laid up the fleet, which he had commanded during the summer, and M. Atilius Regulus having been elected to fill the place of Flaminius.

Meanwhile the elections for the following year were approaching; and it was evident that they would be marked by severe party struggles. The mass of the Roman people were impatient of the continuance of the war in Italy; not only the poorer citizens, whom it obliged to constant military service through the winter, and with no prospect of plunder, but still more perhaps the monied classes, whose occupation as farmers of the revenue was so greatly curtailed by Hannibal's army. Again, the occupiers of domain lands in remote parts of

His authority is made equal to the dictator's.

He is routed, and Fabius saves him.

State of feeling at Rome.

⁸⁵ Polybius, III. 103. Livy, XXII. 25.
26.

⁸⁶ Polybius, III. 104, 105. Livy, XXI.
28, 29. Plutarch, Fabius, 13.

Italy could get no returns from their property; the wealthy graziers, who fed their cattle on the domain pastures, saw their stock carried off to furnish winter provisions for the enemy. Besides, if Hannibal were allowed to be unassailable in the field, the allies sooner or later must be expected to join him; they would not sacrifice every thing for Rome, if Rome could neither protect them nor herself. The excellence of the Roman infantry was undisputed: if with equal numbers they could not conquer Hannibal's veterans, let their numbers be increased, and they must overwhelm him. These were no doubt the feelings of many of the nobility themselves, as well as of the majority of the people; but they were embittered by party animosity: the aristocracy, it was said, seemed bent on throwing reproach on all generals of the popular party, as if none but themselves were fit to conduct the war; Minucius himself had yielded to this spirit by submitting to be commanded by Fabius, when the law had made him his equal: one consul at least must be chosen, who would act firmly for himself and for the people; and such a man, to whose merits the bitter hatred of the aristocratical party bore the best testimony, was to be found in C. Terentius Varro.⁸⁷

Varro, his enemies said, was a butcher's son; nay, it was added that he had himself been a butcher's boy,⁸⁸ and had only been enabled by the fortune which his father had left him to throw aside his ignoble calling, and to aspire to public offices. So Cromwell was called a brewer: but Varro had been successively elected quæstor, plebeian and curule ædile, and prætor, while we are not told that he was ever tribune; and it is without example in Roman history, that a mere demagogue, of no family, with no other merits, civil or military, should be raised to such nobility. Varro was eloquent, it is true; but eloquence alone would scarcely have so recommended him; and if in his prætorship, as is probable, he had been one of the two home prætors, he must have possessed a competent knowledge of law. Besides, even after his defeat at Cannæ, he was employed for several years in various important offices, civil and military; which would never have been the case had he been the mere factious braggart that historians have painted him. The aristocracy tried in vain to prevent his election: he was not only returned consul, but he was returned alone, no other candidate obtaining a sufficient number of votes to entitle him to the suffrage of a tribe.⁸⁹ Thus he held the comitia for the election of his colleague; and considering the great influence exercised by the magistrate so presiding, it is creditable to him, and to the temper of the people generally, that the other consul

A. U. C. 538. A. C.
216. Election of the
new consuls: Varro
and Æmilius Paullus.

⁸⁷ Livy, XXII. 34.

⁸⁸ Valerius Maximus, III. 4, 4.

⁸⁹ Livy, XXII. 35.

chosen was L. Æmilius Paullus, who was not only a known partisan of the aristocracy, but having been consul three years before, had been brought to trial for an alleged misappropriation of the plunder taken in the Illyrian war, and, although acquitted, was one of the most unpopular men in Rome. Yet he was known to be a good soldier; and the people, having obtained the election of Varro, did not object to gratify the aristocracy by accepting the candidate of their choice.

No less moderate and impartial was the temper shown in the elections of prætors. Two of the four were decidedly of the aristocratical party, M. Marcellus and L. Postumius Albinus; the other two were also men of consular rank, and no way known as opponents of the nobility, P. Furius Philus and M. Pomponius Matho. The two latter were to have the home prætorships; Marcellus was to command the fleet, and take charge of the southern coast of Italy; L. Postumius was to watch the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul.

New prætors.

The winter and spring passed without any military events of importance. Servilius and Regulus retained their command as proconsuls for some time after their successors had come into office; but nothing beyond occasional skirmishes took place between them and the enemy. Hannibal was at Geronium, maintaining his army on the supplies which he had so carefully collected in the preceding campaign: the consuls apparently were posted a little to the southward, receiving their supplies from the country about Canusium, and immediately from a large magazine, which they had established at the small town of Cannæ, near the Aufidus.⁹⁰

Position of the armies.

Never was Hannibal's genius more displayed than during this long period of inactivity. More than half of his army consisted of Gauls, of all barbarians the most impatient and uncertain in their humour, whose fidelity, it was said, could only be secured by an ever open hand; no man was their friend any longer than he could gorge them with pay or plunder. Those of his soldiers who were not Gauls, were either Spaniards or Africans; the Spaniards were the newly conquered subjects of Carthage, strangers to her race and language, and accustomed to divide their lives between actual battle and the most listless bodily indolence; so that, when one of their tribes first saw the habits of a Roman camp, and observed the centurions walking up and down before the prætorium for exercise, the Spaniards thought them mad, and ran up to guide them to their tents, thinking that he who was not fighting could do nothing but lie at his ease and enjoy himself.⁹¹ Even the Africans were foreigners to Carthage: they were subjects harshly governed, and

Wisdom shown by Hannibal during the winter.

⁹⁰ Polybius, III. 107.

⁹¹ Strabo, p. 164.

had been engaged within the last twenty years in a war of extermination with their masters. Yet the long inactivity of winter quarters, trying to the discipline of the best national armies, was borne patiently by Hannibal's soldiers: there was neither desertion nor mutiny amongst them; even the fickleness of the Gauls seemed spell-bound; they remained steadily in their camp in Apulia, neither going home to their own country, nor over to the enemy. On the contrary, it seems that fresh bands of Gauls must have joined the Carthaginian army after the battle of Thrasymenus, and the retreat of the Roman army from Ariminum. For the Gauls and the Spaniards and the Africans were overpowered by the ascendancy of Hannibal's character: under his guidance they felt themselves invincible: with such a general the yoke of Carthage might seem to the Africans and Spaniards the natural dominion of superior beings; in such a champion the Gauls beheld the appointed instrument of their country's gods to lead them once more to assault the capitol.

Silanus, the Greek historian, was living with Hannibal daily;⁹² and though not intrusted with his military and political secrets, he must have seen and known him as a man; he must have been familiar with his habits of life, and must have heard his conversation in those unrestrained moments when the lightest words of great men display the character of their minds so strikingly. His work is lost to us; but had it been worthy of his opportunities, anecdotes from it must have been quoted by other writers, and we should know what Hannibal was. Then too the generals who were his daily companions would be something more to us than names: we should know Maharbal, the best cavalry officer of the finest cavalry service in the world; and Hasdrubal, who managed the commissariat of the army for so many years in an enemy's country; and Hannibal's young brother, Mago, so full of youthful spirit and enterprise, who commanded the ambush at the battle of the Trebia. We might learn something too of that Hannibal, surnamed the Fighter, who was the general's counsellor, ever prompting him, it was said, to deeds of savage cruelty,⁹³ but whose counsels Hannibal would not have listened to, had they been merely cruel, had they not breathed a spirit of deep devotion to the cause of Carthage, and of deadly hatred to Rome, such as possessed the heart of Hannibal himself. But Silanus saw and heard without heeding or recording; and on the tent and camp of Hannibal there hangs a veil, which the fancy of the poet may penetrate; but the historian turns away in deep disappointment; for to him it yields neither sight nor sound.

Spring was come, and well nigh departing; and in the warm

⁹² Nepos, Hannib. c. XIII.

⁹³ Polybius, IX. 24, 5.

plains of Apulia the corn was ripening fast, while Hannibal's winter supplies were now nearly exhausted. He broke up from his camp before Geronium, descended into the Apulian plains, and whilst the Roman army was still in its winter position, he threw himself on its rear, and surprised its great magazine at Cannæ.⁹⁴ The citadel of Cannæ was a fortress of some strength; this accordingly he occupied, and placed himself, on the very eve of harvest, between the Roman army and its expected resources, while he secured to himself all the corn of southern Apulia. It was only in such low and warm situations that the corn was nearly ready; the higher country, in the immediate neighbourhood of Apulia, is cold and backward; and the Romans were under the necessity of receiving their supplies from a great distance, or else of retreating, or of offering battle. Under these circumstances the proconsuls sent to Rome, to ask what they were to do.

Opening of the campaign; Hannibal takes Cannæ.

The turning point of this question lay in the disposition of the allies. We cannot doubt that Hannibal had been busy during the winter in sounding their feelings; and now it appeared that, if Italy was to be ravaged by the enemy for a second summer without resistance, their patience would endure no longer. The Roman government therefore resolved to risk a battle; but they sent orders to the proconsuls to wait till the consuls should join them with their newly raised army; for a battle being resolved upon, the senate hoped to secure success by an overwhelming superiority of numbers. We do not exactly know the proportion of the new levies to the old soldiers; but when the two consuls arrived on the scene of action, and took the supreme command of the whole army, there were no fewer than eight Roman legions under their orders, with an equal force of allies; so that the army opposed to Hannibal must have amounted to 90,000 men.⁹⁵ It was evident that so great a multitude could not long be fed at a distance from its resources; and thus a speedy engagement was inevitable.

The Roman army.

But the details of the movements by which the two armies were brought in presence of each other on the banks of the Aufidus, are not easy to discover. It appears that the Romans, till the arrival of the new consuls, had not ventured to follow Hannibal closely; for when they did follow him, it took them two days' march to arrive in his neighbourhood, where they encamped at about six miles distance from him.⁹⁶ They found him on the left bank of the Aufidus, about eight or nine miles from the sea, and busied probably in collecting the corn from the early district on the coast, the season being

Varro resolves to bring on a battle.

⁹⁴ Polybius, III. 107.

⁹⁵ Polybius, III. 107.

⁹⁶ Polybius, III. 110.

about the middle of June. The country here was so level and open, that the consul L. Æmilius was unwilling to approach the enemy more closely, but wished to take a position on the hilly ground farther from the sea, and to bring on the action there.⁹⁷ But Varro, impatient for battle, and having the supreme command of the whole army alternately with Æmilius every other day, decided the question irrevocably on the very next day, by interposing himself between the enemy and the sea, with his left resting on the Aufidus, and his right communicating with the town of Salapia.

From this position Æmilius, when he again took the command in chief, found it impossible to withdraw. But Æmilius crosses the Aufidus. availing himself of his great superiority in numbers, he threw a part of his army across the river, and posted them in a separate camp on the right bank, to have the supplies of the country south of the Aufidus at command, and to restrain the enemy's parties who might attempt to forage in that direction. When Hannibal saw the Romans in this situation, he also advanced nearer to them, descending the left bank of the Aufidus, and encamped over against the main army of the enemy, with his right resting on the river.

The next day, which, according to the Roman calendar, was the last of the month Quintilis, or July, the Roman reckoning being six or seven weeks in advance of the true season, Hannibal was making his preparations for battle, and did not stir from his camp; so that Varro, whose command it was, could not bring on an action. But on the first of Sextilis, or August, Hannibal being now quite ready, drew out his army in front of his camp and offered battle. Æmilius however remained quiet, resolved not to fight on such ground, and hoping that Hannibal would soon be obliged to fall back nearer the hills, when he found that he could no longer forage freely in the country near the sea.⁹⁸ Hannibal, seeing that the enemy did not move, marched back his infantry into his camp, but sent his Numidian cavalry across the river to attack the Romans on that side, as they were coming down in straggling parties to the bank to get water. For the Aufidus, though its bed is deep and wide, to hold its winter floods, is a shallow or a narrow stream in summer, with many points easily fordable, not by horse only, but by infantry. The watering parties were driven in with some loss, and the Numidians followed them to the very gates of the camp, and obliged the Romans, on the right bank, to pass the summer night in the burning Apulian plain without water.

At daybreak on the next morning, the red ensign, which was

⁹⁷ Polybius, III. 110.

⁹⁸ Polybius, III. 111. Livy, XXII. 45.

the well known signal for battle, was seen flying over Varro's head quarters;⁹⁹ and he issued orders, it being his day of command, for the main army to cross the river, and form in order of battle on the right bank. Whether he had any farther object in crossing to the right bank, than to enable the soldiers on that side to get water in security, we do not know; but Hannibal, it seems, thought that the ground on either bank suited him equally; and he too forded the stream at two separate points, and drew out his army opposite to the enemy. The strong town of Canusium was scarcely three miles off in his rear; he had left his camp on the other side of the river; if he were defeated, escape seemed hopeless. But when he saw the wide open plain around him, and looked at his numerous and irresistible cavalry, and knew that his infantry, however inferior in numbers, were far better and older soldiers than the great mass of their opponents, he felt that defeat was impossible. In this confidence his spirits were not cheerful merely, but even mirthful; he rallied one of his officers jestingly, who noticed the overwhelming numbers of the Romans; those near him laughed; and as any feeling at such a moment is contagious, the laugh was echoed by others; and the soldiers, seeing their great general in such a mood, were satisfied that he was sure of victory.¹⁰⁰

Hannibal draws out his army.

The Carthaginian army faced the north, so that the early sun shone on their right flank, while the wind, which blew strong from the south, but without a drop of rain, swept its clouds of dust over their backs, and carried them full into the faces of the enemy.¹⁰¹ On their left, resting on the river, were the Spanish and Gaulish horse; next in the line, but thrown back a little, were half of the African infantry armed like the Romans; on their right, somewhat in advance, were the Gauls and Spaniards, with their companies intermixed; then came the rest of the African foot, again thrown back like their comrades; and on the right of the whole line were the Numidian light horsemen.¹⁰² The right of the army rested, so far as appears, on nothing; the ground was open and level; but at some distance were hills overgrown with copsewood, and furrowed with deep ravines, in which, according to one account of the

Its position.

⁹⁹ Plutarch, Fabius. 15.

¹⁰⁰ Plutarch, Fabius, 15. Εἰπόντος δὲ τίνος τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶς ἰσοτίμου, τοῦνομα Γίσκωνος, ὡς θαυμαστὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσσωπον ὁ Ἀννίβας, “ἕτερον,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Γίσκων, λέληθέ σε τοῦτου θαυμασιώτερον.” Ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Γίσκωνος “Τὸ ποῖον.” “Ὅτι” ἔφη “τούτων ὄντων τοσούτων, οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς Γίσκων καλεῖται.” Γενομένου δὲ παρὰ ὁρᾶν αὐτοῖς τοῦ σκόμματος ἐμπίπτει γέλως πᾶσι· καὶ κατέβαιον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἀεὶ τὸ πεπαι-

γμένον ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ὥστε διὰ πολλῶν πολλὸν εἶναι τὸν γέλωτα καὶ μὴδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι τοὺς περὶ Ἀννίβαν. Τοῦτο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἰδοῦσι θάρβος παρέστη λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ πολλοῦ καὶ ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ καταφρονοῦντος ἐπίνειαι γελᾶν οὕτω καὶ παίξιν τῷ στρατηγῷ παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον.

¹⁰¹ Livy, XXII. 46. Plutarch, Fabius, 16.

¹⁰² Polybius, III. 113. Livy, XXII. 46.

battle, a body of horsemen and of light infantry lay in ambush. The rest of the light troops, and the Balearian slingers, skirmished as usual in front of the whole line.

Meanwhile the masses of the Roman infantry were forming their line opposite. The sun on their left flashed obliquely on their brazen helmets, now uncovered for battle, and lit up the waving forest of their red and black plumes, which rose upright from their helmets a foot and a half high.

They stood brandishing their formidable pila, covered with their long shields, and bearing on their right thigh their peculiar and fatal weapon, the heavy sword, fitted alike to cut and to stab.¹⁰³ On the right of the line were the Roman legions; on the left the infantry of the allies; while between the Roman right and the river were the Roman horsemen, all of them of wealthy or noble families; and on the left, opposed to the Numidians, were the horsemen of the Italians and of the Latin name. The velites or light infantry covered the front, and were ready to skirmish with the light troops and slingers of the enemy.

For some reason or other, which is not explained in any account of the battle, the Roman infantry were formed drawn up in columns. ed in columns rather than in line, the files of the maniples containing many more than their ranks.¹⁰⁴ This seems an extraordinary tactic to be adopted in a plain by an army inferior in cavalry, but very superior in infantry. Whether the Romans relied on the river as a protection to their right flank, and their left was covered in some manner which is not mentioned,—one account would lead us to suppose that it reached nearly to the sea,¹⁰⁵—or whether the great proportion of new levies obliged the Romans to adopt the system of the phalanx, and to place their raw soldiers in the rear, as incapable of fighting in the front ranks with Hannibal's veterans,—it appears at any rate that the Roman infantry, though nearly double the number of the enemy, yet formed a line of only equal length with Hannibal's.

The skirmishing of the light-armed troops preluded as usual to the battle: the Balearian slingers slung their stones like hail into the ranks of the Roman line,

¹⁰³ Polybius, III. 114. Livy, XXII. 45.

¹⁰⁴ Polybius, III. 113. *ποικῶν πολλαπλάσιον τὸ βάθος ἐν ταῖς σπεύραις τοῦ μετώπου.* Raleigh suggests that "this had been found convenient against the Carthaginians in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against elephants, to make the ranks thick and short, but the files long, as also to strengthen well the rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troops might rally themselves. Thus much it seems, that Terentius had learned

of some old soldiers; and therefore he now ordered his battles accordingly, as meaning to show more skill than was in his understanding. But the Carthaginians had here no elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in horse, against which this manner of imbattailing was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank."

¹⁰⁵ Appian, VII. 21. *οἱ τὸ λαὶδὸν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ.*

and severely wounded the consul Æmilius himself. Then the Spanish and Gaulish horse charged the Romans front to front, and maintained a standing fight with them, many leaping off their horses and fighting on foot, till the Romans, outnumbered and badly armed, without cuirasses,¹⁰⁶ with light and brittle spears, and with shields made only of ox-hide, were totally routed, and driven off the field.¹⁰⁶ Hasdrubal, who commanded the Gauls and Spaniards, followed up his work effectually; he chased the Romans along the river till he had almost destroyed them; and then, riding off to the right, he came up to aid the Numidians, who after their manner, had been skirmishing indecisively with the cavalry of the Italian allies. These, on seeing the Gauls and Spaniards advancing, broke away and fled; the Numidians, most effective in pursuing a flying enemy, chased them with unweariable speed, and slaughtered them unsparingly; while Hasdrubal, to complete his signal services on this day, charged fiercely upon the rear of the Roman infantry.

He found its huge masses already weltering in helpless confusion, crowded upon one another, totally disorganized, and fighting each man as he best could, but struggling on against all hope by mere indomitable courage. For the Roman columns on the right and left, finding the Gaulish and Spanish foot advancing in a convex line or wedge, pressed forwards to assail what seemed the flanks of the enemy's column; so that, being already drawn up with too narrow a front by their original formation, they now became compressed still more by their own movements, the right and left converging towards the centre, till the whole army became one dense column, which forced its way onwards by the weight of its charge, and drove back the Gauls and Spaniards into the rear of their own line. Meanwhile its victorious advance had carried it, like the English column at Fontenoy, into the midst of Hannibal's army; it had passed between the African infantry on its right and left; and now, whilst its head was struggling against the Gauls and Spaniards, its long flanks were fiercely assailed by the Africans, who, facing about to the right and left, charged it home, and threw it into utter disorder. In this state, when they were forced together into one unwieldy crowd, and already falling by thousands, whilst the Gauls and Spaniards, now advancing in their turn, were barring farther progress in front, and whilst the Africans were tearing their mass to pieces on both flanks, Hasdrubal with his victorious Gaulish and Spanish horsemen broke with thundering fury upon their rear. Then followed a butchery such as has no recorded equal, except the slaughter of the Persians in their camp, when the Greeks forced it

Of the whole army.

¹⁰⁶ Polyb, III. 115. Livy, XXII. 47.

after the battle of Plataea. Unable to fight or fly, with no quarter asked or given, the Romans and Italians fell before the swords of their enemies, till, when the sun set upon the field, there were left out of that vast multitude no more than three thousand men alive and unwounded; and these fled in straggling parties, under cover of the darkness, and found a refuge in the neighbouring towns.¹⁰⁷ The consul Æmilius, the proconsul Cn. Servilius, the late master of the horse M. Minucius, two quæstors, twenty-one military tribunes, and eighty senators, lay dead amidst the carnage; Varro with seventy horsemen had escaped from the rout of the allied cavalry on the right of the army, and made his way safely to Venusia.

But the Roman loss was not yet completed. A large force had been left in the camp on the left bank of the
Capture of the camps. Aufidus, to attack Hannibal's camp during the action, which it was supposed that, with his inferior numbers, he could not leave adequately guarded. But it was defended so obstinately, that the Romans were still besieging it in vain, when Hannibal, now completely victorious in the battle, crossed the river to its relief. Then the besiegers fled in their turn to their own camp, and there, cut off from all succour, they presently surrendered. A few resolute men had forced their way out of the smaller camp on the right bank, and had escaped to Canusium; the rest who were in it followed the example of their comrades on the left bank, and surrendered to the conqueror.

Less than six thousand men of Hannibal's army had fallen: no greater price had he paid for the total destruction of more than eighty thousand of the enemy,
Results of the battle. for the capture of their two camps, for the utter annihilation, as it seemed, of all their means for offensive warfare. It is no wonder that the spirits of the Carthaginian officers were elated by this unequalled victory. Maharbal, seeing what his cavalry had done, said to Hannibal, "Let me advance instantly with the horse, and do thou follow to support me; in four days from this time thou shalt sup in the capitol."¹⁰⁸ There are moments when rashness is wisdom; and it may be that this was one of them. The statue of the goddess Victory in the capitol may well have trembled in every limb on that day, and have dropped her wings, as if for ever, but Hannibal came not; and if panic had for one moment unnerved the iron courage of the Roman aristocracy, on the next their inborn spirit revived; and their resolute will, striving beyond its present power, created, as is the law of our nature, the power which it required.

¹⁰⁷ Polybius, III. 116. Livy, XXII. 49.

¹⁰⁸ Livy, XXII. 51.

CHAPTER XLIV.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN ITALY AFTER THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ.
REVOLT OF CAPUA, AND OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN ITALY,
TO HANNIBAL. GREAT EXERTIONS OF THE ROMANS. SURPRISE
OF TARENTUM. SIEGE OF CAPUA. HANNIBAL MARCHES ON
ROME. REDUCTION AND PUNISHMENT OF CAPUA. A. U. C. 538 TO
543.

FROM New Carthage to the plains of Cannæ, Hannibal's march resembled a mighty torrent, which, rushing along irresistible and undivided, fixes our attention to the one line of its course : all other sights and sounds in the landscape are forgotten, while we look on the rush of the vast volume of waters, and listen to their deep and ceaseless roar. Therefore I have not wished to draw away the reader's attention to other objects, but to keep it fixed upon the advance of Hannibal. But from Cannæ onwards the character of the scene changes. The single torrent, joined by a hundred lesser streams, has now swelled into a wide flood, overwhelming the whole valley ; and the principal object of our interest is the one rock, now islanded amid the waters, and on which they dashed furiously on every side, as though they must needs sweep it away. But the rock stands unshaken : the waters become feebler ; and their streams are again divided : and the flood shrinks ; and the rock rises higher and higher ; and the danger is passed away. In the next part of the second Punic war, our attention will be mainly fixed on Rome, as it has hitherto been on Hannibal. But in order to value aright the mightiness of her energy, we must consider the multitude of her enemies ; how all southern Italy, led by Hannibal, struggled with her face to face ; how Sicily and Macedon struck at her from behind ; how Spain supplied arms to her most dangerous enemy. Yet her policy and her courage were every where : Sicily was struck to the earth by one blow : Macedon obliged to defend himself against his nearer enemies ; the arms which Spain was offering to Hannibal were torn out of his grasp ; revolted Italy was crushed to pieces ; and the great enemy, after all his forces were dispersed and destroyed, was obliged, like Hector, to

fight singly under his country's walls, and to fall like Hector, with the consolation of "having done mighty deeds, to be famed in after ages."

The Romans, knowing that their army was in presence of the enemy, and that the consuls had been ordered no longer to decline a battle, were for some days in the most intense anxiety. Every tongue was repeating some line of old prophecy, or relating some new wonder or portent; every temple was crowded with supplicants; and incense and sacrifices were offered on every altar. At last the tidings arrived of the utter destruction of both the consular armies, and of a slaughter such as Rome had never before known. Even Livy felt himself unable adequately to paint the grief and consternation of that day;¹ and the experience of the bloodiest and most embittered warfare of modern times would not help us to conceive it worthily. But one simple fact speaks eloquently; the whole number of Roman citizens able to bear arms had amounted at the last census to 270,000;² and supposing, as we fairly may, that the loss of the Romans in the late battle had been equal to that of their allies, there must have been killed or taken, within the last eighteen months, no fewer than 60,000, or more than a fifth part of the whole population of citizens above seventeen years of age. It must have been true, without exaggeration, that every house in Rome was in mourning.

The two home prætors summoned the senate to consult for the defence of the city. Fabius was no longer dictator; yet the supreme government at this moment was effectually in his hands; for the resolutions which he moved were instantly and unanimously adopted. Light horsemen were to be sent out to gather tidings of the enemy's movements; the members of the senate, acting as magistrates, were to keep order in the city, to stop all loud or public lamentations, and to take care that all intelligence was conveyed in the first instance to the prætors: above all, the city gates were to be strictly guarded, that no one might attempt to fly from Rome, but all abide the common danger together.³ Then the forum was cleared, and the assemblies of the people suspended; for at such a moment, had any one tribune uttered the word "peace," the tribes would have caught it up with eagerness, and obliged the senate to negotiate.

Thus the first moments of panic passed; and Varro's dispatches arrived, informing the senate that he had rallied the wrecks of the army at Canusium, and that Hannibal was not advancing upon Rome.⁴ Hope then began to revive; the meetings of the senate were resumed, and measures taken for maintaining the war.

The news of the defeat reaches Rome.

Measures taken by the senate.

Arrival of dispatches from Varro.

¹ Livy, XXII. 54.

² Livy, Epit. XX.

³ Livy, XXII. 55.

⁴ Livy, XXII. 56.

M. Marcellus, one of the prætors for the year, was at this moment at Ostia, preparing to sail to Sicily. It was resolved to transfer him at once to the great scene of action in Apulia; and he was ordered to give up the fleet to his colleague P. Furius Philus, and to march with the single legion which he had under his command into Apulia, there to collect the remains of Varro's army, and to fall back as he best could into Campania, while the consul returned immediately to Rome.⁵

Marcellus is sent into Apulia.

In the mean time the scene at Canusium was like the disorder of a ship going to pieces, when fear makes men desperate, and the instinct of self-preservation swallows up every other feeling. Some young men of the noblest families, a Metellus being at the head of them, looking upon Rome as lost, were planning to escape from the ruin, and to fly beyond sea, in the hope of entering into some foreign service. Such an example at such a moment would have led the way to a general panic: if the noblest citizens of Rome despaired of their country, what allied state, or what colony, could be expected to sacrifice themselves in defence of a hopeless cause? The consul exerted himself to the utmost to check this spirit, and aided by some firmer spirits amongst the officers themselves, he succeeded in repressing it.⁶ He kept his men together, gave them over to the prætor Marcellus on his arrival at Canusium, and prepared instantly to obey the orders of the senate by returning to Rome. The fate of P. Claudius and L. Junius in the last war might have warned him of the dangers which threatened a defeated general; he himself was personally hateful to the prevailing party at Rome; and if the memory of Flaminius was persecuted, notwithstanding his glorious death, what could he look for, a fugitive

Varro's manly conduct.

⁵ Livy, XXII. 57. Plutarch, Marcellus, 9.

⁶ The author would doubtless have explained his reasons for ascribing the suppression of this conspiracy to leave Italy to Varro. By Livy, XXII. 53, by Valerius Maximus, V. 6, 7, by Dion, *Fragm. Peiresc.* XLIX., it is attributed to Scipio. See also Silius Italicus, X. 426, fol. It is somewhat remarkable that Polybius makes no mention of the fact, either in the account of the battle of Cannæ, or in the character of Scipio, X. 1-6, where he speaks of Scipio's early exploits. According to Livy, with whose account Dion's concurs, the fugitives at Canusium were headed by four tribunes, who voluntarily submitted to the command of Scipio and Appius Claudius, two of their number; and Scipio, by a characteristic act of youthful heroism, stifled the plot. Meanwhile Varro is represented to have been

at Venusia. Appian's account too, VII. 26, though differing as to the order of the events, and plainly inaccurate,—since it makes Varro resign the command to Scipio, instead of Marcellus, when he went to Rome,—implies that Scipio distinguished himself at Canusium. Dion's statement is the more trustworthy, as he did not join in the cry against Varro, but speaks with high praise of his conduct after the defeat. 'Ες τὸ Κανύσιον ἐλθὼν τὰ τε ἐνταῦθα κατεστήσατο, καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις φρουρὰς ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπεμψεν, προσβάλλοντάς τε τῇ πόλει ἱππέας ἀπεκρούσας· τὰ τε σύνολον οὐτ' ἀθυμήσας, οὔτε καταπτήξας, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας ὥσπερ μηδενὸς σφίσι δεινοῦ συμβεβηκότος, πάντα τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἐβούλευσε καὶ ἐπυρεῖν. Zonaras was so careless in abridging his author, that he transfers what Dion here says of Varro, to Scipio.

general from that field where his colleague and all his soldiers had perished? Demosthenes dared not trust himself to the Athenian people after his defeat in Ætolia; but Varro, with a manlier spirit, returned to bear the obloquy and the punishment which the popular feeling, excited by party animosity, was so likely to heap on him. He stopped as usual without the city walls, and summoned the senate to meet him in the Campus Martius.

The senate felt his confidence in them, and answered it nobly.

The senate thank him.

All party feeling was suspended; all popular irritation was subdued; the butcher's son, the turbulent demagogue, the defeated general, were all forgotten; only Varro's latest conduct was remembered, that he had resisted the panic of his officers, and instead of seeking shelter at the court of a foreign king, had submitted himself, to the judgment of his countrymen. The senate voted him their thanks, "because he had not despaired of the commonwealth."⁷

It was resolved to name a dictator; and some writers related that the general voice of the senate and people offered the dictatorship to Varro himself, but that he positively refused to accept it.⁸ This story is extremely doubtful; but the dictator actually named was M. Junius Pisa, a member of a popular family, and who had himself been consul and censor. His master of the horse was T. Sempronius Gracchus, the first of that noble but ill-fated name who appears in the Roman annals.⁹

Already, before the appointment of the dictator, the Roman government had shown that its resolution was fixed to carry on the war to the death. Hannibal had allowed his Roman prisoners to send ten of their number to Rome to petition that the senate would permit the whole body to be ransomed by their friends at the sum of three minæ, or 3000 ases, for each prisoner. But the senate absolutely forbade the money to be paid, neither choosing to furnish Hannibal with so large a sum, nor to show any compassion to men who had allowed themselves to fall alive into the enemy's hands.¹⁰ The prisoners therefore were left in hopeless captivity; and the armies which the state required were to be formed out of other materials. The expedients adopted showed the urgency of the danger.

When the consuls took the field at the beginning of the campaign, two legions had been left, as usual, to cover the capital. These were now to be employed in

Measures to raise troops.

⁷ Livy, XXII. 61. Plutarch, Fabius, 18. See also Florus, II. 6.

⁸ Valerius Maximus, III. 4, § 4. IV. 5, § 2. Frontinus, IV. 5, 6. "Honoribus, quum ei deferrentur a populo, renuntiavit, dicens, felicioribus, magistratibus reipublicæ opus esse."

⁹ Livy, XXII. 57.

¹⁰ Polybius, VI. 58. Livy, XXII. 58-61. Appian, VII. 28. Cicero de Off. I. 13, 32. III. 32. Aulus Gellius, VII. 18.

active service ; and with them was a small detachment of troops, which had been drawn from Picenum and the neighbourhood of Ariminum, where their services were become of less importance. The contingents from the allies were not ready ; and there was no time to wait for them. In order, therefore, to enable the dictator to take the field immediately, eight thousand slaves were enlisted, having expressed their willingness to serve ; and arms were provided by taking down from the temple the spoils won in former wars.¹¹ The dictator went still farther : he offered pardon to criminals and release to debtors, if they were willing to take up arms ; and amongst the former class were some bands of robbers, who then, as in later times, infested the mountains, and who consented to serve the state on receiving an indemnity for their past offences.¹² With this strange force, amounting it is said to about 25,000 men, M. Junius marched into Campania ; whilst a new levy of the oldest and youngest citizens supplied two new legions for the defence of the capital, in the place of those which followed the dictator into the field. M. Junius fixed his head quarters at Teanum,¹³ on high ground upon the edge of the Falernian plain, with the Latin colony of Cales in his front, and communicating by the Latin road with Rome.

The dictator was at Teanum, and M. Marcellus with the army of Cannæ, whom we left in Apulia, is described as now lying encamped above Suessula,¹⁴ that is, on the right bank of the Volturnus, on the hills which bound the Campanian plain, ten or twelve miles to the east of Capua, on the right of the Appian road as it ascends the pass of Caudium towards Beneventum. Thus we find the seat of war removed from Apulia to Campania ; but the detail of the intermediate movements is lost ; and we must restore the broken story as well as we can, by tracing Hannibal's operations after the battle of Cannæ, which are undoubtedly the key to those of his enemies.

Position of the
Roman army.

The fidelity of the allies of Rome, which had not been shaken by the defeat of Thrasymenus, could not resist the fiery trial of Cannæ. The Apulians joined the conqueror immediately, and Arpi and Salapia opened their gates to him. Bruttium, Lucania, and Samnium were ready to follow the example ;¹⁵ and Hannibal was obliged to divide his army, and send officers into different parts of the country, to receive and protect those who wished to join him, and to organize their forces for effective co-operation in the field. Meanwhile he himself remained in Apulia, not perhaps without hope that this last blow had broken the spirit as well as the power of the enemy, and that they would listen readily to proposals of peace. With this view he

Revolt of the allies :
conduct of Hannibal.

¹¹ Livy, XXII. 57.

¹² Livy, XXIII. 14.

¹³ Livy, XXIII. 24.

¹⁴ Livy, XXII. 14.

¹⁵ Livy, XXII. 61. Polybius, III. 118.
Appian, VII. 31.

sent a Carthaginian officer to accompany the deputation of the Roman prisoners to Rome, and ordered him to encourage any disposition on the part of the Romans to open a negotiation.¹⁶ When he found therefore on the return of the deputies, that his officers had not been allowed to enter the city, and that the Romans had refused to ransom their prisoners, his disappointment betrayed him into acts of the most inhuman cruelty. The mass of the prisoners left in his hands he sold for slaves; and so far he did not overstep the recognized laws of warfare; but many of the more distinguished among them he put to death; and those who were senators he obliged to fight as gladiators with each other in the presence of his whole army. It is added, that brothers were in some instances brought out to fight with their brothers, and sons with their fathers; but that the prisoners refused so to sin against nature, and chose rather to suffer the worst torments than to draw their swords in such horrible combats.¹⁷ Hannibal's vow may have justified all these cruelties in his eyes; but his passions deceived him, and he was provoked to fury by the resolute spirit which ought to have excited his admiration. To admire the virtue which thwarts our dearest purposes, however natural it may seem to indifferent spectators, is one of the hardest trials of humanity.

Finding the Romans immovable, Hannibal broke up from his position in Apulia, and moved into Samnium. The popular party in Compsa opened their gates to him; and he made the place serve as a depôt for his plunder, and for the heavy baggage of his army.¹⁸ His brother Mago was then ordered to march into Bruttium with a division of the army, and after having received the submission of the Hirpinians on his way, to embark at one of the Bruttian ports, and carry the tidings of his success to Carthage.¹⁹ Hanno, with another division, was sent into Lucania, to protect the revolt of the Lucanians;²⁰ while Hannibal himself, in pursuit of a still greater prize,

¹⁶ Livy, XXII. 58.

¹⁷ Diodorus, XXVI. Exc. de Virtut. et Vitiis. Appian, VII. 28. Zonaras, IX. 2. Valerius Maximus, IX. 2, Ext. 2. But as even Livy does not mention these stories, though they would have afforded such a topic for his rhetoric,—nor does Polybius, either in IX. 24, when speaking of Hannibal's alleged cruelty, or in VI. 58, where he gives the account of the mission of the captives, and adds that Hannibal, when he heard that the Romans had refused to ransom them, κατεπλάγη τὸ στάσιμον καὶ τὸ μεγάλῃ ψυχῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλοῖς,—there must doubtless be a great deal of exaggeration

in them, even if they had any foundation at all. The story in Pliny, VIII. 7, that the last survivor of these gladiatorial combats had to fight against an elephant, and killed him, and was then treacherously waylaid and murdered by Hannibal's orders, was probably invented with reference to this very occasion. The remarks of Polybius should make us slow to believe the stories of Hannibal's cruelties, which so soon became a theme for the invention of poets and rhetoricians.

¹⁸ Livy, XXIII. 1.

¹⁹ Livy, XXIII. 11.

²⁰ Livy, XXIII. 37.

descended once more into the plains of Campania. The Pentrian Samnites, partly restrained by the Latin colony of Æsernia, and partly by the influence of their own countryman, Num. Decimius of Bovianum, a zealous supporter of the Roman alliance, remained firm in their adherence to Rome: but the Hirpinians and the Caudinian Samnites all joined the Carthaginians; and their soldiers no doubt formed part of the army with which Hannibal invaded Campania.²¹ There all was ready for his reception. The popular party in Capua were headed by Pacuvius Calavius, a man of the highest nobility, and married to a daughter of Appius Claudius, but whose ambition led him to aspire to the sovereignty, not of his own country only, but, through Hannibal's aid, of the whole of Italy, Capua succeeding, as he hoped, to the supremacy now enjoyed by Rome. The aristocratical party were weak and unpopular, and could offer no opposition to him; while the people, wholly subject to his influence, concluded a treaty with Hannibal, and admitted the Carthaginian general and his army into the city.²² Thus the second city in Italy, capable, it is said, of raising an army of 30,000 foot and 4000 horse,²³ connected with Rome by the closest ties, and which for nearly a century had remained true to its alliance under all dangers, threw itself into the arms of Hannibal, and took its place at the head of the new coalition of southern Italy, to try the old quarrel of the Samnite wars once again.

This revolt of Capua, the greatest result, short of the submission of Rome itself, which could have followed from the battle of Cannæ, drew the Roman armies towards Campania. Marcellus had probably fallen back from Canusium by the Appian road through Beneventum, moving by an interior and shorter line; whilst Hannibal advanced by Compsa upon Abellinum, descending into the plain of Campania by what is now the pass of Monteforte. Hannibal's cavalry gave him the whole command of the country; and Marcellus could do no more than watch his movements from his camp above Suessula, and wait for some opportunity of impeding his operations in detail.

Marcellus encamped at Suessula.

At this point in the story of the war, the question arises, how was it possible for Rome to escape destruction? Nor is this question merely prompted by the thought of Hannibal's great victories in the field, and the enormous slaughter of Roman citizens at Thrasymenus and Cannæ; it appears even more perplexing to those who have attentively studied the preceding history of Rome. A single battle, evenly contested and hardly won, had enabled Pyrrhus to advance into the heart of

How came it that Rome was not destroyed?

²¹ Livy, XXII. 61. 24.

²² Livy, XXIII. 2-4.

²³ Livy, XXIII. 5. See Niebuhr, Vol. II. note 145.

Latium ; the Hernican cities and the impregnable Præneste had opened their gates to him ; yet Capua was then faithful to Rome ; and Samnium and Lucania, exhausted by long years of unsuccessful warfare, could have yielded him no such succour, as now, after fifty years of peace, they were able to afford to Hannibal. But now, when Hannibal was received into Capua, the state of Italy seemed to have gone backwards a hundred years, and to have returned to what it had been after the battle of Lautulæ in the second Samnite war,²⁴ with the immense addition of the genius of Hannibal and the power of Carthage thrown into the scale of the enemies of Rome. Then, as now, Capua had revolted, and Campania, Samnium, and Lucania, were banded together against Rome ; but this same confederacy was now supported by all the resources of Carthage : and at its head in the field of battle was an army of thirty thousand veterans and victorious soldiers, led by one of the greatest generals whom the world has ever seen. How could it happen that a confederacy so formidable was only formed to be defeated ?—that the revolt of Capua was the term of Hannibal's progress ?—that from this day forwards his great powers were shown rather in repelling defeat than in commanding victory ?—that, instead of besieging Rome, he was soon employed in protecting and relieving Capua ?—and that his protection and succours were alike unavailing ?

No single cause will explain a result so extraordinary. Rome owed her deliverance principally to the strength of the aristocratical interest throughout Italy,—to her numerous colonies of the Latin name,—to the scanty numbers of Hannibal's Africans and Spaniards, and to his want of an efficient artillery. The material of a good artillery must surely have existed in Capua ; but there seem to have been no officers capable of directing it ; and no great general's operations exhibit so striking a contrast of strength and weakness, as may be seen in Hannibal's battles and sieges. And when Cannæ had taught the Romans to avoid pitched battles in the open field, the war became necessarily a series of sieges, where Hannibal's strongest arm, his cavalry, could render little service, while his infantry was in quality not more than equal to the enemy, and his artillery was decidedly inferior.

With two divisions of his army absent in Lucania and Brutium, and while anxiously waiting for the reinforcements which Mago was to procure from Carthage, Hannibal could not undertake any great offensive operation after his arrival in Campania. He attempted only to reduce the remaining cities of the Campanian plain and sea coast, and especially to dislodge the Romans from Casilinum, which, lying within three

Causes which saved her.

Military measures in Campania.

²⁴ See Vol. II. Chap. XXXI.

miles of Capua, and commanding the passage of the Volturnus, not only restrained all his movements, but was a serious annoyance to Capua, and threatened its territory with continual incursions. Atilla and Calatia had revolted to him already with Capua; and he took Nuceria, Alfaterna, and Acerræ. The Greek cities on the coast, Neapolis and Cumæ, were firmly attached to Rome, and were too strong to be besieged with success; but Nola lay in the midst of the plain nearly midway between Capua and Nuceria; and the popular party there, as elsewhere, were ready to open their gates to Hannibal. He was preparing to appear before the town; but the aristocracy had time to apprise the Romans of their danger; and Marcellus, who was then at Casilinum, marched round behind the mountains to escape the enemy's notice, and descended suddenly upon Nola from the hills which rise directly above it. He secured the place, repressed the popular party by some bloody executions, and when Hannibal advanced to the walls, made a sudden sally, and repulsed him with some loss.²⁵ Having done this service, and left the aristocratical party in absolute possession of the government, he returned again to the hills, and lay encamped on the edge of the mountain boundary of the Campanian plain, just above the entrance of the famous pass of Caudium. His place at Casilinum was to be supplied by the dictator's army from Teanum; but Hannibal watched his opportunity, and anticipating his enemies this time, laid regular siege to Casilinum, which was defended by a garrison of about 1000 men.

This garrison had acted the very same part towards the citizens of Casilinum, which the Campanians had acted at Rhegium in the war with Pyrrhus.²⁶ About 500 Conduct of the garrison of Casilinum. Latins of Præneste, and 450 Etruscans of Perugia, having been levied too late to join the consular armies when they took the field, were marching after them into Apulia by the Appian road, when they heard the tidings of the defeat of Cannæ. They immediately turned about, and fell back upon Casilinum, where they established themselves, and for their better security massacred the Campanian inhabitants, and, abandoning the quarter of the town which was on the left bank of the Volturnus, occupied the quarter on the right bank.²⁷ Marcellus, when he retreated from Apulia with the wreck of Varro's army, had fixed his head quarters for a time at Casilinum; the position being one of great importance, and there being some danger lest the garrison, while they kept off Hannibal, should resolve to hold the town for themselves rather than for the Romans. They were now left to themselves; and dreading Hannibal's vengeance for the massacre

²⁵ Livy, XXIII. 14-17. Plutarch, Marcellus, 11.

²⁶ See Vol. II. p. 109.

²⁷ Livy, XXIII. 17.

of the old inhabitants, they resisted his assaults desperately, and obliged him to turn the siege into a blockade. This was the last active operation of the campaign : all the armies now went into winter quarters. The dictator remained at Teanum ; Marcellus lay in his mountain camp above Nola ; and Hannibal's army was at Capua.²⁸ Being quartered in the houses of the city, instead of being encamped by themselves, their discipline, it is likely, was somewhat impaired by the various temptations thrown in their way : and as the wealth and enjoyments of Capua at that time were notorious, the writers who adopted the vulgar declamations against luxury, pretended that Hannibal's army was ruined by the indulgences of this winter, and that Capua was the Cannæ of Carthage.²⁹

This intermission of active warfare will afford us an opportunity of noticing the progress of events elsewhere, which we have hitherto unavoidably neglected. From the banks of the Iberus Hannibal had made his way without interruption to Capua ; and the countries which he left behind him sink in like manner from the notice of the historian. We must now see what had happened in each of them since Hannibal's passage.

It has been mentioned above, that P. Scipio, when he returned from the Rhone to Italy, to be ready to meet Hannibal in Cisalpine Gaul, sent his army into Spain under the command of his brother.³⁰ After his consulship was over, his province of Spain was still continued to him as proconsul ; and he went thither accordingly to take the command. He found that his brother had already effected much : he had defeated and made prisoner the Carthaginian general, Hanno, whom Hannibal left to maintain his latest conquests in Spain, and had driven the Carthaginians beyond the Iberus.³¹ His own arrival in Spain took place in the summer of the year 537, three or four months after the battle of Thrasymenus ; and although little was done in the field before the end of the season, the Carthaginian governor of Saguntum was persuaded to set at liberty all the Spanish hostages left in his custody ; and the Spaniard who had advised this step under the mask of good will to Carthage, as a means of securing the affections of the Spanish people, had no sooner received the hostages with orders to take them back to their several homes, than he delivered them up to the Romans. Thus Scipio enjoyed the whole credit of restoring them to their friends, and made the Roman name generally popular.³² In the following year, Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, having received orders to march into Italy to co-operate with his brother, was en-

²⁸ Livy, XXIII. 18.

²⁹ Livy, XXIII. 45. Florus, II. 6.
Valerius Maximus, IX. 1. Ext. 1.

³⁰ Above, p. 282.

³¹ Polybius, III. 76.

³² Polybius, III. 98, 99.

countered by the Romans near the Iberus, and defeated ;³³ so that his invasion of Italy was for the present effectually prevented.

The importance of this Spanish war cannot be estimated too highly ; for, by disputing the possession of Spain, A. U. C. 538. A. C. 216. Its great importance. the Romans deprived their enemy of his best nursery of soldiers, from which otherwise he would have been able to raise army after army for the invasion of Italy. But its importance consisted not so much in the particular events, as in its being kept up at all : nor is there any thing requiring explanation in the success of the Romans. Their army had originally consisted of 20,000 men ; and P. Scipio had brought some reinforcements ; while Hasdrubal and Hanno in their two armies had a force not much superior : hence, after the total defeat of Hanno, Hasdrubal could not meet the Romans with any chance of success. For Spanish levies were now no longer to be depended on, while the Romans were inviting the nations of Spain to leave the Carthaginians, and come over to them. In this contest between the two nations, which should most influence the minds of the Spaniards, the ascendancy of the Roman character was clearly shown ; and the natives were drawn, as by an invincible attraction, to the worthier.

While Spain was thus the scene of active warfare, Cisalpine Gaul, after Hannibal's advance into Italy, seems to Tranquillity of Cisalpine Gaul. have sunk back into a state of tranquillity, such as it had enjoyed in the first Punic war. It is very remarkable, that the colonies of Placentia and Cremona, so far in advance of the Roman frontier, and surrounded by hostile tribes, were left unassailed from the time when Hannibal crossed the Apennines into Etruria. We are only told that L. Postumius Albinus, one of the prætors of the year 538, was sent with an army into Gaul, when Varro and Æmilius marched into Apulia, with the express object of compelling the Gauls in Hannibal's service to return to the defence of their own country.³⁴ What he did in the course of that summer we know not : at the end of the consular year he was still in his province, and was elected consul for the year following, with Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. But before his consulship began, early in March apparently, according to the Roman calendar, he fell into an ambuscade, while advancing into the enemy's country, and was cut to pieces³⁵ with his whole army. We are told that the Romans found it utterly impossible to replace the army thus lost, and that it was resolved for the present to leave the Gauls to themselves.³⁶ But it was not so certain that the Gauls, if unopposed, would leave the Romans to themselves ; and we find that M. Pomponius Matho, who had been city præ-

³³ Livy, XXIII. 27, 28, 29.

³⁴ Polybius, III. 106.

³⁵ Livy, XXIII. 24. Polybius, III. 118.

³⁶ Livy, XXIII. 25.

tor in 538, was sent, on the expiration of his office, with proconsular power to Ariminum, and that he remained on that frontier for two years with an army of two legions,³⁷ while C. Varro with another legion was quartered in Picenum, to support him in time of need.³⁸ Still the inaction of the Gauls is extraordinary, the more so as we find them in arms immediately after the end of the war with Carthage, and attacking Placentia and Cremona, which they had so long left in peace.³⁹ We can only suppose that the absence of a large portion of their soldiers, who were serving in Hannibal's army, crippled the power of the Gauls who were left at home; and that long experience had taught them that, unless when conducted by a general of a more civilized nation, they could not carry on war successfully with the Romans. The older Gaulish chiefs also were often averse to war, when the younger chiefs were in favour of it;⁴⁰ and the Romans were likely to be lavish of presents at a time so critical, to confirm their friends in their peaceful sentiments, and to win over their adversaries. It seems probable that some truce was concluded, which restrained either the Gauls or Romans from invading each other's territory; and the Romans were contented not to require the recall of the Gauls serving with Hannibal; some of whom, we know, continued to be with him till a much later period. The multitude of the Gauls rejoiced, perhaps, that they had won thus much from their proud enemy, and were well content that the war should be carried on far from their own frontiers, and yet that they should share in its advantages. But wiser men might regret that better use was not made of the favourable moment; that no Carthaginian officer had been left with them to organize their armies and conduct them into the field; that the Roman encroachments on their soil were still maintained; and that there was no Gellius Gnatius in northern Italy to rouse the Etruscans and Umbrians to unite their forces with those of the Gauls on the south of the Apennines, and, while Hannibal lay triumphant in Capua, to revenge the defeat of Sentinum by a second victory on the Alia or the Tiber.

Whatever was the cause, the inactivity of the Gauls, after their great victory over L. Postumius, might strengthen the arguments of those Greeks who ascribed the conquests of the Romans to their good fortune. It was no less timely than the peace with Etruria, concluded at the very moment when Pyrrhus was advancing upon Rome, or than the quiet of these same Gauls during the first Punic war. The consequence was, that the Romans had the whole force of Etruria

Resources of the
Romans.

³⁷ Livy, XXIV. 10, 44. See Duker's note on the former passage.

³⁸ Livy, XXIII. 32.

³⁹ Livy, XXXI. 10.

⁴⁰ See for instance Cæsar, B. G. II. 17.

and Umbria disposable for the contest in the south ; and that any disposition to revolt, which might have existed in those countries, was unable to show itself in action. Their soldiers served as allies in the Roman armies, and with the Sabines, Picentians, Vestinians, Frentanians, Marrucinians, Marsians, and Pelignians, together with the cities of the Latin name, composed the Roman confederacy after the revolt of southern Italy. That revolt made the drain, both of men and money, press more heavily on the states which still remained faithful ; and the friends of Rome must every where have had the greatest difficulty in persuading their countrymen not to desert a cause which seemed so ruinous. Under such a pressure, the Roman government plainly told its officers in Sardinia and Sicily, that they must provide for their armies as they best could, for that they must expect no supplies of any kind from home.⁴¹ The proprætor of Sicily applied to the never-failing friendship of Hiero, and obtained from him, almost as the last act of his long life, money enough to pay his soldiers, and corn for six months' consumption. But the proprætor of Sardinia had no such friend to help him ; and he was obliged to get both corn and money from the people of the province.⁴² The money, it seems, like the benevolences of our own government in old times, was nominally a free-will offering of the loyal cities of Sardinia to the Roman people : but the Sardinians knew that it was a gift which they could not help giving ; and impatient of this addition to their former burdens, they applied to Carthage for aid, and broke out the following year into open revolt.⁴³

It is not without reason that the Roman government had abandoned its officers in the provinces to their own resources. Their financial difficulties. Their financial difficulties were enormous. Large tracts of land, arable, pasture, and forest, from which the state ordinarily derived a revenue, were in the hands of the enemy ; the number of tax-payers had been greatly diminished by the slaughter of so many citizens in battle ; and in many cases their widows and children would be unable to cultivate their little property, and would be altogether insolvent. If the poorer citizens were again obliged, as after the Gaulish invasion, to borrow money of the rich, discontent and misery would have been the sure consequence ; and the debtor would regard his creditor as a worse enemy than Hannibal. Accordingly three commissioners were appointed, on the proposition of the tribune Minucius, like the five commissioners of the year 403, with the express object of facilitating the circulation, and assisting the distressed tax-payer.⁴⁴ Their measures are not recorded ; but we may suppose that they acted like the former commissioners, and

⁴¹ Livy, XXIII. 21.⁴² Livy, XXIII. 21.⁴³ Livy, XXIII. 32.⁴⁴ Livy, XXIII. 21. Compare VII. 21.

allowed the poor citizens to pay their taxes in kind, when they could not procure money, and did not force them to sell their property, when it must have been sold at a certain loss.⁴⁵ The war must no doubt have raised the value of money, and diminished that of land; and the agricultural population, who had to pay a fixed amount of taxation in money, were thus doubly sufferers. As a mere financial operation, the commissioners' measures may not have been very profitable; but the government had the wisdom to see that every thing depended on the unanimity and devotion of all classes to the cause of their country; and it was worth a great pecuniary sacrifice, even in the actual financial difficulties, to attach the people heartily to the government, and to prevent that intolerable evil of a general state of debt, which must speedily have led to a revolution, and laid Rome prostrate at the feet of Hannibal.

Neither Rome nor Carthage could be said to have the undisputed mastery of the sea. Roman fleets sometimes visited the coasts of Africa; and Carthaginian fleets in the same way appeared off the coasts of Italy. Hannibal received supplies from Carthage, which were landed in the ports of Bruttium; and when the Carthaginians wished to assist the revolt of the Sardinians, the expedition which they sent, although it suffered much from bad weather, was neither delayed nor prevented by the enemy.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the Romans had gained a naval victory of some importance in Spain;⁴⁷ and their cruising squadrons in the Ionian Gulf, having the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum to run to in case of need, were of signal service, as we shall see hereafter, in intercepting the communications which the king of Macedon was trying to open with Hannibal.⁴⁸

Meantime the news of the battle of Cannæ had been carried to Carthage, as we have seen, by Hannibal's brother Mago, accompanied with a request for reinforcements. Nearly two years before, when he first descended from the Alps into Cisalpine Gaul, his Africans and Spaniards were reduced to no more than 20,000 foot, and 6000 horse. The Gauls, who had joined him since, had indeed more than doubled this number at first; but three great battles, and many partial actions, besides the unavoidable losses from sickness during two years of active service, must again have greatly diminished it; and this force was now to be divided: a part of it was employed in Bruttium, a part in Lucania, leaving an inconsiderable body

⁴⁵ Salmasius (*de Usuris*, p. 510), conceives that the reduction of the *as* to an ounce, which, Pliny (*XXXIII.* 13) says, took place in the dictatorship of Fabius

Maximus, was a measure of these commissioners.

⁴⁶ Livy, *XXIII.* 43, 34.

⁴⁷ Polybius, *III.* 96.

⁴⁸ Livy, *XXIII.* 32, 34.

under Hannibal's own command. On the other hand, the accession of the Campanians, Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians supplied him with auxiliary troops in abundance, and of excellent quality; so that large reinforcements from home were not required, but only enough for the Africans to form a substantial part of every army employed in the field, and above all, to maintain his superiority in cavalry. It is said that some of the reinforcements which were voted on Mago's demand, were afterwards diverted to other services;⁴⁹ and we do not know what was the amount of force actually sent over to Italy, nor when it arrived.⁵⁰ It consisted chiefly, if not entirely, of cavalry and elephants; for all the elephants which Hannibal had brought with him into Italy had long since perished; and his anxiety to obtain others, troublesome and hazardous as it must have been to transport them from Africa by sea, speaks strongly in favour of their use in war, which modern writers are perhaps too much inclined to depreciate.⁵¹

We have no information as to the feelings entertained by Hannibal and the Campanians towards each other, while the Carthaginians were wintering in Capua. Feelings of the Campanians. The treaty of alliance had provided carefully for the independence of the Campanians, that they might not be treated as Pyrrhus had treated the Tarentines. Capua was to have its own laws and magistrates; no Campanian was to be compelled to any duty, civil or military, nor to be in any way subject to the authority of the Carthaginian officers.⁵² There must have been something of a Roman party opposed to the alliance with Carthage altogether; though the Roman writers mention one man only, Decius Magius, who was said to have resisted Hannibal to his face with such vehemence, that Hannibal sent him prisoner to Carthage.⁵³ But three hundred Campanian horsemen of the richer classes, who were serving in the Roman army in Sicily when Capua revolted, went to Rome as soon as their service was over, and were there received as Roman citizens;⁵⁴ and others, though unable to resist the general voice of their countrymen, must have longed in their hearts to return to the Roman alliance. Of the leaders of the Campanian people, we know little: Pacuvius Calavius, the principal author of the revolt, is never mentioned afterwards; nor do we know the fate of his son Perolla, who, in his zeal for Rome, wished to assassinate Hannibal at his own father's table, when he made his public entrance into Capua.⁵⁵ Vibius Virrius is also

⁴⁹ Livy, XXIII. 13, 32.

⁵⁰ He is represented as having elephants at the siege of Casilinum. Livy, XXIII. 18. If this be correct, the reinforcements must already have joined him.

⁵¹ See the interesting dissertation on

elephants by A. W. Schlegel in his *Indische Bibliothek*, Vol. I. 173, foll.

⁵² Livy, XXIII. 7.

⁵³ Livy, XXIII. 7, 10.

⁵⁴ Livy, XXIII. 4, 7, 31.

⁵⁵ Livy, XXIII. 8, 9.

named as a leading partisan of the Carthaginians;⁵⁶ and amid the pictures of the luxury and feebleness of the Campanians, their cavalry, which was formed entirely out of the wealthiest classes, is allowed to have been excellent;⁵⁷ and one brave and practised soldier, Jubellius Taurea, had acquired a high reputation amongst the Romans when he served with them, and had attracted the notice and respect of Hannibal.⁵⁸

During the interval from active warfare afforded by the winter, the Romans took measures for filling up the numerous vacancies which the lapse of five years, and so many disastrous battles, had made in the numbers of the senate.⁵⁹ The natural course would have been to elect censors, to whom the duty of making out the roll of the senate properly belonged; but the vacancies were so many, and the censor's power in admitting new citizens, and degrading old ones, was so enormous, that the senate feared, it seems, to trust to the result of an ordinary election; and resolved that the censor's business should be performed by the oldest man in point of standing, of all those who had already been censors, and that he should be appointed dictator for this especial duty, although there was one dictator already for the conduct of the war. The person thus selected was M. Fabius Buteo, who had been censor six and twenty years before, at the end of the first Punic war, and who had more recently been the chief of the embassy sent to declare war on Carthage after the destruction of Saguntum. That his appointment might want no legal formality, C. Varro, the only surviving consul, was sent for home from Apulia to nominate him, the senate intending to detain Varro in Rome till he should have presided at the comitia for the election of the next year's magistrates. The nomination as usual took place at midnight; and on the following morning M. Fabius appeared in the forum with his four and twenty lictors, and ascended the rostra to address the people. Invested with absolute power for six months, and especially charged with no less a task than the formation, at his discretion, of that great council which possessed the supreme government of the commonwealth, the noble old man neither shrunk weakly from so heavy a burden, nor ambitiously abused so vast an authority. He told the people that he would not strike off the name of a single senator from the list of the senate, and that, in filling up the vacancies, he would proceed by a defined rule; that he would first add all those who had held curule offices within the last five years, without having been admitted as yet into the senate; that in the second place he would take all who within the same period

⁵⁶ Livy, XXIII. 6.

⁵⁷ Frontinus, Strateg. IV. 7, 29.

⁵⁸ Livy, XXIII. 8, 46, 47. XXVI. 15, Valerius Maximus, V. 3. Ext. 1.

⁵⁹ Livy, XXIII. 22.

had been tribunes, ædiles, or quæstors ; and thirdly, all those who could show in their houses spoils won in battle from an enemy, or who had received the wreath of oak for saving the life of a citizen in battle. In this manner 177 new senators were placed on the roll ; the new members thus forming a large majority of the whole number of the senate, which amounted only to three hundred. This being done forthwith, the dictator, as he stood in the rostra, resigned his office, dismissed his lictors, and went down into the forum a private man. There he purposely lingered amidst the crowd, lest the people should leave their business to follow him home ; but their admiration was not cooled by this delay ; and when he withdrew at the usual hour, the whole people attended him to his house.⁶⁰ Such was Fabius Buteo's dictatorship, so wisely fulfilled, so simply and nobly resigned, that the dictatorship of Fabius Maximus himself has earned no purer glory.

Varro, it is said, not wishing to be detained in Rome, returned to his army the next night, without giving the senate notice of his departure. The dictator, M. Junius, was therefore requested to repair to Rome to hold the comitia ; and Ti. Gracchus and M. Marcellus were to come with him to report on the state of their several armies, and concert measures for the ensuing campaign.⁶¹ There is no doubt that the senate determined on the persons to be proposed at the ensuing elections, and that, if any one else had come forward as a candidate, the dictator who presided would have refused to receive votes for him. Accordingly the consuls and prætors chosen were all men of the highest reputation for ability and experience : Election of officers for year 539. A. U. C. 539. A. C. 215. the consuls were L. Postumius, whose defeat and death in Cisalpine Gaul were not yet known in Rome, and Ti. Gracchus, now master of the horse. The prætors were M. Valerius Lævinus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, a grandson of the famous censor, Appius the blind, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, old in years, but vigorous in mind and body, who had already been censor, and twice consul, and Q. Mucius Scævola.⁶² When the death of L. Postumius was known, his place was finally filled by no less a person than Q. Fabius Maximus : whilst Marcellus was still to retain his command with proconsular power, as his activity and energy could ill be spared at a time so critical.⁶³

The officers for the year being thus appointed, it remained to determine their several provinces, and to provide Distribution of provinces and troops. them with sufficient forces.⁶⁴ Fabius was to succeed to the army of the dictator, M. Junius ; and his head quar-

⁶⁰ Livy, XXIII. 23.⁶¹ Livy, XXIII. 24.⁶² Livy, XXIII. 30.⁶³ Livy, XXIII. 31.⁶⁴ Livy, XXIII. 31. 32.

ters were advanced from Teanum to Cales, at the northern extremity of the Falernian plain, about seven English miles from Casilinum and the Vulturnus, and less than ten from Capua. The other consul, Ti. Sempronius, was to have no other Roman army than two legions of volunteer slaves, who were to be raised for the occasion ; but both he and his colleague had the usual contingent of Latin and Italian allies. Gracchus named Sinuessa on the Appian road, at the point where the Massic hills run out with a bold headland into the sea, as the place of meeting for his soldiers ; and his business was to protect the towns on the coast, which were still faithful to Rome, such as Cuma and Neapolis. Marcellus was to command two new Roman legions, and to lie as before in his camp above Nola ; while his old army was sent into Sicily to relieve the legions there, and enable them to return to Italy, where they formed a fourth army under the command of M. Valerius Lævinus, the prætor peregrinus, in Apulia. The small force which Varro had commanded in Apulia was ordered to Tarentum, to add to the strength of that important place ; while Varro himself was sent with proconsular power into Picenum, to raise soldiers, and to watch the road along the Adriatic by which the Gauls might have sent reinforcements to Hannibal. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the prætor urbanus, remained at Rome to conduct the government, and had no other military command than that of a small fleet for the defence of the coast on both sides of the Tiber. Of the other two prætors, Ap. Claudius was to command in Sicily, and Q. Mucius in Sardinia ; and P. Scipio as proconsul still commanded his old army of two legions in Spain. On the whole, including the volunteer slaves, there appeared to have been fourteen Roman legions in active service at the beginning of the year 539, without reckoning the soldiers who served in the fleets ; and of these fourteen legions, nine were employed in Italy. If we suppose that the Latin and Italian allies bore their usual proportion to the number of Roman soldiers in each army, we shall have a total of 140,000 men, thus divided : 20,000 in Spain, and the same number in Sicily ; 10,000 in Sardinia ; 20,000 under each of the consuls ; 20,000 with Marcellus ; 20,000 under Lævinus in Apulia ; and 10,000 in Tarentum.

Seventy thousand men were thus in arms, besides the seamen, out of a population of citizens which at the last census before the war had amounted only to 270,213,⁶⁵ and which had since been thinned by so many disastrous battles. Nor was the drain on the finances of Rome less extraordinary. The legions in the provinces had indeed been left to their own resources as to money ; but the nine legions serving in Italy must have been paid regularly ; for war could not there be

Extraordinary exertions of the Romans, military and financial.

⁶⁵ Livy, Epit. XX.

made to support war ; and if the Romans had been left to live at free quarters upon their Italian allies, they would have driven them to join Hannibal in mere self-defence. Yet the legions in Italy cost the government in pay, food, and clothing, at the rate of 541,800 denarii a month ; and as they were kept on service throughout the year, the annual expense was 6,501,600 denarii, or in Greek money, reckoning the denarius as equal to the drachma, 1083 Euboic talents. To meet these enormous demands on the treasury, the government resorted to the simple expedient of doubling the year's taxes, and calling at once for the payment of one half of this amount, leaving the other to be paid at the end of the year.⁶⁶ It was a struggle for life and death ; and the people were in a mood to refuse no sacrifices, however costly : but the war must have cut off so many sources of wealth, and agriculture itself must have so suffered from the calling away of so many hands from the cultivation of the land, that we wonder how the money could be found, and how many of the poorer citizens' families could be provided with daily bread.

In addition to the five regular armies which the Romans brought into the field in Italy, an irregular warfare was also going on, we know not to what extent ; Other military means of the Romans. and bands of peasants and slaves were armed in many parts of the country to act against the revolted Italians, and to ravage their territory. For instance, a great tract of forest in Bruttium, as we have seen, was the domain of the Roman people ; this would be farmed like all the other revenues ; and the publicani who farmed it, or the wealthy citizens who turned out cattle to pasture in it, would have large bodies of slaves employed as shepherds, herdsmen, and woodsmen, who, when the Bruttian towns on the coast revolted, would at once form a guerilla force capable of doing them great mischief. And lastly, besides all these forces, regular and irregular, the Romans still held most of the principal towns in the south of Italy ; because they had long since converted them into Latin colonies. Brundisium on the Ionian sea, Pæstum on the coast of Lucania, Luceria, Venusia, and Beneventum in the interior, were all so many strong fortresses, garrisoned by soldiers of the Latin name, in the very heart of the revolted districts ;⁶⁷ whilst the Greek cities of Cumæ and Neapolis in Campania, and Rhegium on the straits of Messina, were held for Rome by their own citizens with a devotion no way inferior to that of the Latin colonies themselves.⁶⁸

Against this mass of enemies, the moment that they had learnt to use their strength, Hannibal, even within six Hannibal's resources. months after the battle of Cannæ, was already con-

⁶⁶ Livy, XXIII. 31.

⁶⁷ Livy, XXVII. 10.

⁶⁸ Livy, XXIII. 1. 36, 37. XXIV. 1.

tending at a disadvantage. We have seen that he had detached two officers with two divisions of his army, one into Lucania, the other into Bruttium, to encourage the revolt of those countries, and then to organize their resources in men and money for the advancement of the common cause. Most of the Bruttians took up arms immediately as Hannibal's allies, and put themselves under the command of his officer, Himilcon; but Petelia, one of their cities, was for some reason or other inflexible in its devotion to Rome, and endured a siege of eleven months, suffering all extremities of famine before it surrendered.⁶⁹ Thus Himilcon must have been still engaged in besieging it long after the campaign was opened in the neighbourhood of Capua. The Samnites also had taken up arms, and apparently were attached to Hannibal's own army: the return of their whole population of the military age, made ten years before during the Gaulish invasion, had stated it at 70,000 foot, and 7000 horse;⁷⁰ but the Pentrians, the most powerful tribe of their nation, were still faithful to Rome; and the Samnites, like the Romans themselves, had been thinned by the slaughter of Thrasymenus and Cannæ, which they had shared as their allies. It is vexatious that we have no statement of the amount of Hannibal's old army, any more than of the allies who joined him, at any period of the war later than the battle of Cannæ. His reinforcements from home, as we have seen, were very trifling; while his two divisions in Lucania and Bruttium, and the garrisons which he had been obliged to leave in some of the revolted towns, as, for example, at Arpi in Apulia,⁷¹ must have considerably lessened the force under his own personal command. Yet, with the accession of the Samnites and Campanians, it was probably much stronger than any one of the Roman armies opposed to him; quite as strong indeed, in all likelihood, as was consistent with the possibility of feeding it..

Before the winter was over, Casilinum fell. The garrison had made a valiant defence, and yielded at last to famine: they were allowed to ransom themselves by paying each man seven ounces of gold for his life and liberty. The plunder which they had won from the old inhabitants enabled them to discharge this large sum; and they were then allowed to march out unhurt, and retire to Cumæ. Casilinum again became a Campanian town; but its important position, at once covering Capua, and securing a passage over the Volturnus, induced Hannibal to garrison it with seven hundred soldiers of his own army.⁷²

The season for active operations was now arrived. The

⁶⁹ Polybius, VII. 1. Livy, XXII. 61. XXIII. 20, 30. Appian, VII. 28. Valerius Maximus, VI. 6. Ext. 2.

⁷¹ Livy, XXIV. 46, 47. Appian, VII. 31.

⁷² Livy, XXIII. 19, 20.

⁷⁰ Polybius, II. 24, 10.

three Roman armies of Fabius, Gracchus, and Marcellus, had taken up their positions round Campania; and Hannibal marched out of Capua, and encamped his army on the mountain above it, on that same Tifata where the Samnites had so often taken post in old times, when they were preparing to invade the Campanian plain.⁷³ Tifata did not then exhibit that bare and parched appearance which it has now; the soil, which has accumulated in the plain below, so as to have risen several feet above its ancient level, has been washed down in the course of centuries, and after the destruction of its protecting woods, from the neighbouring mountains; and Tifata in Hannibal's time furnished grass in abundance for his cattle in its numerous glades, and offered cool and healthy summer quarters for his men. There he lay waiting for some opportunity of striking a blow against his enemies around him, and eagerly watching the progress of his intrigues with the Tarentines, and his negotiations with the king of Macedon. A party at Tarentum began to open a correspondence with him immediately after the battle of Cannæ;⁷⁴ and since he had been in Campania he had received an embassy from Philip, king of Macedon, and had concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the ambassadors, who acted with full powers in their master's name.⁷⁵ Such were his prospects on one side, while, if he looked westward and south-west, he saw Sardinia in open revolt against Rome;⁷⁶ and in Sicily the death of Hiero at the age of ninety, and the succession of his grandson Hieronymus, an ambitious and inexperienced youth, were detaching Syracuse also from the Roman alliance. Hannibal had already received an embassy from Hieronymus, to which he had replied by sending a Carthaginian officer of his own name to Sicily, and two Syracusan brothers, Hippocrates and Epicydes, who had long served with him in Italy and in Spain, being in fact Carthaginians by their mother's side, and having become naturalized at Carthage, since Agathocles had banished their grandfather, and their father had married and settled in his place of exile.⁷⁷ Thus the effect of the battle of Cannæ seemed to be shaking the whole fabric of the Roman dominion; their provinces were revolting; their firmest allies were deserting them; while the king of Macedon himself, the successor of Alexander, was throwing the weight of his power, and of all his acquired and inherited glory, into the scale of their enemies. Seeing the fruit of his work thus fast ripening, Hannibal sat quietly on the summit of Tifata, to break forth like the lightning flash when the storm should be fully gathered.

Hannibal encamps
on mount Tifata.
Rome deserted by
her allies.

⁷³ Livy, XXIII. 36. VII. 29.

⁷⁴ Livy, XXII. 61. Appian, VII. 32.

⁷⁵ Livy, XXIII. 33. Zonaras, IX. 4.

⁷⁶ Livy, XXIII. 32, 34.

⁷⁷ Livy, XXIII. 4, 6. Polybius, VII. 2.

Thus the summer of 539 was like a breathing time, in which both parties were looking at each other, and considering each other's resources, while they were recovering strength after their past efforts, and preparing for a renewal of the struggle. Fabius, with the authority of the senate, issued an order, calling on the inhabitants of all the country which either actually was, or was likely to become, the seat of war, to clear their corn off the ground, and carry it into the fortified cities, before the first of June, threatening to lay waste the land, to sell the slaves, and burn the farm buildings, of any one who should disobey the order.⁷⁸ In the utter confusion of the Roman calendar at this period, it is difficult to know whether in any given year it was in advance of the true time, or behind it; so that we can scarcely tell whether the corn was only to be got in when ripe without needless delay, or whether it was to be cut when green, lest Hannibal should use it as forage for his cavalry. But at any rate Fabius was now repeating the system which he had laid down in his dictatorship, and hoped by wasting the country to oblige Hannibal to retreat; for his means of transport were not sufficient for him to feed his army from a distance: hence, when the resources in his immediate neighbourhood were exhausted, he was obliged to move elsewhere.

Meanwhile Gracchus had crossed the Volturnus near its mouth, and was now at Liternum, busily employed in exercising and training his heterogeneous army. The several Campanian cities were accustomed to hold a joint festival every year at a place called Hamae, only three miles from Cumae.⁷⁹ These festivals were seasons of general truce, so that the citizens even of hostile nations met at them safely: the government of Capua announced to the Cumæans, that their chief magistrate and all their senators would appear at Hamae as usual on the day of the solemnity; and they invited the senate of Cumæ to meet them. At the same time they said that an armed force would be present to repel any interruption from the Romans. The Cumæans informed Gracchus of this; and he attacked the Capuans in the night, when they were in such perfect security, that they had not even fortified a camp, but were sleeping in the open country, and massacred about 2000 of them, among whom was Marius Alfius, the supreme magistrate of Capua. The Romans charge the Capuans with having meditated treachery against the Cumæans, and say that they were caught in their own snare; but this could only be a suspicion, while the overt acts of violence were their own. Hannibal no sooner heard of this disaster, than he descended from Tifata, and hastened to Hamae, in the hope of provoking the enemy to battle in the confidence of their late success. But Gracchus was too wary to be so tempted,

⁷⁸ Livy, XXIII. 32.⁷⁹ Livy, XXIII. 35.

and had retreated in good time to Cumæ, where he lay safe within the walls of the town.⁸⁰ It is said that Hannibal, having supplied himself with all things necessary for a siege, attacked the place in form, and was repulsed with loss, so that he returned defeated to his camp at Tifata. A consular army defending the walls of a fortified town was not indeed likely to be beaten in an assault; and neither could a maritime town, with the sea open, be easily starved; nor could Hannibal linger before it safely, as Fabius, with a second consular army, was preparing to cross the Volturnus.

Casilinum being held by the enemy, Fabius was obliged to cross at a higher point behind the mountains, nearly opposite to Allifæ; and he then descended the left Strength of the Roman armies. bank to the confluence of the Calor with the Volturnus, crossed the Calor, and passing between Taburnus and the mountains above Caserta and Maddaloni, stormed the town of Saticula, and joined Marcellus in his camp above Suessula.⁸¹ He was again anxious for Nola, where the popular party were said to be still plotting the surrender of the town to Hannibal: to stop this mischief, he sent Marcellus with his whole army to garrison Nola, while he himself took his place in the camp above Suessula. Gracchus on his side advanced from Cumæ towards Capua; so that three Roman armies, amounting in all to above sixty thousand men, were on the left bank of the Volturnus together; and all, so far as appears, in free communication with each other. They availed themselves of their numbers and of their position, to send plundering parties out on their rear to overrun the lands of the revolted Samnites and Hirpinians; and as the best troops of both these nations were with Hannibal on Tifata, no force was left at home sufficient to check the enemy's incursions. Accordingly the complaints of the sufferers were loud, and a deputation was sent to Hannibal, imploring him to protect his allies.⁸²

Already Hannibal felt that the Roman generals understood their business, and had learnt to use their numbers wisely. On ground where his cavalry could act, Hannibal receives his reinforcements. he would not have feared to engage their three armies together; but when they were amongst mountains, or behind walls, his cavalry were useless, and he could not venture to attack them: besides, he did not wish to expose the territory of Capua to their ravages: and therefore he did not choose lightly to move from Tifata. But the prayers of the Samnites were urgent: his partisans in Nola might require his aid, or might be able to admit him into the town; and his expected reinforcement of cavalry and elephants from Carthage had landed safely in Bruttium, and was on its way to join him, which the position of Fabius and Marcel-

⁸⁰ Livy, XXIII. 36.⁸¹ Livy, XXIII. 39.⁸² Livy, XXIII. 41, 42.

lus might render difficult, if he made no movement to favour it. He therefore left Tifata, advanced upon Nola, and timed his operation so well, that his reinforcements arrived at the moment when he was before Nola; and neither Fabius nor Marcellus attempted to prevent their junction.⁸³

Thus encouraged, and perhaps not aware of the strength of the garrison, Hannibal not only overran the territory of Nola, but surrounded the town with his soldiers, in the hope of taking it by escalade. Marcellus was alike watchful and bold; he threw open the gates and made a sudden sally, by which he drove back the enemy within their camp; and this success, together with his frank and popular bearing, won him, it is said, the affections of all parties at Nola, and put a stop to all intrigues within the walls.⁸⁴ A more important consequence of this action was the desertion of above 1200 men, Spanish foot, and Numidian horse, from Hannibal's army to the Romans;⁸⁵ as we do not find that their example was followed by others, it is probable that they were not Hannibal's old soldiers, but some of the troops which had just joined him, and which could not as yet have felt the spell of his personal ascendancy. Still their treason naturally made him uneasy, and would for the moment excite a general suspicion in the army: the summer too was drawing to a close; and wishing to relieve Capua from the burden of feeding his troops, he marched away into Apulia, and fixed his quarters for the winter near Arpi. Gracchus, with one consular army, followed him; while Fabius, after having ravaged the country round Capua, and carried off the green corn, as soon as it was high enough out of the ground, to his camp above Suessula, to furnish winter food for his cavalry, quartered his own army there for the winter, and ordered Marcellus to retain a sufficient force to secure Nola, and to send the rest of his men home to be disbanded.⁸⁶

Thus the campaign was ended, and Hannibal had not marked it with a victory. The Romans had employed their forces so wisely, that they had forced him to remain mostly on the defensive; and his two offensive operations, against Cumæ and against Nola, had both been baffled. In Sardinia their success had been brilliant and decisive. Mucius the prætor fell ill soon after he arrived in the island; upon which the senate ordered Q. Fabius, the city prætor, to raise a new legion, and to send it over into Sardinia, under any officer whom he might think proper to appoint. He chose a man, in age, rank, and character, most resembling himself, T. Manlius Torquatus, who in his first consulship, twenty years before, had fought against

⁸³ Livy, XXIII. 43.

⁸⁴ Livy, XXIII. 44, 45, 46.

⁸⁵ Livy, XXIII. 46.

⁸⁶ Livy, XXIII. 46, 48.

the Sardinians, and obtained a triumph over them. Manlius' second command in the island was no less brilliant than his first: he totally defeated the united forces of the Sardinians and Carthaginians, took their principal generals prisoners, reduced the revolted towns to obedience, levied heavy contributions of corn and money as a punishment of their rebellion, and then embarked with the troops which he had brought out with him, only leaving the usual force of a single legion in the island, and returned to Rome to report the complete submission of Sardinia. The money of his contributions was paid over to the quæstors, for the payment of the armies; the corn was given to the ædiles to supply the markets of Rome.⁸⁷

Fortune in another quarter served the Romans no less effectually. The Macedonian ambassadors, after having concluded their treaty with Hannibal at Tifata, made their way back into Bruttium in safety, and embarked to return to Greece. But their ship was taken off the Calabrian coast by the Roman squadron on that station; and the ambassadors with all their papers were sent prisoners to Rome.⁸⁸ A vessel which had been of their company escaped the Romans, and informed the king what had happened. He was obliged therefore to send a second embassy to Hannibal, as the former treaty had never reached him; and although this second mission went and returned safely, yet the loss of time was irreparable, and nothing could be done till another year.⁸⁹ Meanwhile the Romans, thus timely made aware of the king's intentions, resolved to find such employment for him at home as should prevent his invading Italy. M. Valerius Lævinus was to take the command of the fleet at Tarentum and Brundisium, and to cross the Ionian Gulf, in order to rouse the Ætolians, and the barbarian chiefs whose tribes bordered on Philip's western frontier, and, with such other allies as could be engaged in the cause, to form a Greek coalition against Macedon.⁹⁰

These events, and the continued successes of their army in Spain, revived the spirits of the Romans, and encouraged them to make still greater sacrifices, in the hope that they would not be made in vain. The distress of the treasury was at its height: P. Scipio, in announcing his victories, reported that his soldiers and seamen were in a state of utter destitution; that they had no pay, corn, or clothing; and that the two latter articles must at any rate be supplied from Rome.⁹¹ His demands were acknowledged to be reasonable; but the republic had lost so large a portion of her foreign revenue, that her

Capture of the Macedonian ambassadors.
Expedition to Greece

Measures of the Romans to raise money: a loan.

⁸⁷ Livy, XXIII. 34, 41.

⁸⁸ Livy, XXIII. 38.

⁸⁹ Livy, XXIII. 39.

⁹⁰ Livy, XXIII. 38, 48. XXIV. 10.
Zonaras, IX. 4.

⁹¹ Livy, XXIII. 48.

chief resource now lay in the taxation of her own people: this had been doubled in the present year, yet was found inadequate; and to increase it, or even to continue it at its present amount, was altogether impossible. Accordingly the city prætor, Q. Fulvius, addressed the people from the rostra, explained the distress of the government to them, and appealed to the patriotism of the monied class to assist their country with a loan. Fabius did not mean to hold out an opportunity to the public creditor of investing his money to advantage, subject only to the risk of a national bankruptcy: on this Roman loan no interest was to be paid; the creditors were simply assured that, as soon as the treasury was solvent, their demands should be discharged before all others; in the mean time their money was totally lost to them. But, on the other hand, opportunities of investing money profitably must have been greatly diminished by the war; to lend it to the government was not therefore so great a sacrifice. Still a public spirit was shown in the ready answer to the prætor's appeal, such as merchants have often honourably displayed in seasons of public danger; mixed up however—for when are human motives altogether pure?—with a considerable regard to personal advantage. Three companies were formed, each, as it seems, composed of eighteen members and a president, or chairman; and these were to supply the corn and clothing which the armies might require. But in return they demanded an exemption from military service, whilst they were thus serving the state with their money; and they also required the government to undertake the whole sea risk, whether from storms, or from the enemy: whatever articles were thus lost were to be the loss of the nation, and not of the companies.⁹² It will be seen hereafter how some of the contractors abused this equitable condition, and wilfully destroyed cargoes of small value, in order to recover the insurance upon them from the government. That a citizen should enrich himself by frauds practised on his country in such a season of distress and danger is sufficiently monstrous; but the spirit of what is so emphatically called jobbing is inveterate in human nature; and we cannot wonder at its existence among Roman citizens, while Rome was struggling for life or death, when it has been known to find its way into the prison of Christian martyrs.⁹³

Yet neither the ordinary taxation, nor the loan in addition to it, were sufficient for the vast expenditure of the war. The hostility of Macedon had made it necessary to raise an additional fleet; for the coasts of Italy must be protected; and Hannibal's free communications with Africa must be restrained; and now another fleet was required, by the

Property tax.

⁹² Livy, XXIII. 49.

⁹³ See Cyprian, Epp. X. XXII. Ed. Rigalt.

threatening aspect of affairs in Sicily. Accordingly a graduated property tax for the occasion was imposed on all citizens whose property amounted to or exceeded 100,000 ases; that is, they were required to furnish a certain number of their slaves as seamen, to arm and equip them, and to provide them with dressed provisions for thirty days, and with pay, in some cases for six months, in others for a whole year.⁹⁴ The senators, who were rated higher than all other citizens, were obliged in this manner each to provide eight seamen, with pay for the longer term of the whole year.

Whilst the commonwealth was making these extraordinary efforts, it was of the last importance that they should not be wasted by incompetent leaders, either at home or abroad. Gracchus was watching Hannibal in Apulia; so that Fabius went to Rome to hold the comitia. It was not by accident doubtless, that he had previously sent home to fix the day of the meeting, or that his own arrival was so nicely timed, that he reached Rome when the tribes were actually met in the Campus Martius; thus, without entering the city, he passed along under the walls, and took his place as presiding magistrate at the comitia,⁹⁵ while his lictors still bore the naked axe in the midst of their fasces, the well known sign of that absolute power which the consul enjoyed every where out of Rome. Fabius, in concert no doubt with Q. Fulvius and T. Manlius, and other leading senators, had already determined who were to be consuls: when the first century, in the free exercise of its choice, gave its vote in favour of T. Otacilius and M. Æmilius Regillus, he at once stopped the election, and told the people that this was no time to choose ordinary consuls; that they were electing generals to oppose Hannibal, and should fix upon those men under whom they would most gladly risk their sons' lives and their own, if they stood at that moment on the eve of battle. "Wherefore, crier," he concluded, "call back the century to give its votes over again."⁹⁶

Otacilius, who was present, although he had married Fabius' niece, protested loudly against this interference with the votes of the people, and charged Fabius with trying to procure his own re-election. The old man had always been so famous for the gentleness of his nature, that he was commonly known by the name of "the Lamb;"⁹⁷ but now

Fabius and Marcellus are elected consuls.

⁹⁴ Liv. XXIV. 11. comp. XXVI. 36. XXXIV. 6.

⁹⁵ Livy, XXIV. 7.

⁹⁶ Livy, XXIV. 8.

⁹⁷ Ovicula, see Aurelius Victor de Vir. Illustr. c. 43. Plutarch, Fabius, c. 1. 'Ο δὲ 'Οουικούλας σημαίνει τὸ προβάτιον· ἐτέθη δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶότητα καὶ βαρύτητα τοῦ ἥθους ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος. Τὸ γὰρ ἡσύχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σιω-

πηλὸν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας τῶν παιδικῶν ἀπτόμενον ἤδονων, βραδέως δὲ καὶ διαπύωνος δεχόμενον τὰς μαθήσεις, εὐκόλον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ κατήκοον ἀβελτερίας τινὲς καὶ παρορρήτους ὑπόνοιαν εἶχε παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτός· ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ τὸ δυσκίνητον ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ τῇ μεγάλῳ ψυχῶν καὶ λεοντῶδες ἐν τῇ φύσει καθορώμενες αὐτοῦ.

he acted with the decision of Q. Fulvius or T. Manlius ; he peremptorily ordered Otacilius to be silent, and bade him remember that his lictors carried the naked axe : the century was called back, and now gave its voice for Q. Fabius and M. Marcellus. All the centuries of all the tribes unanimously confirmed this choice.⁹⁸ Q. Fulvius was also re-elected prætor ; and the senate by a special vote continued him in the prætorship of the city, an office which put him at the head of the home government. The election of the other three prætors, it seems, was left free : so the people, as they could not have Otacilius for their consul, gave him one of the remaining prætorships, and bestowed the other two on Q. Fabius, the consul's son, who was then curule ædile, and on P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Great as the exertions of the commonwealth had been in the preceding year, they were still greater this year. Great exertions of the Romans ; armies abroad. Ten legions were to be employed in different parts of Italy, besides the reserve army of the two city legions, which was to protect the capital. Two legions were to hold Sardinia, where the sparks of revolt were probably not altogether extinguished : two were sent to Sicily with a prospect of no inactive service ; and two were stationed in Cisalpine Gaul, there being some likelihood, we must suppose, that the Gauls would soon require a force in their neighbourhood ; or possibly the colonies of Placentia and Cremona were thought insecure, if they were left to their own resources, insulated as they were in the midst of the enemy's country. Finally, the Scipios still commanded their two legions in Spain ; and the naval service in Sicily, and on the coast of Calabria, required no fewer than a hundred and fifty ships of war.⁹⁹

Distribution of those in Italy. The Italian armies were disposed as follows : Cales, and the camp above Suessula and Nola, were again to be the head quarters of the two consuls, each of whom was to command a regular consular army of two legions. Gracchus, with proconsular power, was to keep his own two legions, and was at present wintering near Hannibal in the north of Apulia. Q. Fabius, one of the new prætors, was to be ready to enter Apulia with an army of equal strength, so soon as Gracchus should be called into Lucania and Samnium, to take part in the active operations of the campaign. C. Varro, with his single legion, was still to hold Picenum ; and M. Lævinus, also with proconsular power, was to remain at Brundisium with another single legion.¹⁰⁰ The two city legions served as a sort of depôt, to recruit the armies in the field in case of need ; and there was a large armed population, serving as garrisons in the Latin colonies,

⁹⁸ Livy, XXIV. 9.

⁹⁹ Livy, XXIV. 11.

¹⁰⁰ Livy, XXIV. 12, 10.

and in other important posts in various parts of the country, the amount of which it is not possible to estimate. Nor can we calculate the numbers of the guerrilla bands, which were on foot in Lucania, Bruttium, and possibly in Samnium, and which hindered Hannibal from having the whole resources of those countries at his disposal. The Roman party was nowhere probably altogether extinct: wealthy Lucanians, who were attached to Rome, would muster their slaves and peasantry, and either by themselves, or getting some Roman officer to head them, would ravage the lands of the Carthaginian party, and carry on a continued harassing warfare against the towns or districts which had joined Hannibal. Thus the whole south of Italy was one wide flood of war, the waters were every where dashing and eddying, and running in cross currents innumerable; whilst the regular armies, like the channels of the rivers, held on their way, distinguishable amidst the chaos by their greater rapidity and power.

Hannibal watched this mass of war with the closest attention. To make head against it directly being impossible, his business was to mark his opportunities, to strike Hannibal marches into Campania. wherever there was an opening; and being sure that the enemy would not dare to attack him on his own ground, he might maintain his army in Italy for an indefinite time, whilst Carthage, availing herself of the distraction of her enemy's power, renewed her efforts to conquer Spain and recover Sicily. He hoped ere long to win Tarentum; and, if left to his own choice, he would probably have moved thither at once, when he broke up from his winter quarters: but the weakness or fears of the Campanians hung with encumbering weight upon him; and an earnest request was sent to him from Capua, calling on him to hasten to its defence, lest the two consular armies should besiege it.¹⁰¹ Accordingly he broke up from his winter quarters at Arpi, and marched once more into Campania, where he established his army as before on the summit of Tifata.

The perpetual carelessness and omissions in Livy's narrative, drawn as it is from various sources, with no pains Fabius collects the Roman armies around Hannibal. to make one part correspond with another, render it a work of extreme difficulty to present an account of these operations, which shall be at once minute and intelligible. We also miss that notice of chronological details, which is essential to the history of a complicated campaign. Even the year in which important events happened is sometimes doubtful; yet we want, not to fix the year only, but the month, that we may arrange each action in its proper order. When Hannibal set out on his march into Campania, Fabius was still at Rome; but the two new legions, which were to form his army, were already assem-

¹⁰¹ Livy, XXIV. 12.

bled at Cales; and Fabius, on hearing of Hannibal's approach, set out instantly to take the command. His old army, which had wintered in the camp above Suessula, had apparently been transferred to his colleague, Marcellus; and a considerable force had been left at the close of the last campaign to garrison Nola. Fabius however wished to have three Roman armies co-operating with each other, as had been the case the year before; and he sent orders to Gracchus to move forwards from Apulia, and to occupy Beneventum; while his son, Q. Fabius, the prætor, with a fourth army, was to supply the place of Gracchus at Luceria.¹⁰² It seemed as if Hannibal, having once entered Campania, was to be hemmed in on every side, and not permitted to escape: but these movements of the Roman armies induced him to call Hanno to his aid, the officer who commanded in Lucania and Bruttium, and who, with a small force of Numidian cavalry, had an auxiliary army under his orders consisting chiefly of Italian allies. Hanno advanced accordingly in the direction of Beneventum, to watch the army of Gracchus, and if an opportunity offered, to bring it to action.¹⁰³

Meanwhile Hannibal, having left some of his best troops to maintain his camp at Tifata, and probably to protect the immediate neighbourhood of Capua, descended into the plain towards the coast, partly in the hope of surprising a fortified post which the Romans had lately established at Puteoli, and partly to ravage the territory of Cumæ and Neapolis. But the avowed object of his expedition was to offer sacrifice to the powers of the unseen world, on the banks of the dreaded lake of Avernus.¹⁰⁴ That crater of an old volcano, where the very soil still seemed to breathe out fire, while the unbroken rim of its basin was covered with the uncleared masses of the native woods, was the subject of a thousand mysterious stories, and was regarded as one of those spots where the lower world approached most nearly to the light of day, and where offerings paid to the gods of the dead were most surely acceptable. Such worship was a main part of the national religion of the Carthaginians; and Hannibal, whose latest act before he set out on his great expedition, had been a journey to Gades to sacrifice to the god of his fathers, the Hercules of Tyre, visited the lake of Avernus, it is probable, quite as much in sincere devotion, as in order to mask his design of attacking Puteoli. Whilst he was engaged in his sacrifice, five noble citizens of Tarentum came to him, entreating him to lead his army into their country, and engaging that the city should be surrendered as soon as his standard should be visible from the walls. He listened to their invitation gladly;

¹⁰² Livy, XXIV. 12.

¹⁰³ Livy, XXIV. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Livy, XXIV. 12, 13.

they offered him one of the richest cities in Italy, with an excellent harbour, equally convenient for his own communication with Carthage, and for the reception of the fleet of his Macedonian allies, whom he was constantly expecting to welcome in Italy. He promised that he would soon be at Tarentum; and the Tarentines returned home to prepare their plans against his arrival.¹⁰⁵

With this prospect before him, it is not likely that he would engage in any serious enterprise in Campania. Finding that he could not surprise Puteoli, he ravaged the lands of the Cumæans and Neapolitans. According to the ever suspicious stories of the exploits of Marcellus, he made a third attempt upon Nola, and was a third time repulsed; Marcellus having called down the army from the camp above Suessula to assist him in defending the town. Then, says the writer whom Livy copied, despairing of taking a place which he had so often attacked in vain, he marched off at once towards Tarentum.¹⁰⁶ The truth probably is, that, finding a complete consular army in Nola, and having left his light cavalry, and some of the flower of his infantry, in the camp on Tifata, he had no thought of attacking the town, but returned to Tifata to take the troops from thence; and having done this, and stayed long enough in Campania for the Capuans to get in their harvest safely, he set off on his march for Tarentum. None of the Roman armies attempted to stop him, or so much as ventured to follow him. Fabius and Marcellus took advantage of his absence to besiege Casilinum with their united forces;¹⁰⁷ Gracchus kept wisely out of his reach, whilst he swept on like a fiery flood, laying waste all before him, from Tifata to the shores of the Ionian sea.¹⁰⁸ He certainly did not burn or plunder the lands of his own allies, either in Samnium or Lucania; but his march lay near the Latin colony of Venusia; and the Lucanians and Samnites in his army would carefully point out those districts, which belonged to their countrymen of the Roman party; above all, those ample tracts which the Romans had wrested from their fathers, and which were now farmed by the Roman publicani, or occupied by Roman citizens. Over all these, no doubt, the African and Numidian horse poured far and wide; and the fire and sword did their work.

Yet, after all, Hannibal missed his prey. Three days before he reached Tarentum, a Roman officer arrived in the city, whom M. Valerius Lævinus had sent in haste from Brundisium to provide for its defence.¹⁰⁹ There was probably a small Roman garrison in the citadel, to support him

He marches against
Tarentum,

but fails.

¹⁰⁵ Livy, XXIV. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Livy, XXIV. 17.

¹⁰⁷ Livy, XXIV. 19.

¹⁰⁸ Livy, XXIV. 20.

¹⁰⁹ Livy, XXIV. 20.

in case of need ; but the aristocratical party in Tarentum itself, as elsewhere, was attached to Rome ; and with their aid Livius, the officer whom Lævinus had sent, effectually repressed the opposite party, embodied the population of the town, and made them keep guard on the walls, and selecting a certain number of persons, whose fidelity he most suspected, sent them off as hostages to Rome. When the Carthaginian army therefore appeared before the walls, no movement was made in their favour ; and after waiting a few days in vain, Hannibal was obliged to retreat. His disappointment however did not make him lose his temper ; he spared the Tarentine territory, no less when leaving it, than when he first entered it, in the hope of winning the city ; a moderation which doubtless produced its effect, and confirmed the Tarentines in the belief that his professions of friendship had been made in honesty. But he carried off all the corn which he could find in the neighbourhood of Metapontum and Heraclea, and then returned to Apulia, and fixed his quarters for the winter at Salapia. His cavalry overran all the forest country above Brundisium, and drove off such numbers of horses which were kept there to pasture, that he was enabled to have four thousand broken in for the service of his army.¹¹⁰

Meanwhile the Roman consuls in Campania were availing themselves of his absence, to press the siege of Casilinum. The place was so close to Capua, that it was feared the Capuans would attempt to relieve it ; Marcellus therefore, with a second consular army, advanced from Nola to cover the siege. The defence was very obstinate ; for there were seven hundred of Hannibal's soldiers in the place, and two thousand Capuans ; and Fabius, it is said, was disposed to raise the siege ; but his colleague reminded him of the loss of reputation, if so small a town were allowed to baffle two consular armies ; and the siege was continued. At last the Capuans offered to Fabius to surrender the town, on condition of being allowed to retire to Capua ; and it appears that he accepted the terms, and that the garrison had begun to march out, when Marcellus broke in upon them, seized the open gate from which they were issuing, cut them down right and left, and forced his way into the city. Fabius, it is said, was able to keep his faith to no more than fifty of the garrison, who had reached his quarters before Marcellus arrived, and whom he sent unharmed to Capua. The rest of the Capuans and of Hannibal's soldiers were sent prisoners to Rome ; and the inhabitants were divided amongst the neighbouring cities, to be kept in custody till the senate should determine their fate.¹¹¹

After this scandalous act of treachery, Marcellus returned to

¹¹⁰ Livy, XXIV. 20.

¹¹¹ Livy, XXIV. 19.

Nola, and there remained inactive, being confined, it was said, by illness,¹¹² till the senate, before the end of the summer, sent him over to Sicily to meet the danger that was gathering there. Fabius advanced into Samnium, combining his operations, it seems, with his son, who commanded a prætorian army in Apulia, and with Gracchus, who was in Lucania, and whose army formed the link between the prætor in Apulia and his father in Samnium. These three armies were so formidable, that Hanno, the Carthaginian commander in Lucania, could not maintain his ground, but fell back towards Bruttium, leaving his allies to their own inadequate means of defence. Accordingly the Romans ravaged the country far and wide, and took so many towns that they boasted of having killed or captured 25,000 of the enemy.¹¹³ After these expeditions, Fabius, it seems, led back his army to winter quarters in the camp above Suessula; Gracchus remained in Lucania; and Fabius the prætor wintered at Luceria.

Fabius ravages Samnium.

I have endeavoured to follow the operations of the main armies on both sides throughout the campaign, without noticing those of Gracchus and Hanno in Lucania.

Gracchus defeats Hanno, and enfranchises the slaves in his army.

But the most important action of the year, if we believe the Roman accounts, was the victory obtained by Gracchus near Beneventum, when he moved thither out of Apulia to co-operate with the consuls in Campania, and Hanno was ordered by Hannibal to march to the same point out of Lucania. Hanno, it is said, had about 17,000 foot, mostly Bruttians and Lucanians, and 1200 Numidian and Moorish horse; and Gracchus, encountering him near Beneventum, defeated him with the loss of almost all his infantry; he himself and his cavalry being the only part of the army that escaped.¹¹⁴ The numbers, as usual, are probably exaggerated immensely; but there is no reason to doubt that Gracchus gained an important victory; and it was rendered famous by his giving liberty to the volunteer slaves, by whose valour it had mainly been won. Some of these had behaved ill in the action, and were afraid that they should be punished, rather than rewarded; but Gracchus first set them all free without distinction, and then, sending for those who had misbehaved, made them severally swear that they would eat and drink standing, so long as their military service should last, by way of penance for their fault. Such a sentence, so different from the usual merciless severity of the Roman discipline, added to the general joy of the army; the soldiers marched back to Beneventum in triumph; and the people poured out to meet them, and entreated Gracchus that they might invite them all to a public entertainment. Tables

¹¹² Livy, XXIV. 20.

¹¹³ Livy, XXIV. 20.

¹¹⁴ Livy. XXIV. 14, 15, 16.

were set out in the streets ; and the freed slaves attracted every one's notice by their white caps, the well known sign of their enfranchisement, and by the strange sight of those who, in fulfilment of their penance, ate standing, and waited upon their worthier comrades. The whole scene delighted the generous and kind nature of Gracchus : to set free the slave and to relieve the poor appear to have been hereditary virtues in his family : to him, no less than to his unfortunate descendants, beneficence seemed the highest glory. He caused a picture to be painted, not of his victory over Hanno, but of the feasting of the enfranchised slaves in the streets of Beneventum, and placed it in the temple of Liberty on the Aventine, which his father had built and dedicated.¹¹⁵

The battle of Beneventum obliged Hanno to fall back into Lucania, and perhaps as far as the confines of Bruttium. But he soon recruited his army, the Lucanians and Bruttians, as well as the Picentines, who lived on the shores of the gulf of Salerno, being very zealous in the cause ; and ere long he revenged his defeat by a signal victory over an army of Lucanians of the Roman party, whom Gracchus had enlisted to act as an irregular force against their countrymen of the opposite faction. Still Hanno was not tempted to risk another battle with a Roman consular army ; and when Gracchus advanced from Beneventum into Lucania, he retired again into Bruttium.¹¹⁶

There seems to have been no farther dispute with regard to the appointment of consuls. Fabius and the leading members of the senate appear to have nominated such men as they thought most equal to the emergency ; and no other candidates came forward. Fabius again held the comitia ; and his son, Q. Fabius, who was prætor at the time, was elected consul together with Gracchus. The prætors were entirely changed. Q. Fulvius was succeeded in the city prætorship by M. Atilius Regulus, who had just resigned the censorship, and who had already been twice consul ; the other three prætors were M. Æmilius Lepidus, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus. The two former were men of noble families : Sempronius appears to have owed his appointment to his resolute conduct at Cannæ, when he cut his way from the camp through the surrounding enemies, and escaped in safety to Canusium.¹¹⁷

Thus another year passed over ; and although the state of affairs was still dark, the tide seemed to be on the turn. Hannibal had gained no new victory ; Tarentum had been saved from his hands ; and Casilinum had been

Hanno retrieves his loss.

Comitia for new officers.

A. U. C. 541. A. C. 213.
Public spirit shown by the Romans.

¹¹⁵ Livy, XXIV. 16.

¹¹⁶ Livy, XXIV. 20.

¹¹⁷ Livy, XXIV. 43.

wrested from him. Public spirit was rising daily; and fresh instances of the patriotic devotion which possessed all classes of the commonwealth, were continually occurring. The owners of the slaves whom Gracchus had enfranchised refused to receive any price for them: the wealthy citizens who served in the cavalry determined not to take their pay; and their example was followed by the centurions of the legions. Trust monies belonging to minors, or to widows and unmarried women, were deposited in the treasury; and whatever sums the trustees had occasion to draw for, were paid by the quæstor in bills on the banking commissioners, or triumviri mensarii: it is probable that these bills were actually a paper currency, and that they circulated as money, on the security of the public faith. In the same way we must suppose that the government contracts were also paid in paper; for the censors, we are told, found the treasury unable to supply the usual sums for public works and entertainments; there was no money to repair or keep up the temples, or to provide horses for the games of the circus. Upon this the persons who were in the habit of contracting for these purposes, came forward in a body to the censors, and begged them to make their contracts as usual, promising not to demand payment before the end of the war. This must mean, I conceive, that they were to be paid in orders upon the treasury, which orders were to be converted into cash, when the present difficulties of the government should be at an end.¹¹⁸

While such was the spirit of the people, any severity exercised by the government towards the timid or the unpatriotic was sure to be generally acceptable.

Severe measures of
the censors.

The censors, M. Atilius Regulus and P. Furius Philus, summoned all those persons, most of them members of noble, and all of wealthy families, who had proposed to fly from Italy after the battle of Cannæ. L. Metellus, who was said to have been the first author of that proposal, was at this time quæstor; but he and all who were concerned in it were degraded from the equestrian order, and removed from their respective tribes. Two thousand citizens of lower rank were also removed from their tribes, and deprived of their political franchise, for having evaded military service during the last four years; and the senate inflicted an additional punishment by ordering that they should serve as foot soldiers in Sicily, along with the remains of the army of Cannæ, and should continue to serve so long as the enemy was in Italy.¹¹⁹ The case of Metellus seems to have been considered a hard one: in spite of the censor's sentence he was elected one of the tribunes in the following year. He then impeached the censors before the people; but the other nine tri-

¹¹⁸ Livy, XXIV. 18.

¹¹⁹ Livy, XXIV. 18.

bunes interposed, and would not allow the trial to proceed.¹²⁰ If Metellus had been wronged, the people had made up for it by electing him tribune; but it was thought a dangerous precedent to subject the censors to a trial for the exercise of their undoubted prerogative, when there was no reason to suspect the honesty of their motives.

The forces to be employed in Italy in the approaching campaign were to consist of nine legions, three fewer than in the year before. The consuls were each to have their two legions, Gracchus in Lucania, and Fabius in Apulia. M. Æmilius was to command two legions also in Apulia, having his head quarters at Luceria; Cn. Fulvius with two more was to occupy the camp above Suessula; and Varro was to remain with his one legion in Picenum. Two consular armies of two legions each were required in Sicily; one commanded by Marcellus as proconsul, the other by P. Lentulus as proprætor: two legions were employed in Cisalpine Gaul under P. Sempronius, and two in Sardinia under their old commander, Q. Mucius. M. Valerius Lævinus retained his single legion and his fleet, to act against Philip on the eastern side of the Ionian sea; and P. Scipio and his brother were still continued in their command in Spain.¹²¹

Hannibal passed the winter at Salapia, where, the Romans said, was a lady whom he loved, and who became famous from her influence over him.¹²² Whether his passion for her made him careless of every thing else, or whether he was really taken by surprise, we know not; but the neighbouring town of Arpi was attacked by the consul Fabius, and given up to him by the inhabitants; and some Spaniards, who formed part of the garrison, entered into the Roman service.¹²³ Gracchus obtained some slight successes in Lucania; and some of the Bruttian towns returned to their old alliance with Rome; but a Roman contractor, T. Pomponius Veientanus, who had been empowered by the government to raise soldiers in Bruttium, and to employ them in plundering the enemies' lands, was rash enough to venture a regular action with Hanno, in which he was defeated and made prisoner.¹²⁴ This disaster checked the reaction in Bruttium for the present.

Meanwhile Hannibal's eyes were still fixed upon Tarentum; and thither he marched again as soon as he took the field, leaving Fabius behind him in Apulia. He passed the whole summer in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, and reduced several small towns in the surrounding country: but

Distribution of the
Roman armies.

Opening of the
campaign.

Hannibal lingers near
Tarentum.

¹²⁰ Livy, XXIV. 43.

¹²¹ Livy, XXIV. 44.

¹²² Appian, VII. 43. Pliny, III. 16.

See Lucian, Dial. Mortuor. XII. and Hemsterhuis' note.

¹²³ Livy, XXIV. 46, 47.

¹²⁴ Livy, XXV. 1.

his friends in Tarentum made no movement ; for they dared not compromise the safety of their countrymen and relations, who had been carried off as hostages to Rome. Accordingly the season wore away unmarked by any memorable action. Hannibal still lingered in the country of the Sallentines, unwilling to give up all hope of winning the prize he had so long sought ; and to lull the suspicions of the Romans, he gave out that he was confined to his camp by illness, and that this had prevented his army from returning to its usual winter quarters in Apulia.¹²⁵

Matters were in this state, when tidings arrived at Tarentum, that the hostages, for whose safety their friends had been so anxious, had been all cruelly put to death at Rome for having attempted to escape from their captivity.¹²⁶ Released in so shocking a manner from their former hesitation, and burning to revenge the blood of their friends, Hannibal's partisans no longer delayed. They communicated secretly with him, arranged the details of their attempt, and signed a treaty of alliance, by which he bound himself to respect the independence and liberty of the Tarentines, and only stipulated for the plunder of such houses as were occupied by Roman citizens.¹²⁷ Two young men, Philemenus and Nicon, were the leaders of the enterprise. Philemenus, under pretence of hunting, had persuaded the officer at one of the gates to allow him to pass in and out of the town by night without interruption. He was known to be devoted to his sport ; he scarcely ever returned without having caught or killed some game or other ; and by liberally giving away what he had caught, he won the favour and confidence, not only of the officer of the gate, but also of the Roman governor himself, M. Livius Macatus, a relation of M. Livius Salinator, who afterwards defeated Hasdrubal, but a man too indolent and fond of good cheer to be the governor of a town threatened by Hannibal. So little did Livius suspect any danger, that on the very day which the conspirators had fixed for their attempt, and when Hannibal with ten thousand men was advancing upon the town, he had invited a large party to meet him at the Temple of the Muses near the market-place, and was engaged from an early hour in festivity.¹²⁸

The city of Tarentum formed a triangle, two sides of which were washed by the water ; the outer or western side by the Mediterranean ; the inner or north-eastern side by that remarkable land-locked basin, now called the Little Sea, which has a mouth narrower than the entrance into the Norwegian Fiords, but runs deep into the land, and

Conspiracy to betray it to Hannibal.

Situation of Tarentum favourable to the conspirators.

¹²⁵ Polybius, VIII. 28. Livy, XXV. 8.

¹²⁶ Livy, XXV. 7.

¹²⁷ Polybius, VIII. 26, 27. Livy, XXV. 8.

¹²⁸ Polybius, VIII. 28, 29. Livy, XXV. 8, 9.

spreads out into a wide surface of the calmest water, scarcely ruffled by the hardest gales. Exactly at the mouth of this basin was a little rocky knoll, forming the apex of the triangle of the city, and occupied by the citadel: the city itself stood on low and mostly level ground; and its south-eastern wall, the base of the triangle, stretched across from the Little Sea to the Mediterranean.¹²⁹ Thus the citadel commanded the entrance into the basin, which was the port of the Tarentines; and it was garrisoned by the Romans, although many of the officers and soldiers were allowed to lodge in the city. All attempts upon the town by land must be made then against the south-eastern side, which was separated from the citadel by the whole length of the city: and there was another circumstance which was likely to favour a surprise; for the Tarentines, following the direction of an oracle, as they said, buried their dead within the city walls; and the street of the tombs was interposed between the gates and the inhabited parts of the town.¹³⁰ This the conspirators turned to their own purposes: in this lonely quarter two of their number, Nicon and Tragiscus, were waiting for Hannibal's arrival without the gates. As soon as they perceived the signal which was to announce his presence, they, with a party of their friends, were to surprise the gates from within, and put the guards to the sword; while others had been left in the city to keep watch near the museum, and prevent any communication from being conveyed to the Roman governor.³³³

The evening wore away; the governor's party broke up; and his friends attended him to his house. On their way home they met some of the conspirators, who, to lull all suspicion, began to jest with them, as though themselves going home from a revel, and joining the party amidst riotous shouts and loud laughter, accompanied the governor to his own door. He went to rest in joyous and careless mood; his friends were all gone to their quarters; the noise of revellers returning from their festivities died away through the city; and when midnight was come, the conspirators alone were abroad. They now divided into three parties: one was posted near the governor's house, a second secured the approaches to the market-place, and the third hastened to the quarter of the tombs, to watch for Hannibal's signal.⁶³²

They did not watch long in vain; a fire in a particular spot without the walls assured them that Hannibal was at hand. They lit a fire in answer; and presently, as had been agreed upon, the fire without the walls disappeared.

¹²⁹ Strabo, VI. p. 273.

¹³⁰ Polybius, VIII. 30.

³³¹ Polybius, VIII. 29, 30. Livy, XXV. 9.

¹³² Polybius, VIII. 29.

Then the conspirators rushed to the gate of the city, surprised it with ease, put the guards to the sword, and began to hew asunder the bar by which the gates were fastened. No sooner was it forced, and the gates opened, than Hannibal's soldiers were seen ready to enter; so exactly had the time of the operations been calculated. The cavalry were left without the walls as a reserve; but the infantry, marching in regular column, advanced through the quarter of the tombs to the inhabited part of the city.⁴³³

Meantime Philemenus with a thousand Africans had been sent to secure another gate by stratagem. The guards were accustomed to let him in at all hours, Another is opened to him by Philemenus. whenever he returned from his hunting expeditions; and now, when they heard his usual whistle, one of them went to the gate to admit him. Philemenus called to the guard from without to open the wicket quickly; for that he and his friends had killed a huge wild boar, and could scarcely bear the weight any longer. The guard, accustomed to have a share in the spoil, opened the wicket; and Philemenus, and three other conspirators, disguised as countrymen, stepped in, carrying the boar between them. They instantly killed the poor guard, as he was admiring and feeling their prize; and then let in about thirty Africans, who were following close behind. With this force they mastered the gate-house and towers, killed all the guards, and hewed asunder the bars of the main gates to admit the whole column of Africans, who marched in on this side also in regular order, and advanced towards the market-place.¹³⁴

No sooner had both Hannibal's columns reached their destination, and as it seems without exciting any general alarm, than he detached three bodies of Gaulish Slaughter of the Roman troops. soldiers to occupy the principal streets which led to the market-place. The officers in command of these troops had orders to kill every Roman who fell in their way; but some of the Tarentine conspirators were sent with each party to warn their countrymen to go home and remain quiet, assuring them that no mischief was intended to them. The toils being thus spread, the prey was now to be enticed into them. Philemenus and his friends had provided some Roman trumpets; and these were loudly blown, sounding the well known call to arms to the Roman soldier. Roused at this summons, the Romans quartered about the town armed themselves in haste, and poured into the streets to make their way to the citadel. But they fell in scattered parties into the midst of Hannibal's Gauls, and were cut down one after another. The governor alone had been more fortunate: the alarm had reached him in time; and being in no condition to offer any resistance,—for he felt, says Polybius, that the fumes of wine were

¹³³ Polybius, VIII. 30, 31.¹³⁴ Polybius, VIII. 31.

still overpowering him,—he hastened to the harbour, and getting on board a boat, was carried safely to the citadel.¹³⁵

Day at last dawned, but did not quite clear up the mystery of the night's alarm to the mass of the inhabitants of Tarentum. They were safe in their houses, un-massacred, unplundered; the only blast of war had been blown by a Roman trumpet; yet Roman soldiers were lying dead in the streets; and Gauls were spoiling their bodies. Suspense at length was ended by the voice of the public crier summoning the citizens of Tarentum, in Hannibal's name, to appear without their arms in the market-place; and by repeated shouts of "Liberty! Liberty!" uttered by some of their own countrymen, who ran round the town calling the Carthaginians their deliverers. The firm partisans of Rome made haste to escape into the citadel, while the multitude crowded to the market-place. They found it regularly occupied by Carthaginian troops; and the great general, of whom they had heard so much, was preparing to address them. He spoke to them, in Greek apparently, declaring, as usual, that he was come to free the inhabitants of Italy from the dominion of Rome. "The Tarentines therefore had nothing to fear; they should go home, and write each over his door, *a Tarentine's house*; those words would be a sufficient security; no door so marked should be violated. But the mark must not be set falsely upon any Roman's quarters; a Tarentine guilty of such treason would be put to death as an enemy; for all Roman property was the lawful prize of the soldiers." Accordingly all houses where Romans had been quartered were given up to be plundered; and the Carthaginian soldiers gained a harvest, says Polybius, which fully answered their hopes. This can only be explained by supposing that the Romans were quartered generally in the houses of the wealthier Tarentines, who were attached to the Roman alliance; and that the plunder was not the scanty baggage of the legionary soldiers, but the costly furniture of the richest citizens in the greatest city of southern Italy.¹³⁶

Thus Tarentum was won; but the citadel on its rocky knoll was still held by the Romans; and its position at once threatened the town, and shut up the Tarentine fleet useless in the harbour. Hannibal proceeded to sink a ditch, and throw up a wall along the side of the town towards the citadel, in order to repress the sallies of the garrison. While engaged in these works he purposely tempted the Romans to a sally, and having lured them on to some distance from their cover, turned fiercely upon them, and drove them back with such slaughter, that their effective strength was greatly reduced. He then hoped to take the citadel: but the garrison was

Hannibal addresses the Tarentines, and promises to protect them.

He drags the Tarentine fleet through the town, and returns into Apulia.

¹³⁵ Polybius, VIII. 32. Livy, XXV. 10.

¹³⁶ Polybius, VIII. 33. Livy, XXV. 10.

reinforced by sea from Metapontum, the Romans withdrawing their troops from thence for this more important service; and a successful night-sally destroyed the besiegers' works, and obliged them to trust to a blockade. But as this was hopeless, while the Romans were masters of the sea, Hannibal instructed the Tarentines to drag their ships overland, through the streets of the city, from the harbour to the outer sea; and this being effected without difficulty, as the ground was quite level, the Tarentine fleet became at once effective, and the sea communications of the enemy were cut off. Having thus, as he hoped, enabled the Tarentines to deal by themselves with the Roman garrison, he left a small force in the town, and returned with the mass of his troops to his winter quarters in the country of the Sallentines, or on the edge of Apulia.¹³⁷

It will be observed that the only events recorded of this year, 541, are the reduction of Arpi by Fabius, the unimportant operations of Gracchus in Lucania, and Hannibal's surprise of Tarentum; which last action however did not happen till the end of the campaign, about the middle of the winter. According to Livy, Hannibal had passed the whole summer near Tarentum; he must therefore have been some months in that neighbourhood; and what was going on elsewhere the while? Gracchus, we are told, was engaged in Lucania; but where was the consul Fabius, with his father? and what was done by the four Roman legions, Fabius' consular army, and the prætorian army of M. Æmilius, which were both stationed in Apulia? Allowing that Cn. Fulvius with his two legions in the camp above Suessula was busied in watching the Campanians, yet Fabius and Æmilius had nearly forty thousand men at their disposal; and yet Capua was not besieged; nor was Hannibal impeded in his attempts upon Tarentum. Is it to be conceived that so large a portion of the power of Rome, directed by old Fabius himself, can have been totally wasted during a whole summer, useless alike for attack or defence?

The answer to this question depends upon another point, which is itself not easy to fix; the true date namely of the surprise of Tarentum. Livy tells us that it was placed by different writers in different years; and he himself prefers the later date,¹³⁸ yet does not give it correctly. For as Tarentum was surprised in the winter, the doubt must have been, whether to fix it towards the end of the consulship of Fabius and Gracchus, or of Fulvius and Appius Claudius: it could never have been placed so early as the consulship of Fabius and Marcellus. Livy describes it after he has mentioned the coming into office of

What where the
Romans doing?

Chronological
difficulties.

¹³⁷ Polybius, VIII. 34-36. Livy, XXV. ¹³⁸ Livy, XXV. 11.

Fulvius and Claudius, as if it belonged to their year; yet he places it before the opening of the campaign, which implies that it must have occurred in the preceding winter, whilst Fabius and Gracchus were still in office. Polybius evidently gave the later date, that is, the year of Fulvius and Appius, but the end of it: according to him it followed the death of Gracchus, and the various events of the summer of 542. And there are some strong reasons for believing this to be the more probable position. If this were so, we must suppose that the summer of 541 was passed without any important action, because Hannibal, after the loss of Arpi, continued to watch the two Roman armies in Apulia; and that either the fear of losing Tarentum, or the hope of recovering Salapia and other Apulian towns, detained Fabius in the south-east, and delayed the siege of Capua.

In the mean time men's minds at Rome were restless and uneasy; and the government had enough to do to prevent their running wild in one direction or another. The city had suffered from a fire, which lasted a whole day and two nights, and destroyed all the buildings along the river, with many of those on the slope of the Capitoline hill, and between it and the Palatine.¹³⁹ The distress thus caused would be great; and the suspicions of treason and incendiarism, the constant attendants of great fires in large cities, would be sure to embitter the actual suffering. At such a time every one would crave to know what the future had in store for him; and whoever professed to be acquainted with the secrets of fate found many to believe him. Faith in the gods of Rome was beginning to be shaken: if they could not, or would not save, other powers might be more propitious; and sacrifices and prayers to strange gods were offered in the forum and capitol; while prophets, deceiving or deceived, were gathering crowds in every street, making a profit of their neighbours' curiosity and credulity.¹⁴⁰ Nor were these vagabond prophets the only men who preyed upon the public distress: the wealthy merchants, who had come forward with patriotic zeal to supply the armies when the treasury was unable to bear the burden, were now found to be seeking their own base gain out of their pretended liberality. M. Postumius of Pyrgi was charged by public rumour with the grossest frauds: he had demanded to be reimbursed for the loss of stores furnished by him at sea, when no such loss had occurred; he had loaded old rotten vessels with cargoes of trifling value; the sailors had purposely sunk the ships, and had escaped in their boats; and then Postumius magnified the value of their cargo, and prayed to be indemnified for the loss.¹⁴¹ Even the virtue of Roman mat-

¹³⁹ Livy, XXIV. 47.

¹⁴⁰ Livy, XXV. 1, 12.

¹⁴¹ Livy, XXV. 3, 4.

rons could not stand the contagion of this evil time: more than one case of shame was brought by the ædiles before the judgment of the people.¹⁴² Man's spirit failed with woman's modesty: the citizens of the military age were slow to enlist; and many from the country tribes would not come to Rome when the consuls summoned them.¹⁴³ All this unsoundness at home may have had its effect on the operations of the war, and tended to make Fabius more than usually cautious, as another defeat at such a moment might have extinguished the Roman name.

Against this weight of evils the senate bore up vigorously. The superstitions of the people, their worship of strange gods, and their shrinking from military service, required to be noticed without delay. The

A. U. C. 542. A. C. 212.
Vigorous measures of
the senate.

city prætor, M. Atilius, issued an edict forbidding all public sacrifices to strange gods, or with any strange rites. All books of prophecies, all formularies of prayer or of sacrifice, were to be brought to him before the first of April; that is, before he went out of office.¹⁴⁴ The great ceremonies of the national religion were celebrated with more than usual magnificence; the great games of the circus were kept up for an additional day; two days were added to the celebration of the games of the commons; and they were farther marked by a public entertainment given in the precincts of the temple of Jupiter on the capitol to all the poorer citizens.¹⁴⁵ A great military effort was to be made the ensuing campaign; old Q. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the ablest as well as severest men in Rome, was chosen consul for the third time; and Appius Claudius was elected as his colleague.¹⁴⁶ The armies, notwithstanding the difficulty of enlisting soldiers, were to be augmented: two extraordinary commissions of three members each were appointed, one to visit all the country tribes within fifty miles of Rome, and the other such as were more remote. Every free-born citizen was to be passed in review; and boys under seventeen were to be enlisted, if they seemed strong enough to bear arms; but their years of service were to count from their enlistment; and if they were called out before the military age began, they might claim their discharge before it ended.¹⁴⁷

While dealing thus strictly with the disorders and want of zeal of the multitude, the senate, it might have been supposed, would not spare the fraud of the contractor Postumius. But with that neglect of equal justice, which is the habitual sin of an aristocracy, they punished the poor, but were afraid to attack the wealthy: and although the city prætor

Punishment of
Postumius.

¹⁴² Livy, XXV. 2.

¹⁴³ Livy, XXV. 5.

¹⁴⁴ Livy, XXV. 1.

¹⁴⁵ Livy, XXV. 2.

¹⁴⁶ Livy, XXV. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Livy, XXV. 5.

had made an official representation of the tricks practised by Postumius, no steps were taken against him. Amongst the new tribunes however were two of the noble house of the Carvili, who, indignant at the impunity of so great an offender, resolved to bring him to trial. They at first demanded no other penalty than that a fine of 200,000 ases should be imposed on him; but when the trial came on, a large party of the monied men broke up the assembly by creating a riot, and no sentence was passed. This presumption, however, overshot its mark; the consuls took up the matter and laid it before the senate: the senate resolved that the peace of the commonwealth had been violently outraged; and the tribunes now proceeded against Postumius and the principal authors of the disturbance capitally. Bail was demanded of them; but they deserted their bail and went into exile; upon which the people, on the motion of the tribunes, ordered that their property should be sold, and themselves outlawed.¹⁴⁸ Thus the balance of justice was struck; and this doubtless contributed to conciliate the poorer citizens, and to make them more ready to bear their part in the war.

It was resolved that Capua should be besieged without delay.

Resolution to besiege
Capua.

In the preceding year, 112 noble Capuans had left the city, and come over to the Romans, stipulating for nothing but their lives and properties.¹⁴⁹ This shows that the aristocratical party in Capua could not be depended on: if the city were hard pressed, they would not be ready to make any extraordinary sacrifices in its behalf. Hannibal was far away in the farthest corner of Italy; and as long as the citadel of Tarentum held out, he would be unwilling to move towards Campania. Even if he should move, four armies were ready to oppose him; those of the two consuls, of the consul's brother, Cn. Fulvius, who was prætor in Apulia, and of another prætor, C. Claudius Nero, who commanded two legions in the camp above Suessula. Besides this mass of forces, Ti. Gracchus, the consul of the preceding year, still retained his army as proconsul in Lucania, and might be supposed capable of keeping Hanno and the army of Bruttium in check.

It was late in the spring before the consuls took the field.

The Campanians ap-
ply to Hannibal for aid.

One of them succeeded to the army of the late consul, Fabius; the other took the two legions with which Cn. Fulvius Centumulus had held the camp above Suessula.¹⁵⁰ These armies marching, the one from Apulia, the other from Campania, met at Bovianum: there, at the back of the Matese, in the country of the Pentrian Samnites, the faithful allies of Rome, the consuls were making preparations for the siege of Ca-

¹⁴⁸ Livy, XXV. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Livy, XXIV. 47.

¹⁵⁰ Livy, XXV. 3.

capua, and perhaps were at the same time watching the state of affairs in the south, and the movements of Hannibal. The Campanians suspected that mischief was coming upon them, and sent a deputation to Hannibal praying him to aid them. If they were to stand a siege, it was important that the city should be well supplied with provisions; and their own harvest had been so insufficient, owing to the devastation caused by the war, that they had scarcely enough for their present consumption. Hannibal would therefore be pleased to order that supplies should be sent to them from the country of his Samnite and Lucanian allies, before their communications were cut off by the presence of the Roman armies.¹⁵¹

Hannibal was still near Tarentum, whether hoping to win the town or the citadel, the doubtful chronology of this period will not allow us to decide. He ordered Hanno, with the army of Bruttium, to move forward into Samnium; a most delicate operation, if the two consuls were with their armies at Bovianum, and Gracchus in Lucania itself, in the very line of Hanno's march, and if C. Nero with two legions more was lying in the camp above Suessula. But the army from Suessula had been given to one of the consuls; and the legions which were to take its place were to be marched from the coast of Picenum, and perhaps had hardly reached their destination. The Lucanians themselves seem to have found sufficient employment for Gracchus; and Hanno moved with a rapidity, which friends and enemies were alike unprepared for. He arrived safely in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, encamped his army in a strong position about three miles from the town, and dispatched word to the Capuans that they should instantly send off every carriage and beast of burden in their city, to carry home the corn which he was going to provide for them. The towns of the Caudine Samnites emptied their magazines for the purpose, and forwarded all their corn to Hanno's camp. Thus far all prospered; but the negligence of the Capuans ruined every thing: they had not carriages enough ready; and Hanno was obliged to wait in his perilous situation, where every hour's delay was exposing him to destruction.¹⁵² Beneventum was a Latin colony, in other words, a strong Roman garrison, watching all his proceedings: from thence, information was sent to the consuls at Bovianum; and Fulvius with his army instantly set out, and entered Beneventum by night. There he found that the Capuans with their means of transport were at length arrived; and all disposable hands had been pressed into the service; that Hanno's camp was crowded with cattle and carriages, and a mixed multitude of unarmed men, and even of women and children; and that

He sends Hanno to relieve them, who fails through their negligence.

¹⁵¹ Livy, XXV. 13.

¹⁵² Livy, XXV. 13.

a vigorous blow might win it with all its spoil : the indefatigable general was absent, scouring the country for additional supplies of corn. Fulvius sallied from Beneventum a little before day break, and led his soldiers to assault Hanno's position. Under all disadvantages of surprise and disorder, the Carthaginians resisted so vigorously, that Fulvius was on the point of calling off his men, when a brave Pelignian officer threw the standard of his cohort over the enemy's wall, and desperately climbed the rampart and scaled the wall to recover it. His cohort rushed after him; and a Roman centurion then set the same example, which, was followed with equal alacrity. Then the Romans broke into the camp on every side, even the wounded men struggling on with the mass, that they might die within the enemy's ramparts. The slaughter was great, and the prisoners many; but above all, the whole of the corn which Hanno had collected for the relief of Capua was lost, and the object of his expedition totally frustrated. He himself, hearing of the wreck of his army, retreated with speed into Bruttium.¹⁵³

Again the Capuans sent to Hannibal requesting him to aid them ere it was too late. Their negligence had just cost him an army, and had frustrated all his pains for their relief; but with unmoved temper he assured them that he would not forget them, and sent back 2000 of his invincible cavalry with the deputation, to protect their lands from the enemy's ravages. It was important to him not to leave the south of Italy till the very last moment; for since he had taken Tarentum, the neighbouring Greek cities of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Thurii, had joined him; and as he had before won Croton and Locri, he was now master of the whole coast from the straits of Messina to the mouth of the Adriatic, with the exception of Rhegium and the citadel of Tarentum. Into the latter the Romans had lately thrown supplies of provisions; and the garrison was so strong, that Hannibal was unwilling to march into Campania, while such a powerful force of the enemy was left behind in so favourable a position.¹⁵⁴

The consuls meanwhile, not content with their own two armies, and with the two legions expected, if not yet arrived, in the camp above Suessula, sent to Gracchus in Lucania, desiring him to bring up his cavalry and light troops to Beneventum, to strengthen them in that kind of force, in which they fully felt their inferiority. But before he could leave his own province, he was drawn into an ambushade by the treachery of a Lucanian in the Roman interest, and perished.¹⁵⁵ His quæstor, Cn. Cornelius, marched with his cavalry towards

¹⁵³ Livy, XXV. 14. Valerius Maximus, III. 2. 20.

¹⁵⁴ Livy, XXV. 15. Appian, VII. 35.

¹⁵⁵ Livy, XXV. 16.

Beneventum, according to the consul's orders ; but the infantry, consisting of the slaves whom he had enfranchised, thought that their services were ended by the death their deliverer, and immediately dispersed to their homes.¹⁵⁶ Thus Lucania was left without either a Roman army or general ; but M. Centenius, an old centurion, distinguished for his strength and courage, undertook the command there, if the senate would intrust him with a force equal to a single legion. Perhaps, like T. Pomponius Veientanus, he was connected with some of the contractors and monied men, and owed his appointment as much to their interest as to his own reputation. But he was a brave and popular soldier ; and so many volunteers joined him on his march, hoping to be enriched by the plunder of Lucania, that he arrived there with a force, it is said, amounting to near sixteen thousand men. His confidence and that of his followers was doomed to be wofully disappointed.¹⁵⁷

The consuls knew that Hannibal was far away ; and they did not know that any of his cavalry were in Capua. The Romans are repulsed by a sally from Capua. They issued boldly therefore from the Caudine Forks on the great Campanian plain, and scattered their forces far and wide to destroy the still green corn. To their astonishment the gates of Capua were thrown open ; and with the Campanian infantry they recognized the dreaded cavalry of Hannibal. In a moment their foragers were driven in ; and as they hastily formed their legions in order of battle to cover them, the horsemen broke upon them like a whirlwind, and drove them with great loss and confusion to their camp.¹⁵⁸ This sharp lesson taught them caution ; but their numbers were overwhelming ; and their two armies, encamped before Capua, cut off the communications of the city, and had the harvest of the whole country in their power.

But ere many days had elapsed, an unwelcome sight was seen on the summit of Tifata ; Hannibal was there once more with his army. Hannibal returns to Tifata. He descended into Capua ; two days afterwards he marched out to battle ; again his invincible Numidians struck terror into the Roman line, when the sudden arrival of Cn. Cornelius with the cavalry of Gracchus' army broke off the action ; and neither side, it is said, knowing what this new force might be, both as if by common consent retreated.¹⁵⁹ How Hannibal so outstripped Cornelius as to arrive from Tarentum on the scene of action two or three days before him, who was coming from Lucania, we are not told, and can only conjecture. But the arrival of this reinforcement, though it had saved the consuls from defeat, did not embolden them to hold

¹⁵⁶ Livy, XXV. 20.¹⁵⁷ Livy, XXV. 19.¹⁵⁸ Livy, XXV. 18.¹⁵⁹ Livy, XXV. 19.

their ground : they left their camps as soon as night came on ; Fulvius fell down upon the coast, near Cumæ ; Appius Claudius retreated in the direction of Lucania.

Few passages in history can offer a parallel to Hannibal's campaigns ; but this confident gathering of the enemies' overflowing numbers round the city of his nearest allies, his sudden march, the unlooked for appearance of his dreaded veterans, and the instant scattering of the besieging armies before him, remind us of the deliverance of Dresden in 1813, when Napoleon broke in upon the allies' confident expectations of victory, and drove them away in signal defeat. And like the allies in that great campaign, the Roman generals knew their own strength ; and though yielding to the shock of their adversary's surpassing energy and genius, they did not allow themselves to be scared from their purpose, but began again steadily to draw the toils which he had once broke through. Great was the joy in Capua, when the people rose in the morning and saw the Roman camps abandoned : there needs no witness to tell us with what sincere and deep admiration they followed and gazed on their deliverer ; how confident they felt that, with him for a shield, no harm could reach them. But almost within sight and hearing of their joy, the stern old Fulvius was crouching as it were in his thicket, watching the moment for a second spring upon his prey ; and when Hannibal left that rejoicing and admiring multitude to follow the traces of Appius, he passed through the gates of Capua, to enter them again no more.

Appius retreated in the direction of Lucania : this is all that is reported of his march ; and then, after a while, having led his enemy in the direction which suited his purposes, he turned off by another road, and made his way back to Campania.¹⁶⁰ With such a total absence of details, it is impossible to fix the line of his march exactly. It was easy for Appius to take the round of the Matese ; retiring first by the great road to Beneventum, then turning to his left and regaining his old quarters at Bovianum, from whence, the instant that Hannibal ceased to follow him, he would move along under the north side of the Matese to Æsernia, and descend again upon Campania by the valley of the Volturnus. Hannibal's pursuit was necessarily stopped as soon as Appius moved northwards from Beneventum : he could not support his army in the country of the Pentrian Samnites, where every thing was hostile to him ; nor did he like to abandon his line of direct communication with southern Italy. He had gained a respite for Capua, and had left an auxiliary force to aid in its defence : meanwhile other objects must not be neglected ; and the fall of the citadel of Tarentum

On his return into Lucania he destroys the army of Centenius ;

¹⁶⁰ Livy, XXV. 19.

might of itself prevent or raise the siege of Capua. So he turned off from following Appius, and was marching back to the south, when he was told that a Roman army was attempting to bar his passage in Lucania. This was the motley multitude commanded by Centenius, which had succeeded, as we have seen, to the army of Gracchus. With what mad hope, or under what false impression, Centenius could have been tempted to rush upon certain destruction, we know not : but in the number no less than in the quality of his troops, he must have been far inferior to his adversary. His men fought bravely ; and he did a centurion's duty well, however he may have failed as a general ; but he was killed, and nearly fifteen thousand men are said to have perished with him.¹⁶¹

Thus Lucania was cleared of the Romans ; and as the firmest partisan of the Roman interest among the Lucanians had been the very man who had betrayed Gracchus to his fate, it is likely that the Carthaginian party was triumphant through the whole country. Only one Roman army was left in the south of Italy, the two legions commanded by Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, the consul's brother, in Apulia. But Cn. Fulvius had nothing of his brother's ability ; he was a man grown old in profligacy ; and the discipline of his army was said to be in the worst condition. Hannibal, hoping to complete his work, moved at once into Apulia, and found Fulvius in the neighbourhood of Herdonea. The Roman general met him in the open field without hesitation, and was presently defeated : he himself escaped from the action, but Hannibal had occupied the principal roads in the rear of the enemy with his cavalry ; and the greatest part of the Roman army was cut to pieces.¹⁶²

and that of Cn. Fulvius in Apulia.

We naturally ask what result followed from these two great victories ; and to this question we find no recorded answer. Hannibal, we are told, returned to Tarentum ; but finding that the citadel still held out, and could neither be forced nor surprised, and that provisions were still introduced by sea, a naval blockade in ancient warfare being always inefficient, he marched off towards Brundisium, on some prospect that the town would be betrayed into his hands. This hope also failed him ; and he remained inactive in Apulia, or in the country of the Sallentines, during the rest of the year. Meantime the consuls received orders from the senate to collect the wrecks of the two beaten armies, and to search for the soldiers of Gracchus' army, who had dispersed, as we have seen, after his death. The city prætor, P. Cornelius, carried on the same search nearer Rome ; and these duties, says Livy, were all performed most carefully

What were the results of these victories ?

¹⁶¹ Livy, XXV. 19.

¹⁶² Livy, XXV. 20, 21.

and vigorously.¹⁶³ This is all the information which exists for us in the remains of the ancient writers ; but assuredly this is no military history of a campaign.

It is always to be understood that Hannibal could not remain long in an enemy's country, from the difficulty of feeding his men, especially his cavalry. But the country round Capua was not all hostile ; Atella and Calatia, in the plain of Campania itself, were still his allies ; so were many of the Caudine Samnites, from whose cities Hanno had collected the corn early in this year for the relief of Capua. Again, we can conceive how the number of the Roman armies sometimes oppressed him ; how he dared not stay long in one quarter, lest a greater evil should befall him in another. But at this moment three great disasters, the dispersion of the army of Gracchus, and the destruction of those of Centenius and Fulvius, had cleared the south of Italy of the Romans ; and his friends in Apulia, in Lucania, at Tarentum, and in Bruttium, could have nothing to fear, had he left them for the time to their own resources. Why, after defeating Fulvius, did he not retrace his steps towards Campania, hold the field with the aid of his Campanian and Samnite allies till the end of the military season, and then winter close at hand, on the shores of the gulf of Salerno, in the country of his allies, so as to make it impossible for the Romans either to undertake or to maintain the siege of Capua ?

That his not doing this was not his own fault, his extraordinary ability and energy may sufficiently assure us. But where the hinderance was, we cannot for certain discover. His army must have been worn by its long and rapid march to and from Campania, and by two battles fought with so short an interval. His wounded must have been numerous ; nor can we tell how such hard service in the heat of summer may have tried the health of his soldiers. His horses too must have needed rest ; and to overstrain the main arm of his strength would have been fatal. Perhaps too, great as was Hannibal's ascendancy over his army, there was a point beyond which it could not be tried with safety. Long marches and hard-fought battles gave the soldier, especially the Gaul and the Spaniard, what in his eyes was a rightful claim to a season of rest and enjoyment : the men might have murmured had they not been permitted to taste some reward of their victories. Besides all these reasons, the necessity of a second march into Campania may not have seemed urgent : the extent of Capua was great ; if the Roman consuls did encamp before it, still the city was in no immediate danger ; after the winter another advance would again enable him to throw supplies into the town, and to drive off the

Difficulties of Hannibal's situation.
His probable reasons for wintering in Apulia.

Roman armies. So Capua was left for the present to its own resources, and Hannibal passed the autumn and winter in Apulia.

Immediately the Roman armies closed again upon their prey. Three grand magazines of corn were established, The Romans surround Capua with a double wall. to feed the besieging army during the winter, one at Casilinum within three miles of Capua; another at a fort built for the purpose at the mouth of the Vulturnus; and a third at Puteoli. Into these two last magazines the corn was conveyed by sea from Ostia, whither it had already been collected from Sardinia and Etruria.¹⁶⁴ Then the consuls summoned C. Nero from his camp above Suessula; and the three armies began the great work of surrounding Capua with double continuous lines, strong enough to repel the besieged on one side, and Hannibal on the other, when he should again appear in Campania. The inner line was carried round the city, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from the walls; the outer line was concentric with it; and the space between the two served for the cantonments and magazines of the besiegers. The lines, says Appian,¹⁶⁵ looked like a great city, inclosing a smaller city in the middle; like the famous lines of the Peloponnesians before Plataea. What time was employed in completing them we know not: they were interrupted by continual sallies of the besieged; and Jubellius Taurea and the Capuan cavalry were generally too strong for the Roman horsemen.¹⁶⁶ But their infantry could do nothing against the legions; the besieging army must have amounted nearly to sixty thousand men; and slowly but surely the imprisoning walls were raised, and their circle completed, shutting out the last gleams of light from the eyes of the devoted city.

Before the works were closed all round, the consuls, according to the senate's directions signified to them by the city prætor, announced to the Capuans, that whoever chose to come out of the city with his family and property before the ides of March, might do so with safety, and should be untouched in body or goods.¹⁶⁷ It would seem then that the works were not completed till late in the winter; for we cannot suppose that the term of grace would have been prolonged to a remote day, especially as the ides of March were the beginning of the new consular year; and it could not be known long beforehand whether the present consuls would be continued in their command or no. The offer was received by the besieged, it is said, with open scorn; their provisions were as yet abundant, their cavalry excellent; their hope of aid from Hannibal, as soon as the campaign should open, was confident. But Fulvius waited his time; nor was his thirst for Capuan blood to be disap-

Their offer to allow any of the citizens to come out safely is rejected. A.U.C. 543, A. C. 211.

¹⁶⁴ Livy, XXV. 22.

¹⁶⁵ VII. 37.

¹⁶⁶ Appian, VII. 37. Livy, XXVI. 4.

¹⁶⁷ Livy, XXV. 22.

pointed by his removal from the siege at the end of the year : it would seem as if the new consuls were men of no great consideration, appointed probably for that very reason, that their claims might not interfere with those of their predecessors. One of them, P. Sulpicius Galba, had filled no curule office previously : the other, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, had been prætor two years before, but was not distinguished by any remarkable action. The siege of Capua was still to be conducted by Appius Claudius and Fulvius ; and they were ordered not to retire from their positions till they should have taken the city.¹⁶⁸

What was the state of affairs in Capua meantime, we know not. The Roman stories are little to be credited, which represent all the richer and nobler citizens as abandoning the government, and leaving the office of chief magistrate, Meddix Tuticus, to be filled by one Seppius Lesius, a man of obscure condition, who offered himself as a candidate.¹⁶⁹ Neither Vibius Virrius nor Jubellius Taurea wanted resolution to abide by their country to the last ; and it is expressly said that, down to the latest period of the siege, there was no Roman party in Capua ; no voice was heard to speak of peace or surrender ; no citizen had embraced the consul's offers of mercy.¹⁰⁷ Even when they had failed to prevent the completion of the Roman lines, they continued to make frequent sallies ; and the proconsuls could only withstand their cavalry by mixing light armed foot soldiers amongst the Roman horsemen, and thus strengthening that weakest arm in the Roman service. Still, as the blockade was now fully established, famine must be felt sooner or later : accordingly a Numidian was sent to implore Hannibal's aid, and succeeded in getting through the Roman lines, and carrying his message safely to Bruttium.¹⁷¹

Hannibal listened to the prayer, and leaving his heavy baggage, and the mass of his army behind, set out with his cavalry and light infantry, and with thirty-three elephants.¹⁷² Whether his Samnite and Lucanian allies joined him on the march is not stated ; if they did not, and if secrecy and expedition were deemed of more importance than an addition of force, the troops which he led with him must have been more like a single corps, than a complete army. Avoiding Beneventum, he descended the valley of the Calor towards the Vulturnus, stormed a Roman post, which had been built apparently to cut off the communications of the besieged with the upper valley of the Vulturnus, and encamped immediately behind the ridge of Tifata. From thence he descended once more into the plain of Capua, displayed his cavalry before the Roman lines

Hannibal comes to its relief.

¹⁶⁸ Livy, XXVI. 1. Frontinus, III. 18, 3.

¹⁶⁹ Livy, XXVI. 6.

¹⁷⁰ Livy, XXVI. 12.

¹⁷¹ Livy, XXVI. 4. Frontinus, IV. 7. 29.

¹⁷² Livy, XXVI. 5.

in the hope of tempting them out to battle, and finding that this did not succeed, commenced a general assault upon their works.

Unprovided with any artillery, his best hope was that the Romans might be allured to make some rash sally : his cavalry advanced by squadrons up to the edge of the trench, and discharged showers of missiles into the lines ; while his infantry assailed the rampart, and tried to force their way through the palisade which surmounted it. From within, the lines were attacked by the Campanians and Hannibal's auxiliary garrison ; but the Romans were numerous enough to defend both fronts of their works ; they held their ground steadily, neither yielding nor rashly pursuing ; and Hannibal finding his utmost efforts vain, drew off his army.¹⁷³ Some resolution must be taken promptly ; his cavalry could not be fed where he was, for the Romans had previously destroyed or carried away every thing that might serve for forage ; nor could he venture to wait till the new consuls should have raised their legions, and be ready to march from Rome and threaten his rear. One only hope remained ; one attempt might yet be made, which should either raise the siege of Capua or accomplish a still greater object : Hannibal resolved to march upon Rome.

Hannibal attacks the Roman lines ineffectually, and resolves to march against Rome.

A Numidian was again found, who undertook to pass over to the Roman lines as a deserter, and from thence to make his escape into Capua, bearing a letter from Hannibal, which explained his purpose, and conjured the Capuans patiently to abide the issue of his attempt for a little while.¹⁷⁴ When this letter reached Capua, Hannibal was already gone ; his camp fires had been seen burning as usual all night in his accustomed position on Tifata ; but he had begun his march the preceding evening, immediately after dark, while the Romans still thought that his army was hanging over their heads, and were looking for a second assault.¹⁷⁵

He sets out suddenly by night.

His army disappeared from the eyes of the Romans behind Tifata ; and they knew not whither he was gone. Even so it is with us at this day ; we lose him from Tifata ; we find him before Rome ; but we know nothing of his course between. Conflicting and contradictory accounts have made the truth undiscoverable : what regions of Italy looked with fear or hope on the march of the great general and his famous soldiers, it is impossible from our existing records to determine. Whether he followed the track of Pyrrhus, and spread havoc through the lands of the numerous colonies on the Latin road, Cales, Casinum, Interamna, and Fregellæ ;¹⁷⁶ or whether, to baffle the enemy's pursuit, and avoid the delay of crossing the Vultur-

Difficulty of making out his line of march.

¹⁷³ Polybius, IX. 3. Livy, XXVI. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Polybius, IX. 5.

¹⁷⁴ Polybius, IX. 5. Livy, XXVI. 7.

¹⁷⁶ Livy, XXVI. 9.

nus, he plunged northwards into the heart of Samnium,¹⁷⁷ astonished the Latin colonists of Æsernia with his unlooked-for passage, crossed the central Apennines into the country of the Pelignians, and then, turning suddenly to his left, broke down into the land of the Marsians, passing along the glassy waters of Fucinus, and under the ancient walls of Alba, and scaring the upland glades and quiet streams of the aboriginal Sabines, with the wild array of his Numidian horsemen; we cannot with any confidence decide. Yet the agreement of all the stories as to the latter part of his march seems to point out the line of its beginning. All accounts say that, descending nearly by the old route of the Gauls, he kept the Tiber on his right, and the Anio on his left; and that, finally, he crossed the Anio, and encamped at a distance of less than four miles from the walls of Rome.¹⁷⁸

Before the sweeping pursuit of his Numidians, crowds of fugitives were seen flying towards the city, while the smoke of burning houses arose far and wide into the sky. Within the walls the confusion and terror were at their height: he was come at last, this Hannibal, whom they had so long dreaded; he had at length dared what even the slaughter of Cannæ had not emboldened him to venture; some victory greater even than Cannæ must have given him this confidence; the three armies before Capua must be utterly destroyed; last year he had destroyed or dispersed three other armies, and had gained possession of the entire south of Italy; and now he had stormed the lines before Capua, had cut to pieces the whole remaining force of the Roman people, and was come to Rome to finish his work. So the wives and mothers of Rome lamented, as they hurried to the temples; and there, prostrate before the gods, and sweeping the sacred pavement with their unbound hair in the agony of their fear, they remained pouring forth their prayers for deliverance. Their sons and husbands hastened to man the walls and the citadel, and to secure the most important points without the city; whilst the senate, as calm as their fathers of old, whom the Gauls massacred when sitting at their own doors, but with the energy of manly resolution, rather than the resignation of despair, met in the forum, and there remained assembled, to direct every magistrate on the instant, how he might best fulfil his duty.¹⁷⁹

But God's care watched over the safety of a people whom he had chosen to work out the purposes of his providence: Rome was not to perish. Two city legions were to be raised, as usual, at the beginning of the year; and it so happened that the citizens from the country tribes were to meet

¹⁷⁷ Polybius, IX. 5.
¹⁷⁸ Polybius, IX. 6. Livy, XXVI. 9.
Appian, VII. 38.

¹⁷⁹ Polybius, IX. 6. Livy, XXVI. 9.

at Rome on this very day for the enlistment for one of these legions ; while the soldiers of the other, which had been enrolled a short time before, were to appear at Rome on this same day in arms, having been allowed, as the custom was, to return home for a few days after their enlistment, to prepare for active service. Thus it happened that ten thousand men were brought together at the very moment when they were most needed, and were ready to repel any assault upon the walls.¹⁸⁰ The allies, it seems, were not ordinarily called out to serve with the two city legions ; but on this occasion it is mentioned that the Latin colony of Alba, having seen Hannibal pass by their walls, and guessing the object of his march, sent its whole force to assist in the defence of Rome ; a zeal which the Greek writers compared to that of Plataea, whose citizens fought alone by the side of the Athenians on the day of Marathon.¹⁸¹

To assault the walls of Rome was now hopeless ; but the open country was at Hannibal's mercy, a country which had seen no enemy for near a hundred and fifty years, cultivated and inhabited in the full security of peace. Far and wide it was overrun by Hannibal's soldiers ; and the army appears to have moved about, encamping in one place after another, and sweeping cattle and prisoners and plunder of every sort, beyond numbering, within the enclosure of its camp.¹⁸²

It was probably in the course of these excursions, that Hannibal, at the head of a large body of cavalry, came close up to the Colline gate, rode along leisurely under the walls to see all he could of the city, and is said to have cast his javelin into it as in defiance.¹⁸³ From farthest Spain he had come into Italy ; he had wasted the whole country of the Romans and their allies with fire and sword for more than six years, had slain more of their citizens than were now alive to bear arms against him ; and at last he was shutting them up within their city, and riding freely under their walls, while none dared meet him in the field. If any thing of disappointment depressed his mind at that instant ; if he felt that Rome's strength was not broken, nor the spirit of her people quelled, that his own fortune was wavering, and that his last effort had been made, and made in vain ; yet thinking where he was, and of the shame and loss which his presence was causing to his enemies, he must have wished that his father could have lived to see that day, and must have thanked the gods of his country that they had enabled him so fully to perform his vow.

For some time, we know not how long, this devastation of

¹⁸⁰ Polybius, IX. 6.

¹⁸¹ Appian, VII. 39.

¹⁸² Polybius, IX. 6.

¹⁸³ Livy, XXVI. 10. Pliny, XXXIV. 15.

Fulvius returns to Rome, and the Romans march out to check Hannibal.

the Roman territory lasted without opposition. Meanwhile the siege of Capua was not raised; and Fabius, in earnestly dissuading such a confession of fear, showed that he could be firm no less than cautious, when boldness was the highest prudence. But Fulvius, with a small portion of the besieging army, was recalled to Rome: Fabius had ever acted with him, and was glad to have the aid of his courage and ability; and when he arrived, and by a vote of the senate was united with the consuls in the command, the Roman forces were led out of the city, and encamped, according to Fabius' old policy, within ten stadia of the enemy, to check his free license of plunder.¹⁸⁴ At the same time, parties acting on the rear of Hannibal's army had broken down the bridges over the Anio, his line of retreat, like his advance, being on the right bank of that river, and not by the Latin road.

Hannibal had purposely waited to allow time for his movement to produce its intended effect in the raising of the siege of Capua. That time, according to his calculations, was now come: the news of his arrival before Rome must have reached the Roman lines before Capua; and the armies from that quarter, hastening by the Latin road to the defence of their city, must have left the communication with Capua free. The presence of Fulvius with his army in Latium, which Hannibal would instantly discover, by the thrice-repeated sounding of the watch, as Hasdrubal found out Nero's arrival in the camp of Livius near Sena, would confirm him in his expectation that the other proconsul was on his march with the mass of the army; and he accordingly commenced his retreat by the Tiburtine road, that he might not encounter Appius in front, while the consuls and Fabius were pressing on his rear.

Accordingly, as the bridges were destroyed, he proceeded to effect his passage through the river, and carried over his army under the protection of his cavalry, although the Romans attacked him during the passage, and cut off a large part of the plunder which he had collected from the neighbourhood of Rome.¹⁸⁵ He then continued his retreat; and the Romans followed him, but at a careful distance, and keeping steadily on the higher grounds, to be safe from the assaults of his dreaded cavalry.¹⁸⁶

In this manner Hannibal marched with the greatest rapidity for five days, which, if he was moving by the Valerian road, must have brought him at least as far as the country of the Marsians, and the shores of the lake Fucinus.¹⁸⁷

The Romans follow him at a distance.

He marches down into Bruttium.

¹⁸⁴ Livy, XXVI. 8, 9, 10. Polybius, IX. 7. Appian, VII. 40.

¹⁸⁶ Polybius, IX. 7.

¹⁸⁵ Appian, VII. 40.

¹⁸⁷ Polybius, IX. 7.

From thence he would again have crossed by the Forca Carrosa to the plain of the Pelignians, and so retraced his steps through Samnium towards Capua. But at this point he received intelligence that the Roman armies were still in their lines, that his march upon Rome had therefore failed, and that his communications with Capua were as hopeless as ever. Instantly he changed all his plans; and feeling obliged to abandon Capua, the importance of his operations in the south rose upon him in proportion. Hitherto he had not thought fit to delay his march for the sake of attacking the army which was pursuing him; but now he resolved to rid himself of this enemy; so he turned fiercely upon them, and assaulted their camp in the night. The Romans, surprised and confounded, were driven from it with considerable loss, and took refuge in a strong position in the mountains. Hannibal then resumed his march, but, instead of turning short to his right towards Campania, descended towards the Adriatic and the plains of Apulia, and from thence returned to what was now the stronghold of his power in Italy, the country of the Bruttians.¹⁸⁸

The citadel of Tarentum still held out against him; but Rhegium, confident in its remoteness, had never yet seen his cavalry in its territory, and was now less likely than ever to dread his presence, as he had so lately been heard of in the heart of Italy, and under the walls of Rome. With a rapid march therefore he hastened to surprise Rhegium. Tidings of his coming reached the city just in time for the Rhegians to shut their gates against him; but half their people were in the country, in the full security of peace; and these all fell into his power.¹⁸⁹ We know not whether he treated them kindly, as hoping through their means to win Rhegium, as he had won Tarentum; or whether disappointment was now stronger than hope, and despairing of drawing the allies of Rome to his side, he was now as inveterate against them as against the Romans. He retired from his fruitless attempt to win Rhegium only to receive the tidings of the loss of Capua.

The Romans had patiently waited their time, and were now to reap their reward. The consuls were both to command in Apulia with two consular armies; one of them therefore must have returned to Rome, to raise the two additional legions which were required. Fulvius hastened back to the lines before Capua. His prey was now in his power; the straitness of the blockade could no longer be endured, and aid from Hannibal was not to be hoped. It is said that mercy was still promised to any Capuan who should come over to the Romans

He misses taking
Rhegium.

The Romans press
the siege of Capua.

¹⁸⁸ Polybius, IX. 7. Appian, VII. 41-

¹⁸⁹ Polybius, IX. 7.

before a certain day, but that none availed themselves of the offer, feeling, says Livy, that their offence was beyond forgiveness.¹⁹⁰ This can only mean that they believed the Romans to be as faithless as they were cruel, and felt sure that every promise of mercy would be evaded or openly broken. One last attempt was made to summon Hannibal again to their aid ; but the Numidians employed on the service were detected this time in the Roman lines, and were sent back torn with stripes, and with their hands cut off, into the city.¹⁹¹

No Capuan writer has survived to record the last struggle of his country ; and never were any people less to be believed than the Romans, when speaking of their enemies. Yet the greatest man could not have supported the expiring weakness of an unheroic people ; and we hear of no great man in Capua. Some of the principal men in the senate met, it is said, at the house of one of their number, Vibius Virrius, where a magnificent banquet had been prepared for them ; they ate and drank, and when the feast was over, they all swallowed poison. Then, having done with pleasure and with life, they took a last leave of each other ; they embraced each other, lamenting with many tears their own and their country's calamity ; and some remained to be burned together on the same funeral pile, while others went away to die at their own homes. All were dead before the Romans entered the city.¹⁹²

In the meanwhile the Capuan government, unable to restrain their starving people, had been obliged to surrender the city. In modern warfare the surrender of a besieged town involves no extreme suffering ; even in civil wars, justice or vengeance only demands a certain number of victims, and the mass of the population scarcely feels its condition affected. But surrender, *deditio*, according to the Roman laws of war, placed the property, liberties, and lives of the whole surrendered people at the absolute disposal of the conquerors ; and that not formally, as a right, the enforcement of which were monstrous, but as one to abate which in any instance was an act of free mercy. In this sense Capua was surrendered ; in the morning after Vibius Virrius' funeral banquet, the gate of Jupiter, which looked towards the Roman head quarters, was thrown open ; and a Roman legion, with its usual force of cavalry doubled, marched in to take possession. It was commanded by C. Fulvius, the brother of the proconsul, who immediately placed guards at all the gates, caused all the arms in the city to be brought to him, made prisoners of the Carthaginian garrison, and sent all the Capuan senators into the Roman camp, to abide his brother's sentence.

¹⁹⁰ Livy, XXVI. 12.

¹⁹¹ Livy, XXVI. 12.

¹⁹² Livy, XXVI. 14.

No Roman family has preserved a more uniform character of pride and cruelty through successive generations than the Claudii; but in the treatment of the Capuans, Q. Fulvius was so much the principal actor, that, according to some of the annals, Appius Claudius was no longer alive, having been mortally wounded some time before the end of the siege.¹⁹³ His daughter had been married to a Campanian; and the senators of Capua might perhaps seem to him worthier of regard than the commons of Rome. But whether Appius was living or dead, he was unable to arrest the course of his colleague's vengeance. The Capuan senators were immediately chained as bondslaves, were commanded to give up all their gold and silver to the quæstors, and were then sent in custody, five-and-twenty to Cales, and twenty-eight to Teanum. Ere the next night was over, Fulvius, with 2000 chosen horsemen, left the camp, and arrived at Teanum by daybreak. He took his seat in the forum, ordered the magistrates of Teanum to bring forth their prisoners, and saw them all scourged and beheaded in his presence. Then he rode off to Cales, and repeated the same tragedy there.¹⁹⁴

Fulvius puts all the senators to death.

Atilla and Calatia followed the example of Capua, and surrendered at discretion to the Romans. There, also, about twenty senators were executed; and about three hundred persons of noble birth, in one or other of the three cities, were sent to Rome, and thrown into the Mamertine prison, there to die of starvation and misery, while others met a similar fate in the various allied cities whither they were sent prisoners.¹⁹⁵ The besieging army was then relieved from its long services; part of it was probably sent home, or transferred to one of the consuls to form his army in Apulia. C. Nero, the proprætor, was sent with about 13,000 men into Spain, where the Roman affairs were in a most critical state;¹⁹⁶ while Q. Fulvius remained still as proconsul in Capua, exercising the utmost severity of conquest over the remnant of the unfortunate people.

Severe treatment of all the Campanians.

A few months afterwards, on the night of the 18th of March in the following year, a fire broke out at Rome in several places at once, in the neighbourhood of the forum. The temple of Vesta, and its eternal fire, the type of the life of the commonwealth, were saved with great difficulty. This fire was said to be the work of some noble Capuans, whose fathers had been beheaded by Q. Fulvius; they were accused by one of their slaves; and a confession of the charge having been forced from their other slaves by torture, the young men were put to death.¹⁹⁷ Fulvius made this a pretence for fresh severities against

Decrees about them.

¹⁹³ Livy, XXVI. 16. Zonaras, IX. 6.

¹⁹⁵ Livy, XXVI. 16.

¹⁹⁴ Livy, XXVI. 15. Valerius Maximus, III. 8. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Livy, XXVI. 17.

¹⁹⁷ Livy, XXVI. 27.

the Capuans; and no doubt it had an influence upon the senate when the fate of the three revolted cities of Campania was finally decided. As the Capuans had enjoyed the franchise of Roman citizens, the senate was obliged to obtain an act of the comitia, empowering them to determine their future condition. A number of decrees were passed accordingly, as after the great Latin war, distinguishing the punishment of different classes, and even of different individuals. All who had been senators, or held any office, were reduced to utter beggary, their lands being forfeited to Rome, together with the whole Campanian territory, and their personal property of every kind being ordered to be sold. Some were sold, besides, for slaves, with their wives and children; and it was especially ordered that they should be sold at Rome, lest some of their countrymen or neighbours should purchase them for the purpose of restoring their liberty. All who had been in Capua during the siege were transported beyond the Tiber, and forbidden to possess lands or houses above a certain measure, or out of certain specified districts: those who had not been in Capua, or in any other revolted city, during the war, were only transported beyond the Liris; while those who had gone over to the Romans before Hannibal entered Capua, were removed no farther than across the Volturnus. In their exiled state, however, they were still to be personally free, but were incapable of enjoying either the Roman franchise or the Latin.¹⁹⁸ The city of Capua, bereaved of all its citizens, was left to be inhabited by that mixed multitude of resident foreigners, freedmen, and half-citizens, who, as shoopkeepers and mechanics, had always formed a large part of the population; and all political organization was strictly denied to them; and they were placed under the government of a præfect sent thither every year from Rome.¹⁹⁹ The Campanian plain, the glory of Italy, and all the domain lands which Capua had won in former wars, when she was the ally of Rome, as her share of the spoils of Samnium, were forfeited to the Roman people. In the domain lands some colonies were planted soon after the war;²⁰⁰ but the Campanian plain was held in occupation by a number of Roman citizens; and the vectigal, or rent, which they paid to the state, was for a hundred and fifty years an important part of the Roman revenue.²⁰¹ Only two individuals were found deserving of favour, it is said, among the whole Capuan people: these were two women, one of whom had daily sacrificed in secret during the siege for the success of the Romans; and the other had secretly fed some Roman prisoners. These had their property restored to them by a special decree of the senate; and they were

¹⁹⁸ Livy, XXVI. 33, 34.¹⁹⁹ Livy, XXVI. 16.²⁰⁰ Livy, XXXIV. 45.²⁰¹ Cicero, De. Leg. Agrar. II. 39.

desired to go to Rome and to petition the senate, if they thought proper, for some additional reward.²⁰²

I have given the settlement of Campania and the fate of the Capuans in detail, because it seems taken from authentic sources, and is characteristic of the stern determination with which the Roman government went through its work. It is no less characteristic that when Q. Fulvius applied for a triumph, after his most important and splendid success, the senate refused to grant it, because he had only recovered what had belonged to Rome before; and the mere retrieving of losses, and restoring the dominion of the commonwealth to its former extent, was no subject of extraordinary exultation.²⁰³

Fulvius is refused a triumph.

But although not rewarded by a triumph, the conquest of Capua was one of the most important services ever rendered by a Roman general to his country. It did not merely deprive Hannibal of the greatest fruit of his greatest victory, and thus seem to undo the work of Cannæ; but its effect was felt far and wide, encouraging the allies of Rome, and striking terror into her enemies; tempting the cities which had revolted to return without delay to their allegiance, and filling Hannibal with suspicions of those who were still true to him, as if they only waited to purchase their pardon by some act of treachery towards his garrisons. By the recovery of Capua his great experiment seemed decided against him. It appeared impossible, under any circumstances, to rally such a coalition of the Italian states against the Roman power in Italy, as might be able to overthrow it. We almost ask, with what reasonable hopes could Hannibal from this time forward continue the war? or why did he not change the seat of it from Southern Italy to Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul?

Importance of the taking of Capua.

But with whatever feelings of disappointment and grief he may have heard of the fall of Capua, of the ruin of his allies, and the bloody death of so many of the Capuan senators, and of the brave Jubellius Taurea, whom he had personally known and honoured, yet the last campaign was not without many solid grounds of encouragement. Never had the invincible force of his army been more fully proved. He had overrun half Italy, had crossed and recrossed the passes of the Apennines, had plunged into the midst of the Roman allies, and had laid waste the territory of Rome with fire and sword. Yet no superiority of numbers, no advantage of ground, no knowledge of the country, had ever emboldened the Romans to meet him in the field, or even to beset his road, or to obstruct and harass his march. Once only, when he was thought to be retreating, had they ventured to follow him at a cautious distance;

Hannibal's favourable prospects.

²⁰² Livy, XXVI. 33, 34.

²⁰³ Valerius Maximus, II. 8. 4.

but he had turned upon them in his strength ; and the two consuls, and Q. Fulvius with them, were driven before him as fugitives to the mountains, their camp stormed, and their legions scattered. It was plain, then, that he might hold his ground in Italy as long as he pleased, supporting his army at its cost, and draining the resources of Rome and her allies, year after year, till in mere exhaustion the Roman commons would probably join the Latin colonies and the allies in forcing the senate to make peace.

At this very moment Etruria was restless, and required an army of two legions to keep it quiet:²⁴⁴ the Roman commons, in addition to their heavy taxation and military service, had seen their lands laid waste, and yet were called upon to bear fresh burdens : and there was a spirit of discontent working in the Latin colonies, which a little more provocation might excite to open revolt. Spain besides seemed at last to be freed from the enemy ; and the recent defeats and deaths of the two Scipios there held out the hope to Hannibal, that now at length his brother Hasdrubal, having nothing to detain him in Spain, might lead a second Carthaginian army into Italy, and establish himself in Etruria, depriving Rome of the resources of the Etruscan and Umbrian states, as she had already lost those of half Samnium, of Lucania, Bruttium, and Apulia. Then, assailed at once by two sons of Hamilcar, on the north and the south, the Roman power, which one of them singly had so staggered, must, by the joint efforts of both, be beaten to the ground and destroyed. With such hopes, and with no unreasonable confidence, Hannibal consoled himself for the loss of Capua, and allowed his army, after its severe marching, to rest for the remainder of the year in Apulia.²⁰⁵ And now, as we have brought the war in Italy to this point, it is time to look abroad, and to observe the course of this mighty contest in Spain, in Greece, and in Sicily.

²⁰⁴ Livy, XXVI. 1. 28 ; XXVII. 7.
Comp. XXVII. 21, 22. 24.

²⁰⁵ Compare Livy, XXVI. 37.

CHAPTER XLV.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN SPAIN, SICILY, AND GREECE. OPERATIONS OF THE SCIPIOS IN SPAIN. THEIR DEFEAT AND DEATH. MACEDON AND GREECE. REVOLUTIONS OF SYRACUSE. MARCELLUS IN SICILY. SIEGE OF SYRACUSE. ARCHIMEDES. SACK OF SYRACUSE, AND REDUCTION OF SICILY. MUTINES, THE NUMIDIAN, IN SICILY. A. U. C. 538 TO 543.

WARS must of necessity form a large part of all history; but in most wars the narrative of military operations is without interest for posterity, and should only be given by contemporary writers. It was right for Thucydides to relate every little expedition of the Peloponessian war at length; but modern writers do wrong in following his example; for the details of petty warfare are unworthy to survive their own generation. And there are also wars conducted on a great scale, and very important in their consequences, the particulars of which may safely be forgotten. For military events should only be related circumstantially to after ages, when they either contain a great lesson in the art of war, or are so striking in their incidents, as to acquire the interest of a romance, and thus retain their hold on the imaginations and moral feelings of all ages and countries. Hannibal's campaigns in Italy have this double claim on our notice: they are a most valuable study for the soldier, whilst for readers in general they are a varied and eventful story, rich in characters, scenes, and actions. But the war in Spain, although most important in its results, and still more the feeble bickerings rather than wars of the decayed states of Greece, may and ought to be related summarily. A closer attention must be given to the war in Sicily: there again the military and the general interest of the story are great; we have the ancient art of defence exhibited in its highest perfection; we have the immortal names of Syracuse and Archimedes.

There is another reason, however, why we should not give a minute account of the Spanish war: because we really know nothing about it. The Roman annalists, whom Livy has copied here, seem to have outdone their

When wars ought to be related circumstantially.

Campaign of 541 in Spain.

usual exaggerations in describing the exploits of the two Scipios ; and what is the truth concealed beneath this mass of fiction, we are wholly unable to discover. Spain, we know, has in later wars been overrun victoriously and lost again in a single summer ; and no one can say how far the Scipios may at times have penetrated into the heart of the country : but it is certain that in the first years of their command they made no lasting impression south of the Iberus. Still their maintaining their ground at all in Spain was of signal service to Rome. The Carthaginians, on the

A. U. C. 541. A. C.
213.

other hand, knew the importance of expelling them ; but it appears that in the year 541, they became engaged in a war with Syphax, one of the kings or chiefs of the Numidians ; and a war in Africa was always so alarming to them, that they recalled Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, from Spain, with a part of their forces employed in that country, and thus took off the pressure from the Romans at a most critical moment.¹ The Scipios availed themselves of this relief ably ; and now they seem to have advanced into the heart of Spain with effect, to have drawn over many of the Spanish tribes to the Roman alliance, and thus to have obtained large recruits for their own army, which received but slight reinforcements from Rome. It is said that 20,000 Celtiberians were raised to serve under the Scipios, and that at the same time 300 noble Spaniards were sent into Italy to detach their countrymen there from Hannibal's service.² Cn. Scipio, we are told, was greatly loved and revered by the Spaniards ;³ and his influence probably attracted the Celtiberians to the Roman armies ; but we know not where he found money to pay them, as the Roman treasury was in no condition to supply him, and he was obliged to make war support war. However, careful economy of the plunder which he may have won from some of the allies of Carthage, assisted perhaps by loans from some of the Spanish chiefs attached to himself and to Rome, had enabled him to raise a large army ; so that, when Hasdrubal returned from Africa, apparently late in 542, although there were two other Carthaginian generals in Spain,⁴ each commanding a separate army, yet the Roman generals thought themselves strong enough to act on the offensive ; and they concerted a grand plan for the campaign of 543, by which they hoped to destroy all the armies opposed to them, and to drive the Carthaginians out of Spain. With this confidence they divided their forces, and having crossed the Iberus, marched each in pursuit of a separate enemy. Cn. Scipio was to attack Hasdrubal, while his brother was to fall on the other two Carthaginian generals, Hasdrubal the son of Giscon, and Mago.⁵

¹ Appian, VI. 15. Livy, XXIV. 48.

² Livy, XXV. 32. XXIV. 49.

³ Livy, XXV. 36. Appian, VI. 15.

⁴ Livy, XXV. 32. Appian, VI. 16.

⁵ Livy, XXV. 32.

They had wintered, it seems, in the country of their new auxiliaries, or, according to one account, even farther to the south, in the valley of the Bætis or Guadalquivir.⁶ But it is as impossible to disentangle the geography of this war as its history. The Carthaginian generals owed their triumph—and more than this we cannot ascertain—to the ascendancy of Hasdrubal's name and personal character; for the Celtiberians, when brought into his neighbourhood, were unable to resist his influence, and abruptly left the Roman camp, and returned home.⁷ Thus abandoned, and at a great distance from all their resources, the two Roman generals were successively attacked by the Carthaginians, defeated and killed.⁸ Of the wreck of their armies, some fled to the towns of their Spanish allies for refuge, and were in some instances slain by them, or betrayed to the Carthaginians: a remnant, which had either been left behind the Iberus before the opening of the campaign, or had effected its retreat thither, was still held together by Scipio's lieutenant, T. Fonteius, and by L. Marcius.⁹ Marcius was only a simple Roman knight, that is, a man of good fortune, who therefore served, not in the infantry of the legions, but in the cavalry: he had a natural genius for war, and was called irregularly, it seems, by the common voice of the soldiers to take the command; and we need not doubt that by some timely advantages gained over some of the enemies' parties, he raised the spirits of the men, and preserved the Roman cause in Spain from utter extinction. But the extravagant fables of his victories over the victorious Carthaginians, and of his storming their camps, show too clearly out of what wretched materials the Roman history has to be written.¹⁰

Campaign of 543: defeat and death of the Scipios.

A. U. C. 543. A. C. 211.

If the defeat of the Scipios took place, as seems probable, early in the year 543, that is, a few weeks before the fall of Capua, we may again admire the wonderful disposal of events by which the ruin of the Roman cause in Spain was delayed till their affairs in Italy had passed over their crisis, and were beginning to mend. The Scipios' army was replaced by that of C. Nero, which the fall of Capua set at liberty:¹¹ a year earlier this resource would not have been available. Still the Carthaginians immediately recovered all the states south of the Ebro, which had before revolted; and the Romans were confined to a narrow strip of coast between the Iberus and the Pyre-

The Romans are driven to the foot of the Pyrenees.

⁶ Appian, VI. 16.

⁷ Livy, XXV. 33.

⁸ Livy, XXV. 34–36. Appian, VI. 16.

⁹ Livy, XXV. 36–39.

¹⁰ Livy, XXV. 39. According to one account, 37,000 men were slain on the Carthaginian side. Valerius Antias re-

turned 17,000 killed, and 4330 prisoners. Appian (XI. 17) substitutes Marcellus by mistake for Marcius, but says he did nothing brilliant, so that the Carthaginian power increased, and spread almost over the whole of Spain.

¹¹ Livy, XXVI. 17.

nees,¹² from which the overwhelming force of their enemies was likely ere long to drive them. And so it would, had not the external weakness of the Roman cause been now upheld for the first time by individual genius; so that a defeated and dispirited army became, in the hands of the young P. Scipio, the instrument by which all Spain was conquered.

Seventy years before this period, a Greek army under Pyrrhus had shaken the whole power of Rome: yet the kingdom of Pyrrhus was little more than a dependency of Macedon, and Pyrrhus had struggled against the arms of the Macedonian kings vigorously, but without success. Now a young, warlike, and popular king, was seated on the throne of Macedon:¹³ he had just concluded a war victoriously with the only state in Greece which seemed capable of resisting his power. What Pyrrhus had almost done alone, would surely be easy for Philip to accomplish, with Hannibal and his invincible army to aid him; and what could Rome have done, if to the irresistible African cavalry there had been joined a body of heavy-armed Macedonians, and a force of artillery and engineers such as Greek science alone could furnish? The strangest and most unaccountable blank in history is the early period of the Macedonian war, before the Ætolians became the allies of Rome and a coalition was formed against Philip in Greece itself. Philip's treaty with Hannibal was concluded in the year 539, or early enough, at any rate, to allow of his commencing operations in the year 540.¹⁴ The Ætolians concluded their treaty with Rome in 543, after the fall of Capua.¹⁵ More than three precious years seem to have been utterly wasted; and during all this time M. Valerius Lævinus, commanding at Brundisium with a single legion and a small fleet, was allowed to paralyse the whole power of Macedon.¹⁶

The cause of this is to be found in that selfish attention to separate objects which has so often been the ruin of coalitions. Philip's object, or rather that of Demetrius of Pharos, whose influence appears plainly in all this war with Rome, was to undo the work of the late Roman victories in Illyria, and to wrest the western coast of Epirus from their dominion. In his treaty with Hannibal, Philip had especially stipulated that the Romans should not be allowed to retain their control over Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, Dimala or Dimalus, the country of the Parthinians, and Atintania;¹⁷

¹² Appian, VI. 17.

¹³ Philip was not more than seventeen years old in the archonship of Ariston, A. U. C. 534. Polybius, IV. 5. For his popular and warlike character see Polybius, IV. 77, 82, 1.

¹⁴ Livy, XXIII. 33, 39. Above p. 337.

¹⁵ Livy, XXVI. 24.

¹⁶ Livy, XXIV. 10. 44. XXV. 3. XXVI. 24.

¹⁷ Polybius, VII. 9.

places which in the Illyrian wars had either submitted to, or been conquered by the Romans. Philip does not appear to have understood that all these were to be reconquered most surely in Italy; that it was easier to crush Lævinus at Brundisium, than to repel him from Epirus; more prudent to march against him at the head of the Greeks of Italy, than to let him come to the aid of the Greeks on the coast of Illyria. Thus he trifled away his strength in petty enterprises, and those not always successful, till the Romans found the time come to carry on the war against him in earnest; and they were not apt either to neglect their opportunities or to misuse them.

Philip was personally brave, and could on occasion show no common activity and energy. But he had not that steadiness of purpose, without which energy in political affairs is worthless. Thus he was lightly deterred from an enterprise by dangers which he was not afraid of, but rather did not care to encounter. The naval power of Greece had long since sunk to nothing; Philip had no regular navy, and the small vessels which he could collect were no match for the Roman quinqueres; so that a descent upon Italy appeared hazardous, while various schemes opened upon him nearer home, which his own temper, or the interests of his advisers, led him to prefer. Hence, he effected but little during three years. He neither took Epidamnus, nor Apollonia, nor Corcyra; but he won Lissus, and the strong fortress which served as its citadel;¹⁸ and he seems also to have conquered Dimalus or Dimallus, and to have enlarged his dominion more or less nominally with the countries of the Parthinians and Atintanians, of which the sovereignty had belonged to the Romans.¹⁹ From all this Hannibal derived no benefit, and Rome sustained no serious injury.

He wastes his time on petty objects.

In the year of Rome 491, in the second year of the first Punic war, Hiero, king of Syracuse, had made peace with the Romans, and had become their ally.²⁰ Forty-seven years had passed away since, when the tidings of the battle of Cannæ arrived at Syracuse, and seemed to announce that a great part of Sicily was again to change its masters, and to be subjected once more to the Carthaginian dominion. But Hiero, although about ninety years of age, did not waver. Far from courting the friendship of Carthage, he increased his exertions in behalf of Rome: he supplied the Roman army in Sicily with money and corn at a time when all supplies from home had failed;²¹ and about a year afterwards, when a fleet was prepared to meet the hostile designs of Philip of Macedon, Hiero again sent

Hiero's faithful friendship to the Romans: his death;

¹⁸ Polybius, VIII. 15, 16.

²⁰ See Vol. II. of this history, p. 153.

¹⁹ In Livy, XXIX. 12, we find these attacked by the Romans, as being subject to Macedon.

²¹ Livy, XXIII. 22. See above, p. 329.

A. U. C. 539.
A. C. 215.

50,000 medimni of wheat and barley to provision it.²² This must nearly have been his last public act. Towards the close of the year 539, after a life of ninety years, and a reign of fifty-four, but still retaining all his faculties, sound in mind and vigorous in body, Hiero died.²³

He had enjoyed and deserved the constant affection of his people, and had seen his kingdom flourishing more and more under his government. One only thing had marred the completeness of his fortune: his son Gelon had died before him, with whom he had lived in the most perfect harmony, and who had ever rendered him the most devoted and loving obedience.²⁴ He had still two daughters, Damarata and Heraclea, who were married to two eminent Syracusans, Andranodorus and Zoippus; and he had one grandson, a boy of about fifteen, the son of Gelon, Hieronymus.²⁴

It is the most difficult problem in a hereditary monarchy, how to educate the heir to the throne, when the circumstances of his condition, so much more powerful than any instruction, are apt to train him for evil far more surely than the lessons of the wisest teachers can train him for good. In the ancient world, moreover, there was no fear of God to sober the mind, which was raised above all fear or respect for man; and if the philosophers spoke of the superiority of virtue and wisdom over all the gifts of fortune, their own example, when they were seen to sue for the king's favour, and to dread his anger, no less than ordinary men, made their doctrines regarded either as folly or hypocrisy. Hieronymus at fifteen became king of Syracuse; a child in understanding, but with passions precociously vigorous, because he had such large means of indulging them; insolent, licentious, and cruel, yet withal so thoughtless and so mere a slave of every impulse, that he was sure to be the instrument of his own ruin.

We have already noticed his early communication with Hannibal, and the arrival of Hippocrates and Epicydes at Syracuse, Syracusans by extraction, but born at Carthage, and by education and franchise Carthaginians, whom Hannibal had sent to Hieronymus to confirm him in his alienation from Rome.²⁶ They won the youth's ear by telling him of Hannibal's marches and victories; for in those days events that were two or three years old were still news to foreigners; common fame had reported the general facts, but the details could only be gathered accidentally; and Hieronymus listened eagerly to Hippocrates and Epicydes, when they told him stories of their cross-

²² Livy, XXIII. 38.

²³ Polybius, VII. 8.

²⁴ Polybius, VII. 8.

²⁵ Livy, XXIV. 4.

²⁶ Polybius, VII. 34. Livy, XXIV. 6.

See above, p. 337.

²⁷ Polybius, VII. 4.

ing the Rhone, of their passage of the Alps and Apennines, of the slaughter of the Romans at Thrasymenus, and of their late unequalled victory at Cannæ, of all which they had themselves been eye-witnesses.²⁸ And when they saw Hieronymus possessed with a vague longing that he too might achieve such great deeds, they asked him who had such claims as he to be king of all Sicily. His mother was the daughter of Pyrrhus; his father was Hiero's son; with this double title to the love and homage of all Sicilians, he should not be contented to divide the island either with Rome or Carthage: by his timely aid to Hannibal he might secure it wholly to himself. The youth accordingly insisted that the sovereignty of all Sicily should be ceded to him as the price of his alliance with Carthage; and the Carthaginians were well content to humour him, knowing that if they could drive the Romans out of the islands, they had little to fear from the claims of Hieronymus.²⁸

Appius Claudius, the Roman prætor in Sicily, aware of what was going on, sent some of his officers to Syracuse, to warn the king not to break off his grandfather's long friendship with Rome, but to renew the old alliance in his own name.²⁹ Hieronymus called his council together, and Hippocrates and Epicydes were present. His native subjects, afraid to oppose his known feelings, said nothing; but three of his council, who came from old Greece, conjured him not to abandon his alliance with Rome. Andranodorus alone, his uncle and guardian, urged him to seize the moment, and become sovereign of all Sicily. He listened, and then, turning to Hippocrates and Epicydes, asked them, "And what think you?" "We think," they answered, "with Andranodorus." "Then," said he, "the question is decided; we will no longer be dependent on Rome." He then called in the Roman ambassadors and told them that "he was willing to renew his grandfather's league with Rome, if they would repay him all the money and corn with which Hiero had at various times supplied them; if they would restore the costly presents which he had given them, especially the golden statue of Victory, which he had sent to them only three years since, after their defeat at Thrasymenus; and finally, if they would share the island with him equally, ceding all to the east of the river Himeras."³⁰ The Romans considered this answer as a mockery, and went away without thinking it worthy of a serious reply. Accordingly from this moment Hieronymus conceived himself to be at war with Rome: he began to raise and arm soldiers, and to form magazines; and the Carthaginians, according to their treaty with him, prepared to send over a fleet and army to Sicily.

Meanwhile his desertion of the Roman alliance was most un-

²⁸ Polybius, VII. 4. Livy, XXIV. 6.

³⁰ Polybius, VII. 5. See Livy, XXII.

²⁹ Polybius, VII. 5. Livy, XXIV. 6. 37.

He is murdered by a conspiracy.

welcome to a strong party in Syracuse. A conspiracy had already been formed against his life, which was ascribed, whether truly or not, to the intrigues of this party;³¹ and now that he had actually joined the Carthaginians, they became more bitter against him; and a second conspiracy was formed with better success. He had taken the field to attack the cities in the Roman part of the island. Hippocrates and Epi-cydes were already in the enemy's country; and the king, with the main body of his army, was on his march to support them, and had just entered the town of Leontini.³² The road, which was also the principal street of the city, lay through a narrow gorge, with abrupt cliffs on each side; and the houses ran along in a row, nestling under the western cliff, and facing towards the small river Lissus, which flowed through the gorge between the town and the eastern cliff.³³ An empty house in this street had been occupied by the conspirators: when the king came opposite to it, one of their number, who was one of the king's guards, and close to his person, stopped just behind him, as if something had caught his foot; and whilst he seemed trying to get free, he checked the advance of the following multitude, and left the king to go on a few steps unattended. At that moment the conspirators rushed out of the house and murdered him: So sudden was the act, that his guards could not save him: seeing him dead, they were seized with a panic and dispersed. The murderers hastened, some into the market-place of Leontini, to raise the cry of liberty there, and others to Syracuse, to anticipate the king's friends, and secure the city for themselves and the Romans.³⁴

Insurrection at Syracuse.

Their tidings however had flown before them; and Andranodorus, the king's uncle, had already secured the island of Ortygia, the oldest part of Syracuse, in which was the citadel, and where Hiero and Hieronymus had resided.³⁵ The assassins arrived just at nightfall, displaying the bloody robe of Hieronymus, and the diadem which they had torn from his head, and calling the people to rise in the name of liberty. This call was obeyed: all the city, except the island, was presently in their power; and in the island itself a strong building, which was used as a great corn magazine for the supply of the whole city, was no sooner seized by those whom Andranodorus had sent to occupy it, than they offered to deliver it up to the opposite party.³⁶

Murder of Andranodorus and Themistus,

The general feeling being thus manifested, Andranodorus yielded to it. He surrendered the keys of the citadel and of the treasury; and in return he and Themistus, who had married a sister of Hieronymus, were elected

³¹ Polybius, VII. 2. Livy, XXIV. 5.

³² Livy, XXIV. 7.

³³ Polybius, VII. 6.

³⁴ Livy, XXIV. 7.

³⁵ Livy, XXIV. 21.

³⁶ Livy, XXIV. 21, 22.

among the captains-general of the commonwealth, to whom, according to the old Syracusan constitution, the executive government was to be committed. But their colleagues were mostly chosen from the assassins of Hieronymus ; and between such opposites there could be no real union. Suspicions and informations of plots were not long wanting. An actor told the majority of the captains-general, that Andranodorus and Themistus were conspiring to massacre them and the other leaders of their party, and to re-establish the tyranny : the charge was made out to the satisfaction of those who were so well disposed to believe it : they stationed soldiers at the doors of the council-chamber ; and as soon as Andranodorus and Themistus entered, the soldiers rushed in and murdered them.³⁷ The members of the council decided that they were rightfully slain ; but the multitude were inclined to believe them less guilty than their murderers, and beset the council, calling for vengeance. They were persuaded however to hear what the perpetrators of the deed could say in its defence ; and Sopater, one of the captains-general, who was concerned both in the recent murder and in that of Hieronymus, arose to justify himself and his party. The tyrannies in the ancient world were so hateful, that they were put by common feeling out of the pale of ordinary law : when Sopater accused Andranodorus and Themistus of having been the real authors of all the outrages committed by the boy Hieronymus ; when he inveighed against their treacherous submission to their country's laws, and against their ingratitude in plotting the deaths of those who had so nobly forgiven all their past offences ; and when he said, finally, that they had been instigated to all these crimes by their wives, that Hiero's daughter and granddaughter could not condescend to live in a private station ; there arose a cry from some, probably of their own tutored partisans, which the whole multitude, in fear or in passion, immediately echoed, "Death to the whole race of the tyrants ; not one of them shall be suffered to live."³⁸

They who had purposely roused the multitude to fury, were instantly ready to secure it for their own bloody ends. The captains-general proposed a decree for ^{and of all the descendants of Hiero.} the execution of every person of the race of the tyrants ; and the instant it was passed, they sent parties of soldiers to carry it into effect. Thus the wives of Andranodorus and Themistus were butchered : but there was another daughter of Hiero, the wife of Zoippus, who was so far from sharing in the tyranny of Hieronymus, that, when sent by him as his ambassador to Egypt, he had chosen to live there in exile. His innocent wife, with her two young maiden daughters, were included in the general proscription. They took refuge at the altar of their household gods, but

³⁷ Livy, XXIV. 23, 24.³⁸ Livy, XXIV. 25.

in vain: the mother was dragged from her sanctuary and murdered; the daughters fled wildly into the outer court of the palace, in the hope of escaping into the street, and appealing to the humanity of the passers-by; but they were pursued and cut down by repeated wounds. Ere the deed was done, a messenger came to say that the people had revoked their sentence; which seems to show that the captains-general had taken advantage of some expressions of violence, and had done in the people's name what the people had never in earnest agreed to. At any rate, their rage was now loud against their bloody government; and they insisted on having a free election of captains-general to supply the places of Andranodorus and Themistus; a demand which implies that some preceding resolutions or votes of the popular assembly had been passed under undue influence.³⁹

The party which favoured the Roman alliance had done all that wickedness could to make themselves odious.

The Carthaginian party rallies.

The reaction against them was natural; yet the same foreign policy which these butchers supported, had been steadily pursued by the wise and moderate Hiero. Every party in that corrupt city of Syracuse wore an aspect of evil: the partisans of Carthage were in nothing better than those of Rome. When Hieronymus had been murdered, Hippocrates and Epicydes were at the moment deserted by their soldiers, and returned to Syracuse as private individuals. There they applied to the government for an escort to convey them back to Hannibal in safety: but the escort was not provided immediately; and in the interval they perceived that they could serve Hannibal better by remaining in Sicily. They found many amongst the mercenary soldiers of the late king, and amongst the poorer citizens, who readily listened to them, when they accused the captains-general of selling the independence of Syracuse to Rome: and their party was so strengthened by the atrocities of the government, that, when the election was held to choose two new captains-general in the place of Andranodorus and Themistus, Hippocrates and Epicydes were nominated and triumphantly elected.⁴⁰ Again therefore the government was divided within itself; and Hippocrates and Epicydes had been taught by the former conduct of their colleagues that one party or the other must perish.

The Roman party had immediately suspended hostilities with Rome, obtained a truce from Appius Claudius renewable every ten days, and sent ambassadors to him to solicit the revival of Hiero's treaty. A Roman fleet of a hundred ships was lying off the coast a little to the north of Syracuse, which the Romans, on the first suspicion of the defection of Hieronymus, had manned by the most extraordinary exertions,

The Roman fleet sails to the mouth of the harbour.

³⁹ Livy, XXIV. 26.

⁴⁰ Livy, XXIV. 23, 27.

and sent to Sicily. On the other hand, Himilco, with a small Carthaginian fleet, was at Pachynus, Rome and Carthage each anxiously watching the course of events in Syracuse, and each being ready to support its party there. Matters were nicely balanced; and the Roman fleet, in the hope of turning the scale, sailed to Syracuse, and stationed itself at the mouth of the great harbour.⁴¹

Strengthened by this powerful aid, the Roman party triumphed; even moderate men not wishing to provoke an enemy, who was already at their gates. The old league with Rome was renewed, with the stipulation, that whatever cities in Sicily had been subject to king Hiero should now in like manner be under the dominion of the Syracusan people. It appears that, since the murder of Hieronymus, his kingdom had gone to pieces, many of the towns, and Leontini in particular, asserting their independence. These were, like Syracuse, in a state of hostility against Rome, owing to Hieronymus' revolt; but they had no intention of submitting again to the Syracusan dominion. Still, when the Romans threatened them, they sent to Syracuse for aid; and as the Syracusan treaty with Rome was not yet ratified or made public, the government could not decline their request. Hippocrates accordingly was sent to Leontini, with a small army, consisting chiefly of deserters from the Roman fleet: for, in the exigency of the time, the fleet had been manned by slaves furnished by private families in a certain proportion, according to their census; and the men thus provided, being mostly unused to the sea, and forced into the service, deserted in unusually large numbers, insomuch that there were two thousand of them in the party which Hippocrates led to the defence of Leontini.⁴²

The Roman party becomes the more powerful.

This auxiliary force did good service; and Appius Claudius, who commanded the Roman army, was obliged to stand on the defensive. Meanwhile M. Marcellus had arrived in Sicily, having been sent over thither, as we have seen, after the close of the campaign in Italy, to take the supreme command. As the negotiations with Syracuse were now concluded, Marcellus required that Hippocrates should be recalled from Leontini, and that both he and Epicydes should be banished from Sicily. Epicydes upon this, feeling that his personal safety was risked by remaining longer at Syracuse, went also to Leontini; and both he and his brother inveighed loudly against the Roman party who were in possession of the government; they had betrayed their country to Rome, and were endeavouring, with the help of the Romans, to enslave the other cities of Sicily, and to subject them to their own dominion. Accordingly, when some officers arrived from Syracuse, requiring the

Marcellus arrives in Sicily: Leontini, the head of the Carthaginian party.

⁴¹ Livy, XXIV. 27.

⁴² Livy, XXIV. 28, 29.

Leontines to submit, and announcing to Hippocrates and Epicydes their sentence of expulsion from Sicily, they were answered, that the Leontines would not acknowledge the Syracusan government, nor were they bound by its treaties. This answer being reported to Syracuse, the leaders of the Roman party called upon Marcellus to fulfil his agreement with them, and to reduce Leontini to submission.⁴³ That city was now the refuge and centre of the popular party in Sicily, as Samos had been in Greece, when the four hundred usurped the government of Athens; and Hippocrates and Epicydes looked upon their army as the true representative of the Syracusan people, just as Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, and the Athenian fleet at Samos, regarded themselves, during the tyranny of the aristocratical party at home, as the true people of Athens.

But, as we have noticed more than once before, nothing could Marcellus takes Leontini: his cruelties there less resemble the slowness and feebleness of Sparta than the tremendous energy of Rome. The prætor's army in Sicily at the beginning of the year consisted of two legions: and it is probable that Marcellus had brought one at least of the two legions which had formed his consular army. With this powerful force Marcellus instantly attacked Leontini, and stormed it; and in addition to the usual carnage on the sack of a town, he scourged and in cold blood beheaded two thousand of the Roman deserters, whom he found bearing arms in the army of Hippocrates; Hippocrates and his brother escaping only with a handful of men, and taking refuge in the neighbouring town of Herbessus.⁴⁴

For nearly thirty years war had been altogether unknown in Sicily; fifty years had passed since a hostile army excite general indignation. had made war in the territory of Syracuse. All men therefore were struck with horror at the fate of Leontini: if Ætna had rolled down his lava flood upon the town, its destruction would scarcely have been more sudden and terrible. But with horror indignation was largely mingled: the bloodiness of the Romans in the sack of towns went far beyond the ordinary practice of the Greeks; the Syracusan government had betrayed their countrymen of Leontini to barbarians more cruel than the Mamertines.

The tidings spread far and wide, and met a Syracusan army, The Syracusan army refuses to march, which two of the captains-general, Sosis and Dinomenes, both of them assassins of Hieronymus, and devoted to the cause of Rome, were leading out to co-operate with Marcellus. The soldiers, full of grief and fury, refused to advance a step farther: their blood, they said, would be sold to the Romans, like that of their brethren at Leontini. The gen-

⁴³ Livy, XXIV. 29.⁴⁴ Livy, XXIV. 30.

erals were obliged to lead them back to Megara, within a few miles of Syracuse: then hearing that Hippocrates and Epicydes were at Herbessus, and dreading their influence at a moment like this, they led their troops to attack the town where they had taken refuge.⁴⁵

Hippocrates and his brother threw open the gates of Herbessus, and came out to meet them. At the head of the Syracusan army marched six hundred Cretans, and to act against Hippocrates and Epicydes. old soldiers in Hiero's service, whom he had sent over into Italy to act as light troops in the Roman army against Hannibal's barbarians, but who had been taken prisoners at Thrasymenus, and with the other allies or auxiliaries of Rome had been sent home by Hannibal unhurt. They now saw Hippocrates and Epicydes coming towards them with no hostile array, but holding out branches of olive tufted here and there with wool, the well known signs of a suppliant. They heard them praying to be saved from the treachery of the Syracusan generals, who were pledged to deliver up all foreign soldiers serving in Sicily to the vengeance of the Romans. The Cretans felt that the cause of Hippocrates and Epicydes was their own, and swore to protect them. In vain did Sosis and Dinomenes ride forward to the head of the column, and trying what could be done by authority, order the instant arrest of the two suppliants. They were driven off with threats; the feeling began to spread through the army; and the Syracusan generals had no resource but to march back to Megara, leaving the Cretan auxiliaries, it seems, with Hippocrates and Epicydes in a state of open revolt.⁴⁶

Meantime the Cretans sent out parties to beset the roads leading to Leontini; and a letter was intercepted, Triumph of the popular party in Syracuse. addressed by the Syracusan generals to Marcellus, congratulating him on his exploit at Leontini, and urging him to complete his work by the extermination of every foreign soldier in the service of Syracuse. Hippocrates took care that the purport of this letter should be quickly made known to the army at Megara; and he followed closely with the Cretans to watch the result. The army broke out into mutiny: Sosis and Dinomenes, protesting in vain that the letter was a mere forgery of the enemy, were obliged to escape for their lives to Syracuse: even the Syracusan soldiers were accused of sharing in their generals' treason, and were for a time in great danger from the fury of the foreigners, their comrades. But Hippocrates and Epicydes prevented this mischief, and being received as leaders by the whole army, set out forthwith for Syracuse. They sent a soldier before them, most probably a native Syracusan, who had escaped from the sack of Leontini, and could tell his countrymen as an eye-witness

⁴⁵ Livy, XXIV. 30.⁴⁶ Livy, XXIV. 30, 31.

what acts of bloodshed, outrage, and rapine, the Romans had committed there. Even in moderate men, who for Hiero's sake were well inclined to Rome, the horrors of Leontini overpowered all other thoughts and feelings: within Syracuse and without, all followed one common impulse. When Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived at the gates, the citizens threw them open: the captains-general in vain endeavoured to close them; they fled to Achradina, the lower part of the city, with such of the Syracusan soldiers as still adhered to them, whilst the stream of the hostile army burst down the slope of Epipolæ, and, swelled by all the popular party, the foreign soldiers, and the old guards of Hiero and Hieronymus, came sweeping after them with irresistible might. Achradina was carried in an instant; some of the captains-general were massacred; Sosis escaped to add the betrayal of his country hereafter to his multiplied crimes. The confusion raged wild and wide; slaves were set free; prisoners were let loose; and amidst the horrors of a violent revolution, under whatever name effected, the popular party, the party friendly to Carthage, and adverse to aristocracy and to Rome, obtained the sovereignty of Syracuse.⁴⁷

Sosis, now in his turn a fugitive, escaped to Leontini, and told Marcellus of the violence done to the friends of Rome. The fiery old man, as vehement at sixty against his country's enemies, as when he slew the Gaulish king in single combat in his first consulship, immediately moved his army upon Syracuse. He encamped by the temple of Olympian Jupiter, on the right bank of the Anapus, where two solitary pillars still remain, and serve as a seamark to guide ships into the great harbour. Appius Claudius with the fleet beset the city by sea; and Marcellus did not doubt that in the wide extent of the Syracusan walls some unguarded spot would be found, and that the punishment of Leontini would soon be effaced by a more memorable example of vengeance.⁴⁸

Thus was commenced the last siege of Syracuse; a siege not inferior in interest to the two others which it had by land and by sea; already undergone, from the Athenians, and from the Carthaginians. It should be remembered that the city walls now embraced the whole surface of Epipolæ, terminating, like the lines of Genoa, in an angle formed by the converging sides of the hill or inclined table-land, at the point where it becomes no more than a narrow ridge, stretching inland, and connecting itself with the hills of the interior. The Romans made their land attack on the south front of the walls, while their fleet, unable, as it seems, to enter the great harbour, carried on its assaults against the sea-wall of Achradina.

⁴⁷ Livy, XXIV. 31, 32.

⁴⁸ Livy, XXIV. 33,

The land attack was committed to Appius Claudius, while Marcellus in person conducted the operations of the fleet. The Roman army is spoken of as large, is baffled by Archimedes. but no details of its force are given: it cannot have been less than twenty thousand men, and was probably more numerous. No force in Sicily, whether of Syracusans or Carthaginians, could have resisted it in the field; and it had lately stormed the walls of Leontini as easily, to use the Homeric comparison, as a child tramples out the towers and castles which he has scratched upon the sand of the sea-shore. But at Syracuse it was checked by an artillery such as the Romans had never encountered before, and which, had Hannibal possessed it, would long since have enabled him to bring the war to a triumphant issue. An old man of seventy-four, a relation and friend of king Hiero, long known as one of the ablest astronomers and mathematicians of his age, now proved that his science was no less practical than deep; and amid all the crimes and violence of contending factions, he alone won the pure glory of defending his country successfully against a foreign enemy. This old man was Archimedes.⁴⁹

Many years before, at Hiero's request, he had contrived the engines which were now used so effectively.⁵⁰ His extraordinary engines to defend the city. Marcellus brought up his ships against the sea-wall of Achradina, and endeavoured by a constant discharge of stones and arrows to clear the walls of their defenders, so that his men might apply their ladders, and mount to the assault. These ladders rested on two ships lashed together broadside to broadside, and worked as one by their outside oars; and when the two ships were brought close up under the wall, one end of the ladder was raised by ropes passing through blocks affixed to the two mast heads of the two vessels, and was then let go, till it rested on the top of the wall. But Archimedes had supplied the ramparts with an artillery so powerful, that it overwhelmed the Romans before they could get within the range which their missiles could reach: and when they came closer, they found that all the lower part of the wall was loopholed; and their men were struck down with fatal aim by an enemy whom they could not see, and who shot his arrows in perfect security. If they still persevered, and attempted to fix their ladders, on a sudden they saw long poles thrust out from the top of the wall, like the arms of a giant; and enormous stones, or huge masses of lead, were dropped from these upon them, by which their ladders were crushed to pieces, and their ships were almost sunk. At other times machines like cranes, or such as are used at the turnpikes in Germany, and in the market-gardens round London, to draw water, were thrust out over the wall; and the end of the lever, with an iron grapple

⁴⁹ Livy, XXIV. 34. Polybius, VIII. 7.⁵⁰ Plutarch, Marcellus, 14.

affixed to it, was lowered upon the Roman ships. As soon as the grapple had taken hold, the other end of the lever was lowered by heavy weights, and the ship raised out of the water, till it was made almost to stand upon its stern; then the grapple was suddenly let go, and the ship dropped into the sea with a violence which either upset it, or filled it with water. With equal power was the assault on the land side repelled; and the Roman soldiers, bold as they were, were so daunted by these strange and irresistible devices, that if they saw so much as a rope or a stick hanging or projecting from the wall, they would turn about and run away, crying "that Archimedes was going to set one of his engines at work against them." Their attempts indeed were a mere amusement to the enemy, till Marcellus in despair put a stop to his attacks; and it was resolved merely to blockade the town, and to wait for the effect of famine upon the crowded population within.⁵¹

Thus far, keeping our eyes fixed upon Syracuse only, we can give a clear and probable account of the course of events. But when we would extend our view farther, and connect the war in Sicily with that in Italy, and give the relative dates of the actions performed in the several countries involved in this great contest, we see the wretched character of our materials, and must acknowledge that, in order to give a comprehensive picture of the whole war, we have to supply, by inference or conjecture, what no actual testimony has recorded. We do not know for certain when Marcellus came into Sicily, when he began the siege of Syracuse, or how long the blockade was continued. We read of Roman and Carthaginian fleets appearing and disappearing at different times in the Sicilian seas; but of the naval operations on either side we can give no connected report. Other difficulties present themselves, of no great importance, but perplexing because they shake our confidence in the narrative which contains them. So easy is it to transcribe the ancient writers; so hard to restore the reality of those events, of which they themselves had no clear conception.

The first attacks upon Syracuse are certainly misplaced by Livy, when he classes them among the events of the year 540.⁵² The Sicilian war belongs to the year following, to the consulship of Q. Fabius, the dictator's son, and of Ti. Gracchus. Even when this is set right, it is difficult to reconcile Polybius' statement,⁵³ "that the blockade of Syracuse lasted eight months," with the account which places the capture of the city in the autumn of 542. Instead of eight months, the blockade would seem to have lasted for more than twelve: nor

⁵¹ Polybius, VIII. 6-9. Livy, XXIV. 34. Plutarch, Marcellus, 15-17.

⁵² Livy, XXIV. 34.

⁵³ Polybius, VIII. 9.

is there any other solution of this difficulty, than to suppose that the blockade was not persevered in to the end, and was in fact given up as useless, as the assaults had been before. I notice these points, because the narrative which follows is uncertain and unsatisfactory, and no care can make it otherwise.

The year 541 saw the whole stress of the war directed upon Sicily. Little or nothing, if we can trust our accounts, was done in Italy; there was a pause also Sicily becomes the main seat of war. in the operations in Spain; but throughout Sicily the contest was raging furiously. Four Roman officers were employed there: P. Cornelius Lentulus held the old Roman province, that is, the western part of the island; and his head quarters were at Lilybæum: T. Otacilius had the command of the fleet:⁵⁴ Appius Claudius and Marcellus carried on the war in the kingdom of Syracuse; the latter certainly as proconsul; the former as proprætor, or possibly only as the lieutenant, legatus, of the proconsul. Marcellus however, as proconsul, must have had the supreme command over the island; and all its resources must have been at his disposal; so that the fleet which he conducted in person at the siege of Syracuse, was probably a part of that committed to T. Otacilius, Otacilius himself either serving under the proconsul, or possibly remaining still at Lilybæum. It is remarkable that, although he is said to have had the command of the fleet continued to him for five successive years,⁵⁵ yet his name never occurs as taking an active part in the siege of Syracuse; and how he employed himself we know not. Nor is it less singular that he should have retained his naval command year after year, though he was so meanly esteemed by the most influential men in Rome, that his election to the consulship was twice stopped in the most decided manner, first by Q. Fabius in 540, and again by T. Manlius Torquatus in 544.⁵⁶ But the clue to this, as to other things which belong to the living knowledge of these times, is altogether lost.

While the whole of Sicily was become the scene of war, an army of nine or ten thousand old soldiers was purposely kept inactive by the Roman government, and Wise conduct of the senate towards the fugitives from Cannæ. was not even allowed to take part in any active operations. These were the remains of the army of Cannæ, and a number of citizens who had evaded their military service: as we have seen, they had been all sent to Sicily in disgrace, not to be recalled till the end of the war.⁵⁷ Now however that there was active service required in Sicily itself, these condemned soldiers petitioned Marcellus that they might be employed in the field, and have some

⁵⁴ Livy, XXIV. 10.

⁵⁵ Livy, XXIII. 32. XXIV. 10, 44.

XXV. 3. XXVI. 1.

⁵⁶ Livy, XXIV. 9. XXVI. 22.

⁵⁷ Livy, XXIII. 25. See above, p. 352.

opportunity of retrieving their character. This petition was presented to him at the end of the first year's campaign in Sicily, and was referred by him to the senate. The answer was remarkable: "The senate could see no reason for intrusting the service of the commonwealth to men who had abandoned their comrades at Cannæ, while they were fighting to the death: but if M. Claudius thought differently, he might use his discretion; provided always that none of these soldiers should receive any honorary exemption or reward, however they might distinguish themselves, nor be allowed to return to Italy till the enemy had quitted it."⁵⁸ Here was shown the consummate policy of the Roman government, in holding out so high a standard of military duty, while, without appearing to yield to circumstances, they took care not to push their severity so far as to hurt themselves. Occasions might arise, when the services of these disgraced soldiers could not be dispensed with; in such a case Marcellus might employ them. Yet even then their penalty was not wholly remitted; it was grace enough to let them serve their country at all; nothing that they could do was more than their bounden duty of gratitude for the mercy shown them; they could not deserve exemption or reward. It was the glory and happiness of Rome, that her soldiers could bear such severity. Sicily was full of mercenary troops, whose swords were hired by foreigners to fight their battles; and if these disgraced Romans had chosen to offer their services to Carthage, they might have enjoyed wealth and honours, with full vengeance on their unforgiving country. Greek soldiers at this time would have done so: the proudest of the nobility of France in the sixteenth century did not scruple to revenge his private wrongs by treason. But these ten thousand Romans, although their case was not only hard, but grievously unjust, inasmuch as their rich and noble countrymen, who had escaped like them from Cannæ, had received no punishment, still bowed with entire submission to their country's severity, and felt that nothing could tempt them to forfeit the privilege of being Romans.

We must not suppose, however, that these men were useless, even while they were kept at a distance from the actual field of war. As soon as Syracuse became the enemy of Rome, it was certain that the Carthaginians would renew the struggle of the first Punic war for the dominion of Sicily; and the Roman province, from its neighbourhood to Carthage, was especially exposed to invasion. Lilybæum therefore and Drepanum, Eryx and Panormus, required strong garrisons for their security; and the soldiers of Cannæ, by forming these garrisons, set other troops at liberty who must otherwise have been

⁵⁸ Livy, XXV. 5-7.

withdrawn from active warfare. As it was, these towns were never attacked; and the keys of Sicily, Lilybæum at one end of the island, and Messana at the other, remained throughout in the hands of the Romans.

Yet the example of Syracuse produced a very general effect. The cities which had belonged to Hiero's kingdom, mostly followed it, unless where the Romans secured them in time with sufficient garrisons. Efforts of the Carthaginians in Sicily. Himilcon, the Carthaginian commander, who had been sent over to Pachynus with a small fleet to watch the course of events, sailed back to Carthage, as soon as the Carthaginian party had gained possession of Syracuse, and urged the government to increase its armaments in Sicily.⁵⁹ Hannibal wrote from Italy to the same effect; for Sicily had been his father's battle-field for five years; he had clung to it till the last moment; and his son was no less sensible of its importance. Accordingly Himilcon was supplied with an army, notwithstanding the pressure of the Numidian war in Africa, and landing on the south coast of Sicily, he presently reduced Heraclea, Minoa and Agrigentum, and encouraged many of the smaller towns in the interior of the island to declare for Carthage. Hippocrates broke out of Syracuse and joined him. Marcellus, who had left his camp to quell the growing spirit of revolt amongst the Sicilian cities, was obliged to fall back again; and the enemy, pursuing him closely, encamped on the banks of the Anapus. Meanwhile a Carthaginian fleet ran over to Syracuse, and entered the great harbour; its object being apparently to provision the place, and thus render the Roman blockade nugatory.⁶⁰

It was clear that Marcellus could not make head against a Carthaginian army supported by Syracuse and half the other cities of Sicily. Difficulties of the Romans. The fleet also was unequal to the service required of it; many ships had probably been destroyed by Archimedes; Lilybæum could not be left unguarded, and some ships were necessarily kept there; and in the general revolt of the Sicilian cities, the Roman army could not always depend on being supplied by land, and would require corn to be brought sometimes from a distance by sea. Besides, the reinforcements which Marcellus so needed must be sent in ships, and embarked at Ostia; for Hannibal's army cut off all communication by the usual line, through Lucania to Rhegium, and over the strait to Messana. Thirty ships therefore had to sail back to Rome, to take on board a legion and transport it to Panormus; from whence, by a circuitous route along the south coast of the island, the fleet accompanying it all the way, it reached Marcellus' head quarters safely. And now the Romans again had the superiority by sea; but by land Himilcon was still

⁵⁹ Livy, XXIV. 35.⁶⁰ Livy, XXIV. 35, 36.

master of the field; and the Roman garrison at Murgantia, a little to the north of Syracuse, was betrayed by the inhabitants into his hands.⁶¹

This example was no doubt likely to be followed, and should have increased the vigilance of the Roman garrisons. But it was laid hold of by L. Pinarius, the governor of Enna, as a pretence for repeating the crime of the Campanians at Rhegium, and of the Prænestines more recently at Casilinum. Standing in the centre of Sicily on the top of a high mountain platform, and fenced by precipitous cliffs on almost every side, Enna was a stronghold nearly impregnable, except by treachery from within; and whatever became of the Roman cause in Sicily, the holders of Enna might hope to retain it, as the Mamertines had kept Messana. Accordingly Pinarius, having previously prepared his soldiers for what was to be done, on a signal given ordered them to fall upon the people of Enna when assembled in the theatre, and massacred them without distinction. The plunder of the town Pinarius and his soldiers kept to themselves, with the consent of Marcellus, who allowed the necessity of the times to be an apology for the deed.⁶²

The Romans alleged that the people of Enna were only caught in their own snare; that they had invited Hippocrates and Himilcon to attack the city, and had vainly tried to persuade Pinarius to give them the keys of the gates, that they might admit the enemy to destroy the garrison. But the Sicilians saw that, if the people of Enna had meditated treachery, the Romans had practised it: a whole people had been butchered, their city plundered, and their wives and children made slaves, when they were peaceably met in the theatre in their regular assembly; and this new outrage, added to the sack of Leontini, led to an almost general revolt. Marcellus having collected some corn from the rich plains of Leontini, carried it to the camp before Syracuse, and made his dispositions for his winter quarters. Appius Claudius went home to stand for the consulship, and was succeeded in his command by T. Quinctius Crispinus, a brave soldier, who was afterwards Marcellus' colleague as consul, and received his death-wound by his side, when Marcellus was killed by Hannibal's ambush. Crispinus lay encamped near the sea, not far from the temple of Olympian Jupiter, and also commanded the naval force employed in the siege; while Marcellus, with the other part of the army, chose a position on the northern side of Syracuse, between the city and the peninsula of Thapsus, apparently for the purpose of keeping up his communications with Leontini.⁶³ As to the blockade of Syra-

⁶¹ Livy, XXIV. 36.

⁶² Livy, XXIV. 37-39.

⁶³ Livy, XXIV. 39.

cuse, it was in fact virtually raised ; all the southern roads were left open ; and as a large part of the Roman fleet was again called away either to Lilybæum or elsewhere, supplies of all sorts were freely introduced into the town by sea from Carthage.

The events of the winter were not encouraging to the Romans. Hannibal had taken Tarentum ; and the Tarentine fleet was employed in besieging the Roman garrison, which still held the citadel. Thus the Roman naval force was still farther divided, as it was necessary to convey supplies by sea to the garrison ; so that, when spring returned, Marcellus was at a loss what to attempt, and had almost resolved to break up from Syracuse altogether, and to carry the war to the other end of Sicily. But Sosis, and other Syracusans of the Roman party, were intriguing actively with their countrymen within the city ; and although one conspiracy, in which eighty persons were concerned, was detected by Epicyles, and the conspirators all put to death, yet the hopes they had held out of obtaining easy terms from the Romans were not forgotten ; and the lawlessness of the Roman deserters, and of the other foreign soldiers, made many of the Syracusans long for a return of the happy times under Hiero, when Rome and Syracuse were friends.⁶⁴

A. U. C. 542. A. C. 232. Intrigues of the Roman party in Syracuse.

Thus the spring wore away ; and the summer had come, and had reached its prime, and yet the war in Sicily seemed to slumber : for the greater part of the cities which had revolted to Carthage, were undisturbed by the Romans ; yet the Carthaginians were not strong enough to assail the heart of the Roman province, and to besiege Drepanum or Lilybæum. In this state of things, the Syracusans turned their eyes to Greece, and thought that the king of Macedon, who was the open enemy of Rome, and the covenanted ally of Carthage, might serve his own cause no less than theirs, by leaving his ignoble warfare on the coast of Epirus, and crossing the Ionian sea to deliver Syracuse. Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, and one of the counsellors of Hieronymus and of Hiero, was accordingly chosen as ambassador, and put to sea on his mission to solicit the aid of king Philip.⁶⁵

The Syracusans send to solicit aid from Macedon.

Again the fortune of Rome interposed to delay the interference of Macedon in the contest. The ship which was conveying Damippus was taken by the Romans on the voyage. The Syracusans valued him highly, and opened a negotiation with Marcellus to ransom him. The conferences were held between Syracuse and the Roman camp ; and a Roman soldier, it is said, was struck with the lowness of the wall in one particular place, and having counted the rows of stones, and so

The Romans prepare to scale the walls at the festival of Diana.

⁶⁴ Livy, XXV. 23.

⁶⁵ Livy, XXV. 23.

computed the whole height, reported to Marcellus that it might be scaled with ladders of ordinary length. Marcellus listened to the suggestion; but the low point was for that very reason more carefully guarded, because it seemed to invite attack; he therefore thought the attempt too hazardous, unless occasion should favour it.⁶⁶ But the great festival of Diana was at hand, a three days' solemnity, celebrated with all honours to the guardian goddess of Syracuse. It was a season of universal feasting; and wine was distributed largely among the multitude, that the neighbourhood of the Roman army might not seem to have banished all mirth and enjoyment. One vast revel prevailed through the city; Marcellus, informed of all this by deserters, got his ladders ready; and soon after dark two cohorts were marched in silence and in a long thin column to the foot of the wall, preceded by the soldiers of one maniple, who carried the ladders, and were to lead the way to the assault.

The spot selected for this attempt was in the wall which ran along the northern edge of Epipolæ, where the ground was steep, and where apparently there was no gate, or regular approach to the city. But the vast lines of Syracuse enclosed a wide space of uninhabited ground; the new quarters of Tyche and Neapolis, which had been added to the original town since the great Athenian siege, were still far from reaching to the top of the hill; and what was called the quarter of Epipolæ only occupied a small part of the sloping ground known in earlier times by that name. Thus, when the Romans scaled the northern line, they found that all was quiet and lonely; nor was there any one to spread the alarm, except the soldiers who garrisoned the several towers of the wall itself. These however, heavy with wine, and dreaming of no danger, were presently surprised and killed; and the assailants, thus clearing their way as they went, swept the whole line of the wall on their right, following it up the slope of the hill towards the angle formed at the summit by the meeting of the northern line with the southern. Here was the regular entrance into Syracuse from the land side; and this point, being the key of the whole fortified enclosure, was secured by the strong work called Hexapylon, or the Six Gates; probably from the number of barriers which must be passed before the lines could be fully entered. To this point the storming party made their way in the darkness, not blindly however, nor uncertainly, for a Syracusan was guiding them,—that very Sosis,⁶⁷ who had been one of the assassins of Hieronymus, and one of the murderers of Hiero's daughters, and who, when he was one of the captains-general of Syracuse, must have

⁶⁶ Livy, XXV. 23. Plutarch, Marcellus, 18. Polybius, Vol. V. p. 32, 33.

⁶⁷ Livy, XXVI. 21.

become acquainted with all the secrets of the fortifications. Sosis led the two Roman cohorts towards Hexapylon: from that commanding height a fire signal was thrown up, to announce the success of their attempt; and the loud and sudden blast of the Roman trumpets from the top of the walls called the Romans to come to the support of their friends, and told the bewildered Syracusans that the key of their lines was in the hands of the enemy.⁶⁸

Ladders were now set, and the wall was scaled in all directions; for the main gates of Hexapylon could not be forced till the next morning; and the only pas-
and take the Hexapylon.
 sage immediately opened was a small side gate at no great distance from them. But when daylight came, Hexapylon was entirely taken, and the main entrance to the city was cleared; so that Marcellus marched in with his whole army, and took possession of the summit of the slope of Epipolæ.

From that high ground he saw Syracuse at his feet, and, he doubted not, in his power. Two quarters of the
Marcellus looking down on Syracuse, sheds tears.
 city, the new town as it was called, and Tyche, were open to his first advance; their only fortification being the general enclosure of the lines, which he had already carried. Below, just overhanging the sea, or floating on its waters, lay Achradina and the island of Ortygia, fenced by their own separate walls, which till the time of the first Dionysius had been the limit of Syracuse, the walls which the great Athenian armament had besieged in vain. Nearer on the right, and running so deeply into the land, that it seemed almost to reach the foot of the heights on which he stood, lay the still basin of the great harbour, its broad surface half hidden by the hulls of a hundred Carthaginian ships; while further on the right was the camp of his lieutenant T. Crispinus, crowning the rising ground beyond the Anapus, close by the temple of Olympian Jupiter. So striking was the view on every side, and so surpassing was the glory of his conquest, that Marcellus, old as he was, was quite overcome by it: unable to contain the feelings of that moment, he burst into tears.⁶⁹

A deputation from the inhabitants of Tyche and Neapolis approached him, bearing the ensigns of suppliants, and imploring him to save them from fire and mas-
His troops plunder the captured parts of the city.
 sacre. He granted their prayer, but at the price of every article of their property, which was to be given up to the Roman soldiers as plunder. At a regular signal the army was let loose upon the houses of Tyche and Neapolis, with no other restriction than that of offering no personal violence. How far such a

⁶⁸ Livy, XXV. 24. Plutarch, Marcellus, 18.

⁶⁹ Livy, XXV. 24.

command would be heeded in such a season of license, we can only conjecture. The Roman writers extol the humanity of Marcellus; but the Syracusans regarded him as a merciless spoiler, who had wished to take the town by assault, rather than by a voluntary surrender, that he might have a pretence for seizing its plunder.⁷⁰ Such a prize indeed had never before been won by a Roman army: even the wealth of Tarentum was not to be compared with that of Syracuse. But as yet the appetites of the Roman soldiers were fleshed rather than satisfied; less than half of Syracuse was in their power; and a fresh siege was necessary to win the spoils of Achradina and Ortygia. Still what they had already gained gave Marcellus large means of corruption; the fort of Euryalus, on the summit of Epipolæ, near Hexapylon, which might have caused him serious annoyance on his rear while engaged in attacking Achradina, was surrendered to him by its governor, Philodemus, an Argive; and the Romans set eagerly to work to complete their conquest. Having formed three camps before Achradina, they hoped soon to starve the remaining quarters of the city into a surrender.⁷¹

Epicyles meanwhile showed a courage and activity worthy of one who had learned war under Hannibal. A squadron of the Carthaginian fleet put to sea one stormy night, when the Roman blockading ships were driven off from the mouth of the harbour, and ran across to Carthage to request fresh succours. These were prepared with the greatest expedition: while Hippocrates and Himilcon, with their combined Carthaginian and Sicilian armies, came from the western end of the island to attack the Roman army on the land side. They encamped on the shore of the harbour, between the mouth of the Anapus and the city, and assaulted the camp of Crispinus, while Epicyles sallied from Achradina to attack Marcellus. But Roman soldiers fighting behind fortifications were invincible; their lines at Capua in the following year repelled Hannibal himself; and now their positions before Syracuse were maintained with equal success against Hippocrates and Epicyles. Still the Carthaginian army remained in its camp on the shore of the harbour, partly in the hope of striking some blow against the enemy, but more to overawe the remains of the Roman party in Syracuse, which the distress of the siege, and the calamities of Neapolis and Tyche, must have rendered numerous and active. Meanwhile the summer advanced; the weather became hotter and hotter; and the usual malaria fevers began to prevail in both armies, and also in Syracuse. But the air here, as at Rome, is much more unhealthy without the city than within; above all, the marshy ground by the Anapus, where the Carthaginian army lay, was almost pestilential;

The Carthaginian army, attempting to relieve Syracuse, is destroyed by a fever.

⁷⁰ Livy, XXVI. 30.

⁷¹ Livy, XXV. 25.

and the ordinary summer fevers in this situation soon assumed a character of extreme malignity. The Sicilians immediately moved their quarters, and withdrew into the neighbouring cities; but the Carthaginians remained on the ground, till their whole army was effectually destroyed. Hippocrates and Himilcon both perished with their soldiers.⁶²

The Romans suffered less; for Marcellus had quartered his men in the houses of Neapolis and Tyche; and the high buildings and narrow streets of the ancient towns kept off the sun, and allowed both the sick and the healthy to breathe and move in a cooler atmosphere. Still the deaths were numerous; and as the terror of Archimedes and his artillery restrained the Romans from any attempts to batter or scale the walls, they had nothing to trust to save famine or treason. But Bomilcar was on his way from Carthage with 130 ships of war, and a convoy of seven hundred storeships, laden with supplies of every description: he had reached the Sicilian coast near Agrigentum, when prevailing easterly winds checked his farther advance, and he could not reach Pachynus. Alarmed at this most unseasonable delay, and fearing lest the fleet should return to Africa in despair, Epicydes himself left Syracuse, and went to meet it, and to hasten its advance. The storeships, which were worked by sails, were obliged to remain at Heraclea; but Epicydes prevailed on Bomilcar to bring on his ships of war to Pachynus, where the Roman fleet, though inferior in numbers, was waiting to intercept his progress. The east winds at length abated, and Bomilcar stood out to sea to double Pachynus. But when the Roman fleet advanced against him, he suddenly changed his plans, it is said; and having dispatched orders to the storeships at Heraclea to return immediately to Africa, he himself, instead of engaging the Romans, or making for Syracuse, passed along the eastern coast of Sicily without stopping, and continued his course till he reached Tarentum.⁷³

Here again the story in its present state greatly needs explanation. It is true that Hannibal was very anxious at this time to reduce the citadel of Tarentum; and he probably required a fleet to co-operate with him, in order to cut off the garrison's supplies by sea. But Bomilcar had been sent out especially to throw succours into Syracuse; and we cannot conceive his abandoning this object on a sudden, without any intelligible reason. The probability is, that the easterly winds still kept the storeships at Heraclea; and if they could not reach Syracuse, nothing was to be gained by a naval battle. And then, as the service at Tarentum was urgent, he thought it best to go thither, and to send back the convoy to Africa, rather

Their fleet fails in a like attempt.

Epicydes quits the city, which becomes a prey to anarchy.

⁷² Livy, XXV. 26.

⁷³ Livy, XXV. 27.

than wait inactive on the Sicilian coast, till the wind became favourable. After all, Syracuse did not fall for want of provisions: the havoc caused by sickness, both in the city and in the Carthaginian camp on the Anapus, must have greatly reduced the number of consumers, and made the actual supply available for a longer period. It seems to have been a worse mischief than the conduct of Bomilcar, that Epicydes himself, as if despairing of fortune, withdrew to Agrigentum, instead of returning to Syracuse; for from the moment of his departure the city seems to have been abandoned to anarchy. At first the remains of the Sicilian army, which now occupied two towns in the interior, not far from Syracuse, began to negotiate with Marcellus, and persuaded the Syracusans to rise on the generals left in command by Epicydes, and to put them to death. New captains-general were then appointed, probably for the Roman party; and they began to treat with Marcellus for the surrender of Syracuse, and for the general settlement of the war in Sicily.⁷⁴

Marcellus listened to them readily: but his army was longing for the plunder of Achradina and Ortygia; and he knew not how to disappoint them: for we may be sure that no pay was issued at this period to any Roman army serving out of Italy; in the provinces, war was by fair means or foul to support war. Meanwhile the miserable state of affairs in Syracuse was furthering the wish of the Roman soldiers. A besieged city, with no efficient government, and full of foreign mercenaries, whom there was no native force to restrain, was like a wreck in mutiny: utter weakness and furious convulsions were met in the same body. The Roman deserters first excited the tumult, and persuaded all the foreign soldiers to join them; a new outbreak of violence followed; the Syracusan captains-general were massacred in their turn: and the foreign soldiers were again triumphant. Three officers, each with a district of his own, were appointed to command in Achradina, and three more in Ortygia.⁷⁵

The foreign soldiers now held the fate of Syracuse in their hands; and they began to consider that they might make their terms with the Romans, although the Roman deserters could not. Their blood was not called for by the inflexible law of military discipline; by a timely treachery they might earn not impunity merely, but reward. So thought Mericus, a Spaniard, who had the charge of a part of the seawall of Achradina. Accordingly he made his bargain with Marcellus, and admitted a party of Roman soldiers by night at one of the gates which opened towards the harbour. As soon as morning dawned, Marcellus made a general assault on the land

Insurrection of the mercenaries in the city;

who betray it to the Romans.

⁷⁴ Livy, XXV. 28.

⁷⁵ Livy, XXV. 29.

front of Achradina; the garrison of Ortygia hastened to join in the defence; and the Romans then sent boats full of men round into the great harbour, and, effecting a landing under the walls, carried the island with little difficulty. Meanwhile Mericus had openly joined the Roman party, whom he had admitted into Achradina; and Marcellus, having his prey in his power, called off his soldiers from the assault, lest the royal treasures, which were kept in Ortygia, should be plundered in the general sack of the town.⁷⁶

In the respite thus gained, the Roman deserters found an opportunity to escape out of Syracuse. Whether Syracuse is taken and plundered: Archimedes is slain. they forced their way out, or whether the soldiers, hungry for plunder, and not wishing to encounter the resistance of desperate men, obliged Marcellus to connive at their escape, we know not: but with them all wish or power to hold out longer vanished from Syracuse; and a deputation from Achradina came once more to Marcellus, praying for nothing beyond the lives and personal freedom of the citizens and their families. This, it seems, was granted; but as soon as Marcellus had sent his quæstor to secure the royal treasures in Ortygia, the soldiers were let loose upon the city to plunder it at their discretion. They did not merely plunder however: blood was shed unsparingly, partly by the mere violence of the soldiers, partly by the axes of the lictors, as the punishment of rebellion against the majesty of Rome. Amidst the horrors of the sack of the city, Archimedes was slain.⁷⁷ The stories of his death vary; and which, if any of them, is the true one, we cannot determine. But Marcellus, who made it his glory to carry all the finest works of art from the temples of Syracuse to Rome,⁷⁸ would no doubt have been glad to have seen Archimedes walking amongst the prisoners at his triumph. He is said to have shown kindness to the relations of Archimedes for his sake;⁷⁹ and if this be true, he earned a glory which few Romans ever deserved, that of honouring merit in an enemy.

Old as Archimedes was, the Roman soldier's sword dealt kindly with him, in cutting short his scanty term of remaining life, and saving him from beholding Miserable condition of the Syracusans. the misery of his country. It was a wretched sight to see the condition of Syracuse, when the sack was over, and what was called a state of peace and safety had returned. Every house was laid bare, every temple stript; and the empty pedestals showed how sweeping the spoiler's work had been. The Syracusans beheld their captive gods carried to the Roman quarters,

⁷⁶ Livy, XXV. 30.

⁷⁸ Livy, XXV. 40. Polybius, IX. 10.

⁷⁷ Livy, XXV. 31. Plutarch, Marcellus, 19. Valerius Maximus, VIII. 7, 7.

Cicero, in Verrem, IV. 54.

⁷⁹ Livy. XXV. 31. Plutarch, Marcellus, 19.

or put on shipboard to be conveyed to Rome; the care with which they were handled, lest the conqueror's triumph should lose its most precious ornaments, only adding to the grief and indignation of the conquered. Those fathers and mothers, who were so happy as to gather all their children safe around them when the plunder was over, had escaped the sword indeed; and they and their sons and daughters were not yet sold as slaves; but their only choice was still between slavery or death. They had lost every thing. What food was still remaining in the besieged city, the sack had either carried off or destroyed; and if food had been at hand, they had no money to buy it. And this came upon them after a heavy visitation of sickness; when the body, reduced by that weakening malaria fever, needed all tender care and comfort to restore it, instead of being harassed by alarm and anxiety, and exposed to destitution and starvation. Many therefore sold themselves to the Roman soldiers, to escape dying by hunger; and the family circle, which the sack of the city had spared, was again broken up for ever. Those who, being unmarried and childless, had given no hostages to fortune, and who might yet hope to live in personal freedom, were only the more able to feel the ruin and degradation of their country.⁸⁰ Syracuse, who had led captive the hosts of Athens, and seen the invading armies of Carthage melt away by disease under her walls, till scarce any remained to fly,—Syracuse, where Dionysius had reigned, which Timoleon had freed, which Hiero had cherished and sheltered under his long paternal rule,—was now become subject to barbarians, whom she had helped in their utmost need, and who were repaying the unshaken friendship of Hiero, with the plunder of his city and the subjugation of his people. If there was yet a keener pang to be felt by every noble Syracusan, it was to behold their countrymen, who had fought in the Roman army, returning in triumph, establishing themselves in the empty houses of the slaughtered defenders of their country, and insulting the general misery by displaying the rewards of their treason. Among these was Sosis, assassin, murderer, and traitor, who was looking forward to the triumph of Marcellus, as one to whom the shame of his country was his glory, and her ruin the making of his fortune.⁸¹

Syracuse had fallen; and the cities in the eastern part of Sicily had no other hope now, than to obtain pardon, if it might be, from Rome, by immediate submission. But it was too late: they were treated as conquered enemies;⁸² that is to say, Marcellus put to death those of their citizens who were most obnoxious, and imposed such forfeitures

⁸⁰ Diodorus, XXVI. *Fragm. Mai.*

⁸² Livy, XXV. 40.

⁸¹ Livy, XXVI. 21.

of land on the cities, and such terms of submission for the time to come, as he judged expedient. It became the fashion afterwards to extol his humanity, and even his refinement,⁸³ because he showed his taste for the works of Greek art by carrying the statues of the Syracusan temples to Rome. But his admiration of Greek art did not make him treat the Greeks themselves with less severity ; and the Sicilians taxed him with perfidy as well as cruelty, and regarded him as the merciless oppressor of their country.⁸³

Meantime Hannibal's comprehensive view had not lost sight of Sicily. When he heard of the havoc caused by the epidemic sickness, and of the death of Hippocrates, he sent over another of his officers to share with Epicydes, and with the general who came from Carthage, in the command of the war. This was Mutines, or Myttonus, a half-caste Carthaginian, excluded on that account from civil honours ;⁸⁵ but Hannibal's camp recognized no such distinctions ; and brave and able men, whatever was their race or condition, were sure to be employed and rewarded there. Mutines proved the unerring judgment of Hannibal in his choice of offi-

Hannibal sends Mutines to Sicily : his successes.

A. U. C. 543. A. C. 211.

cers. His arrival in Sicily was equivalent to an army : being put at the head of the Numidian cavalry then serving under Epicydes and Hanno, he overran the whole island, encouraging the allies of Carthage, harassing those of Rome, and defying pursuit or resistance by the rapidity and skill of his movements. He renewed the system of warfare, which Hamilcar had maintained so long in the last war ; and having the strong place of Agrigentum to retire to in case of need, he perplexed the Roman generals not a little. Marcellus was obliged to take the field, and march from Syracuse westward as far as the Himera, where the enemy's army lay encamped. But he met with a rough reception ; the Numidian cavalry crossed the river, and came swarming round his camp, insulting and annoying his soldiers on guard, and confining his whole army to their intrenchments ; and when on the next day, impatient of this annoyance, he offered battle in the field, Mutines and his Numidians broke in upon his lines with such fury, that he was fain to retreat with all speed, and seek the shelter of his camp again. It appears that other arms were then tried with better success : the Numidians were tampered with ; their irregular habits and impatient tempers made them at all times difficult to manage ; and a party of them having left the Carthaginian camp in disgust, Mutines went after them to pacify and win them back to their duty, earnestly conjuring Hanno and Epicydes not to venture a battle till he should return. But Hanno was jealous

⁸³ Cicero, in Verrem, IV. 52-59.

⁸⁵ Livy, XXV. 40. Polybius, IX. 22.

⁸⁴ Livy, XXVI. 29-32. Plutarch, Marcellus, 23.

of Hannibal's officers; and holding his own commission directly from the government of Carthage, he could not bear to be restrained by a half-caste soldier, sent to Sicily from Hannibal's camp, by the mere authority of the general. His rank probably gave him a casting vote, when only one other commander was present, so that Epicydes in vain protested against his imprudence.⁸⁶ A battle was ventured; and not only was the genius of Mutines wanting, but the Numidians whom he had left with Hanno, thinking their commander insulted, would take no active part in the action, and Hanno was defeated with loss.

Marcellus, rejoiced at having thus retrieved his honour, had no mind to risk another encounter with Mutines: he forthwith retreated to Syracuse;⁸⁷ and as the term of his command was now expired, his thoughts were all turned to Rome, and to his expected triumph. He left Sicily after the fall of Capua, towards the end of the summer of 543, and about a year after the conquest of Syracuse; but he was not allowed to carry his army home with him; and M. Cornelius Cethegus, one of the prætors, who succeeded him in his command, found that his province was far from being in a state of peace. The Carthaginians had reinforced their army: Mutines with his Numidians was scouring the whole country; the soldiers were discontented because they had not been permitted to return home; and the Sicilians were driven desperate by the oppressions which Marcellus had commanded or winked at, and were ready to break out in revolt again.⁸⁸

In fact it appears that in the year 544, nearly two years after the fall of Syracuse, there were as many as sixty-six towns in Sicily in a state of revolt from Rome, and in alliance with Carthage.⁸⁹ So greatly had Mutines restored the Carthaginian cause, that it was thought necessary to send one of the consuls over with a consular army, to bring the war to an end. Accordingly M. Valerius Lævinus, who had been employed for the last three or four years on the coast of Epirus, conducting the war against Philip, and who was chosen consul with Marcellus in the year 544, carried over a regular consular army into Sicily; while L. Cincius, one of the new prætors, and probably the same man who is known as one of the earliest Roman historians, took the command of the old province, and of the soldiers of Cannæ who were still quartered there.⁹⁰ The army with which Marcellus had won Syracuse, was now at last disbanded; and the men were allowed to return home with as much of their plunder as they had not spent or wasted; but four legions were even now employed in Sicily, besides a fleet of 100 ships; and yet

Marcellus returns to Rome.

A. U. C. 544. A. C. 210.

Lævinus is sent to Sicily.

⁸⁶ Livy, XXV. 40.

⁸⁷ Livy, XXV. 41.

⁸⁸ Livy, XXVI. 21.

⁸⁹ Livy, XXVI. 40.

⁹⁰ Livy, XXVI. 28.

Mutines and his Numidians were overrunning all parts of the island ; and the end of the war seemed as distant as ever.

Lævinus advanced towards Agrigentum, with small hope however of taking the place ; for Mutines sallied whenever he would, and carried back his plunder in safety whenever he would : whilst the neighbourhood of Carthage made relief by sea always within calculation, whatever naval force the Romans might employ in the blockade. In this state of things, Lævinus to his astonishment received a secret communication from Mutines, offering to put Agrigentum into his power. The half-caste African, the officer of Hannibal, the sole stay of the Carthaginian cause in Sicily, was on all these accounts odious to Hanno ; and it is likely that Mutines did not bear his glory meekly, and that he expressed the scorn which Hannibal's soldier was likely to feel for the pride and incapacity of the general sent out by the government at home, and probably by the party opposed to Hannibal, and afraid of his glory. But whatever was the secret of the quarrel, its effects were public enough : Hanno ventured to deprive Mutines of his command. The Numidians however would obey no other leader, while him they would obey in every thing ; and at his bidding they rose in open mutiny, took possession of one of the gates of the town, and let in the Romans. Hanno and Epicydes had just time to fly to the harbour, to hasten on board a ship, and escape to Carthage ; but their soldiers, surprised and panic-struck, were cut to pieces with little resistance ; and Lævinus won Agrigentum. He treated it more severely than Marcellus had dealt with Syracuse : after executing the principal citizens, he sold all the rest for slaves, and sent the money which he received for them to Rome.⁹¹

Mutines is insulted by Hanno, and betrays Agrigentum to the Romans.

This blow was decisive. Twenty other towns, which still held with the Carthaginians, were presently betrayed to the Romans ; either by their garrisons, or by some of their own citizens ; six were stormed by the Roman army ; and the remainder, to the number of forty, then submitted at discretion. The consul dealt out his rewards to the traitors who had betrayed their country ; and his lictors scourged and beheaded the brave men who had persevered the longest in their resistance : thus at last he was able to report to the senate that the war in Sicily was at an end.

Lævinus accomplishes the conquest of Sicily,

Four thousand adventurers of all descriptions, who in the troubled state of Sicily had taken possession of the town of Agathyrna on the north coast of the island, and were maintaining themselves there by robbery, Lævinus carried over into Italy at the close of the year, and landed them at Rhegium, to be employed in a plundering warfare in Bruttium.

and reduces it to entire submission.

⁹¹ Livy, XXVI, 40.

Having thus cleared the island of all open disturbers of its peace, he obliged the Sicilians, says Livy, to turn their attention to agriculture, that its fruitful soil might grow corn to supply the wants of Italy and of Rome.⁹² And he assured the senate, at the end of the year, that the work was thoroughly done; that not a single Carthaginian was left in Sicily; that the towns were re-peopled by the return of their peaceable inhabitants, and the land was again cultivated; that he had laid the foundation of a state of things equally happy for the Sicilians and for Rome.⁹³

So Lævinus said; and so he probably believed. But with the return of peace to the island, there came a host of Italian and Roman speculators; who, in the general distress of the Sicilians, bought up large tracts of land at a low price, or became the occupiers of estates which had belonged to Sicilians of the Carthaginian party, and had been forfeited to Rome after the execution or flight of their owners. The Sicilians of the Roman party followed the example, and became rich out of the distress of their countrymen. Slaves were to be had cheap; and corn was likely to find a sure market, whilst Italy was suffering from the ravages of war. Accordingly Sicily was crowded with slaves, employed to grow corn for the great landed proprietors, whether Sicilian or Italian, and so ill-fed by their masters, that they soon began to provide for themselves by robbery. The poorer Sicilians were the sufferers from this evil; and as the masters were well content that their slaves should be maintained at the expense of others, they were at no pains to restrain their outrages. Thus, although nominally at peace, though full of wealthy proprietors, and though exporting corn largely every year, yet Sicily was teeming with evils, which, seventy or eighty years after, broke out in the horrible atrocities of the Servile War.⁹⁴

⁹² Livy, XXVI. 40.

⁹³ Livy, XXVII. 5.

⁹⁴ Diodorus, XXXIV. Excerpt. Photii, p. 525, &c. and Excerpt. Valesii, p. 599. Florus, III. 19.

CHAPTER XLVI.

STATE OF ITALY. DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE. TWELVE COLONIES REFUSE TO SUPPORT THE WAR. EIGHTEEN COLONIES OFFER ALL THEIR RESOURCES TO THE ROMANS. EVENTS OF THE WAR. DEATH OF MARCELLUS. FABIUS RECOVERS TARENTUM. MARCH OF HASDRUBAL INTO ITALY. HE REACHES THE COAST OF THE ADRIATIC. GREAT MARCH OF C. NERO FROM APULIA TO OPPOSE HIM. BATTLE OF THE METAURUS, AND DEATH OF HASDRUBAL. A. U. C. 543 TO A. U. C. 547.

IN following the war in Sicily to its conclusion we have a little anticipated the course of our narrative; for we have been speaking of the consulship of M. Lævinus, whilst our account of the war in Italy has not advanced beyond the middle of the preceding year. The latter part of the year 543 was marked however by no military actions of consequence; so great an event as the fall of Capua having, as was natural, produced a pause, during which both parties had to shape their future plans according to the altered state of their affairs and of their prospects.

Hannibal on his side had retired, as we have seen, into Apulia, after his unsuccessful attempt upon Rhegium, and there allowed his soldiers to enjoy an interval of rest. The terrible example of Capua shook the resolution of his Italian allies, and made them consider whether a timely submission to Rome might not be their wisest policy; nay, it became a question whether their pardon might not be secured by betraying Hannibal's garrisons, and returning to their duty not empty-handed. Hannibal therefore neither dared to risk his soldiers by dispersing them about in small and distant towns; nor could he undertake, even if he kept his army together, to cover the wide extent of country which had revolted to him at different periods of the war. His men would be worn out by a succession of flying marches; and after all, the Roman armies were so numerous, that he would always be in danger of arriving too late at the point attacked. Accordingly he found it necessary to abandon many places altogether; and from some he obliged the inhabitants to

A. U. C. 543. A. C. 211. Intermission of hostilities after the taking of Capua.

Hannibal abandons the west of Italy.

migrate, and made them remove within the limits which he still hoped to protect. In this manner, it is probable, the western side of Italy, from the edge of Campania to Bruttium, was at once left to its fate ; including what had been the territory of the Capuans on the shores of the Gulf of Salernum, the country of the Picentians, and Lucania ; while Apulia and Bruttium were carefully defended. But in evacuating the towns which they could not keep, and still more in the compelled migrations of the inhabitants, Hannibal's soldiers committed many excesses ; property was plundered, and blood was shed ; and thus the minds of the Italians were still more generally alienated.¹

We have seen that, immediately after the fall of Capua, C. Nero, with a part of the troops which had been employed on the blockade, had been sent off to Spain.²

Movements of the Roman armies. Q. Fulvius remained at Capua with another part, amounting to a complete consular army ;³ and some were probably sent home. The two consuls marched into Apulia, which was to be their province ;⁴ but no active operations took place during the remainder of the season ; and at the end of the year P. Sulpicius was ordered to pass over into Epirus, and succeed M. Lævinus in the command of the war against Philip. The home administration was left in the hands of C. Calpurnius Piso, the city prætor.

About the time that the two consuls took the command in Apulia, M. Cornelius Cethegus, who had obtained that province as prætor at the beginning of the year, was sent over to Sicily to command the army there, Marcellus having just left the island to return to Rome. Marcellus is unable to obtain a triumph : his splendid ovation. Marcellus was anxious to obtain a triumph for his conquest of Syracuse : but the war in Sicily was still raging ; and Mutines was in full activity. The senate therefore would not grant a triumph for an imperfect victory, but allowed Marcellus the honour of the smaller triumph or ovation. He was highly dissatisfied at this, and consoled himself by going up in triumphal procession to the temple of Jupiter on the highest summit of the Alban hills, and offering sacrifice there, a ceremony which by virtue of his imperium he could lawfully perform : he might go in procession where he pleased, and sacrifice where he pleased, except within the limits of Rome itself. On the day after his triumph on the hill of Alba, he entered Rome with the ceremony of an ovation, walking on foot according to the rule, instead of being drawn in a chariot in kingly state, as in the proper triumph. But the show was unusually splendid ; for a great picture of Syracuse with all its fortifications was displayed, and with it some of the very artillery which Archimedes had made so famous in his defence of them ; besides an

¹ Livy, XXVI. 38.

² Livy, XXVI. 17.

³ Livy, XXVI. 28.

⁴ Livy, XXVI. 22.

unwonted display of the works of art of a more peaceful kind, the spoils of Hiero's palace, and of the temples in his city, silver and bronze figures, embroidered carpets and coverings of couches, and, above all, some of the finest pictures and statues. Men also observed the traitor Sosis walking in the procession, with a coronet of gold on his head, as a benefactor of the Roman people: he was further to be rewarded with the Roman franchise, with a house at his own choice out of those belonging to the Syracusans who had remained true to their country, and with five hundred jugera of land, which had either been theirs, or part of the royal domain.⁵

At the end of the year Cn. Fulvius was summoned to Rome from Apulia to preside at the consular comitia. On the day of the election, the first century of the Veturian tribe, which had obtained the first voice by lot, gave its votes in favour of T. Manlius Torquatus and T. Otacilius Crassus. As the voice of the tribe first called was generally followed by the rest, Manlius, who was present, was immediately greeted by the congratulations of his friends: but instead of accepting them, he made his way to the consul's seat, and requested him to call back the century which had just voted, and allow him to say a few words. The century was summoned again, all men wondering what was about to happen. Manlius had been consul five and twenty years before, in the memorable year when the temple of Janus was shut in token of the ratification of peace with Carthage; twenty years had passed since he was censor; and though his vigour of body and mind was still great, he was an old man, and age had made him nearly blind. "I am unfit to command," he said; "for I can only see through the eyes of others. This is no time for incompetent generals; let the century make a better choice." But the century answered unanimously, "that they could not make a better; that they again named Manlius and Otacilius consuls." "Your tempers and my rule," said the old man, "will never suit. Give your votes over again; and remember that the Carthaginians are in Italy, and that their general is Hannibal." A murmur of admiration burst from all around; and the voters of the century were moved. They were the younger men of their tribe; and they besought the consul to summon the century of their elders, that they might be guided by their counsel. Fulvius accordingly summoned the century of elders of the Veturian tribe; and the two centuries retired to confer on the question. The elders recommended that Fabius and Marcellus should be chosen; or, if a new consul were desirable, that they should take one of these, and with him elect M. Lævinus, who for some years past had done good service in conducting the

A. U. C. 544. A. C. 210. Comitia: noble conduct of Manlius: Marcellus and Lævinus are elected consuls.

⁵ Livy, XXVI. 21.

war against Philip. Their advice was adopted; and the century gave its votes now in favour of Marcellus and Lævinus. All the other centuries confirmed their choice; and thus T. Otacilius was for the second time, by an extraordinary interference with the votes of the centuries, deprived of the consulship, to which some uncommonly amiable qualities, or some peculiar influence, had twice recommended him, in spite of his deficient ability.⁶

He probably never knew of this second disappointment; for scarcely was the election over, when news arrived from Sicily of his death.⁷ Cn. Fulvius returned to his army in Apulia; and as M. Lævinus was still absent in Epirus, Marcellus on the usual day, the ides of March, entered upon the consulship alone. Q. Fulvius was still at Capua; but Q. Fabius and T. Manlius were at Rome; and their counsels, together with those of Marcellus, were of the greatest influence in the senate, and probably directed the government:

There was need for all their ability and all their firmness; for never had the posture of affairs been more alarming. Hannibal's unconquered and unconquerable army, although it had not saved Capua, had wasted Italy more widely than ever, in the last campaign; and it had struck particularly at countries, which had hitherto escaped its ravages, the valleys of the Sabines, and the country of the thirty-five tribes themselves, up to the very gates of Rome. Many of the citizens had not only lost their standing crops, but their cattle had been carried off, and their houses burnt to the ground.⁸ Actual scarcity was added to other causes of distress; insomuch that the modius of wheat rose to nearly three denarii, which in a plentiful season eight years afterwards was sold at four ases, or the fourth part of one denarius.⁹ The people were becoming unable to bear farther burdens; and some of the Latin colonies, which had hitherto been the firmest support of the commonwealth, were suspected to be not only unable, but unwilling. It was probably to meet the urgent necessity of the case that the armies were somewhat reduced this year, four legions, it seems, being disbanded.¹⁰ But this fruit of the fall of Capua was in part neutralized by the necessity of raising fresh seamen; for unless the commonwealth maintained its naval superiority, Sicily would be lost, and Philip might be expected on the coasts of Italy; and the supply of corn, which was looked for from Egypt in the failure of all nearer resources, would become very precarious.¹¹ Accordingly a tax was imposed, requiring all persons to provide a certain number of

⁶ Livy, XXVI. 22.

⁷ Livy, XXVI. 23.

⁸ Livy, XXVI. 26.

⁹ Polybius, IX. 44. Livy, XXXI. 5.

¹⁰ Livy, XXVI. 28.

¹¹ Polybius, IX. 10.

seamen, in proportion to the returns of their property at the last census, with pay and provisions for thirty days. But our own tax of ship-money did not excite more opposition, though on different grounds. The people complained aloud: crowds gathered in the forum, and declared that no power could force from them what they had not got; that the consuls might sell their goods, and lay hold on their persons, if they chose; but they had no means of payment.¹² The consuls,—for Lævinus was by this time returned home from Macedonia,—with that dignity which the Roman government never forgot for an instant, issued an order, giving the defaulters three days to consider their determination; thus seeming to grant as an indulgence, what necessity obliged them to yield. Meanwhile they summoned the senate; and when every one was equally convinced of the necessity of procuring seamen, and the impossibility of carrying through the tax, Lævinus, in his colleague's name and his own, proceeded to address the senators. He told them that, before they could call on the people to make sacrifices, they must set the example. "Let each senator," he said, "keep his gold ring, and the rings of his wife and children: let him keep the golden bulla worn by his sons under age, and one ounce of gold for ornaments for his wife, and an ounce for each of his daughters. All the rest of the gold which we possess, let us offer for the public service. Next, let all of us who have borne curule offices, reserve the silver used in the harness of our war-horses; and let all others, including those just mentioned, keep one pound of silver, enough for the plate needful in sacrifices, the small vessel to hold the salt, and the small plate or basin for the libation; and let us each keep five thousand ases of copper money. With these exceptions, let us devote all our silver and copper to our country's use, as we have devoted all our gold. And let us do this without any vote of the senate, of our own free gift, as individual senators, and carry our contributions at once to the three commissioners for the currency. Be sure that first the equestrian order, and then the mass of the people, will follow our example." He spoke to hearers who so thoroughly shared his spirit, that they voted their thanks to the consuls for this suggestion. The senate instantly broke up; the senators hastened home, and thence came crowding to the forum, their slaves bearing all their stores of copper and silver and gold, each man being anxious to have his contribution recorded first; so that, Livy says, neither were there commissioners enough to receive all the gifts that were brought, nor clerks enough to record them. The example, as the consuls knew, was irresistible: the equestrian order and the commons poured in their contributions with equal zeal; and no tax could

¹² Livy, XXVI. 36.

have supplied the treasury so plentifully as this free-will offering of the whole people.¹³

There is no doubt that the money thus contributed was to be repaid to the contributors, when the republic should see better days ; but the sacrifice consisted in this, that, while the prospect of payment was distant and uncertain, the whole profit of the money in the mean time was lost : for the Roman state creditors received no interest on their loans. Therefore it was at their own cost mainly, and not at the cost of posterity, that the Romans maintained their great struggle ; and from our admiration of their firmness and heroic devotion to their country's cause, nothing is in this case to be abated.

Nor is it less striking, that the senate at this very moment listened to accusations brought by vanquished enemies against their conquerors, and these conquerors men of the highest name and greatest influence in the commonwealth, Marcellus and Q. Fulvius. When Lævinus passed through Capua on his way to Rome, he was beset by a multitude of the Capuans, who complained of the intolerable misery of their condition under the dominion of Q. Fulvius, and besought him to take them with him to Rome, that they might implore the mercy of the senate. Fulvius made them swear that they would return to Capua within five days after they received their answer, telling Lævinus that he dared not let them go at liberty ; for if any Capuan escaped from the city, he instantly became a brigand, and scoured the country, burning, robbing, and murdering all that fell in his way ; even at Rome, Lævinus would find the traces of Capuan treason ; for the late destructive fire in the city was their work. So a deputation of Campanians, thus hardly allowed to go, followed Lævinus towards Rome : and when he approached the city, a similar deputation of Sicilians came out to meet him, with like complaints against Marcellus.¹⁴

The provinces assigned to the consuls were this year to be the conduct of the war with Hannibal, and Sicily ; and Sicily fell by lot to Marcellus. The Sicilians present were thrown into despair, when this was announced to them : they put on mourning and beset the senate-house, weeping and bewailing their hard fate, and saying that it would be better for their island to be sunk in the sea, or overwhelmed with the lava floods of Ætna, than given up to the vengeance of Marcellus. Their feeling met with much sympathy in the senate ; and this was made so intelligible, that Marcellus, without waiting for any resolution on the subject, came to an agreement with his colleague ; and they exchanged their provinces.¹⁵

¹³ Livy, XXVI. 36.

¹⁴ Livy, XXVI. 27.

¹⁵ Livy, XXVI. 29.

This having been settled, the Sicilians were admitted into the senate, and brought forward their complaint. It turned principally on the cruelty of making them responsible for the acts, first of Hieronymus, and then of a mercenary soldiery which they had no means of resisting; while the long and tried friendship of Hiero, proved by the Romans in the utmost extremity of their fortune, had been forgotten. Marcellus insisted that the deputation should remain in the senate, and hear his statement,—answer he would not call it, and far less defence, as if a Roman consul could plead to the accusations of a set of vanquished Greeks,—but his statement of their offences, which had justly brought on all that they had suffered. He said that they had acted as enemies, had rejected his frequent offers of peace, and had resisted his attacks with all possible obstinacy, instead of doing as Sosis, whom they called a traitor, had done, and surrendering their city into his hands. He then left the senate-house together with the Sicilians, and went to the capitol to carry on the enlistment of the newly raised legions.¹⁶

Their complaint is heard by the senate: counter statement of Marcellus.

There was a strong feeling in the senate that Syracuse had been cruelly used; and old T. Manlius expressed this as became him, especially urging the unworthy return which had been made to the country of Hiero for all his fidelity to Rome. But a sense of Marcellus' signal services, and of the urgency of the times, prevailed; and a resolution was passed, confirming all that he had done, but declaring that for the time to come the senate would consult the welfare of the Syracusans, and would commend them especially to the care of Lævinus. A deputation of two senators was then sent to the consul, to invite him to return to the senate; the Syracusans were called in, and the decree was read. Then the Syracusan deputies threw themselves at the feet of Marcellus, imploring him to forgive all that they had said against him, to receive them under his protection, and to become the patronus of their city.¹⁷ He gave them a gracious answer, and accepted the office; and from that time forward the Syracusans found it their best policy to extol the clemency of Marcellus; and later writers echoed their language, not knowing, or not remembering, that these expressions of forced praise were their own strongest refutation.

Decree of the senate. Marcellus becomes the patronus of Syracuse.

The Campanian deputation was heard with less favour; but still it was heard; and the senate took their complaint into consideration. But in this case no mercy was shown; and it was now that those severe decrees were passed, fixing the future fate of the Campanian people, which I have already mentioned by anticipation, at the end of the story of the siege of Capua.¹⁷

Severe treatment of the Campanians.

¹⁶ Livy, XXVI. 30, 31.

¹⁷ Livy, XXVI. 32.

¹⁷ Above, p. 375, foll. Livy, XXVI.

The military history of this year is again difficult to comprehend, owing to the omissions and incoherence in Livy's narrative. Two armies, as we have seen, were employed against Hannibal; that of Cn. Fulvius, the consul of the preceding year, in Apulia; and that of Marcellus in Samnium. Where Hannibal had passed the winter, or the end of the preceding summer, we know not; not a word being said of his movements after his ineffectual attempt upon Rhegium, till we hear of his march against Fulvius. We may suppose however that he had wintered in Apulia; and we are told that, Salapia having been betrayed to the Romans, and a detachment of Numidians having been cut off in it, Hannibal again retreated into Bruttium.¹⁹ With two armies opposed to him, it was of importance not to let either of them advance to attack Tarentum and the towns on the coast, while he was engaged with the other. He was obliged therefore to abandon his garrisons in Samnium and Apulia to their own resources, and kept his army well in hand, ready to strike a blow whenever opportunity should offer. As usual, he received perfect information of the enemy's proceedings through his secret emissaries; and having learned that Fulvius was in the neighbourhood of Herdonea, trying to win the place, and that, relying on his distance from the Carthaginian army, he was not sufficiently on his guard, Hannibal conceived the hope of destroying this army by an unexpected attack. Again the details are given variously; but the result was, that Hannibal's attempt was completely successful. The army of Fulvius was destroyed, and the proconsul killed; and Hannibal, having set fire to Herdonea, and executed those citizens who had been in correspondence with the enemy, sent away the rest of the population into Bruttium, and himself crossed the mountains into Lucania, to look after the army of Marcellus.²⁰

Ma cellus, on the news of his colleague's defeat, left Samnium, and advanced into Lucania: his object now was to watch Hannibal closely, lest he should again resume the offensive; all attempts to recover more towns in Samnium or elsewhere must for the time be abandoned. And this service he performed with great ability and resolution, never leaving Hannibal at rest, and taking care not to fall into any ambush, but unable, notwithstanding the idle stories of his victories, to do any thing more than keep his enemy in sight, as Fabius had done in his first dictatorship. Thus the rest of the season passed away unmarked by any thing of importance: Marcellus wintered apparently at Venusia; Hannibal in his old quarters, in the warm plains near the sea.²¹

Opening of the campaign: the army of Fulvius is destroyed by Hannibal.

Marcellus adopts the policy of Fabius.

¹⁹ Livy, XXVII. 1.

²⁰ Livy, XXVII. 1.

²¹ Livy, XXVII. 2, 4, 12-14, 20.

In spite therefore of the reduction of Capua, the Roman affairs in Italy had made no progress. On the contrary, Advantages gained by the Romans out of Italy. another army had been totally destroyed; and the war with all its burthens seemed interminable. But in other quarters, this year had been more successful: Lævinus had ended the war in Sicily; and the resources of that island were now at the disposal of the Romans; while the Carthaginian fleets had no point nearer than Carthage itself, to carry on their operations, whether to the annoyance of the enemy's coasts, or the relief of their own garrisons at Tarentum, and along the southern coast of Italy. In addition to this, the alliance which Lævinus had concluded with the Ætolians before he quitted Epirus, had left a far easier task to his successor P. Sulpicius, and removed all danger of Philip's co-operating with Hannibal. Meanwhile Lævinus was summoned home to hold the comitia, Marcellus being too busily employed with Hannibal to leave his army; and accordingly he crossed over directly from Lilybæum or Panormus to Ostia, accompanied by the African Mutines, who was now to receive the reward of his desertion, in being made a citizen of Rome by a decree of the people.²²

Before his departure from Sicily, Lævinus had sent the greater part of his fleet over to Africa, partly to make plundering descents on the coast, but chiefly to collect Alarming news from Africa. information as to the condition and plans of the enemy. Messalla, who had succeeded to T. Otacilius in the command of the fleet, accomplished this expedition in less than a fortnight; and the information which he collected was so important, that, finding Lævinus was gone to Rome, he forwarded it to him without delay. Its substance bore, that the Carthaginians were collecting troops with great diligence, to be sent over into Spain; and that the general report was, that these soldiers were to form the army of Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, and were to be led by him immediately into Italy. This intelligence so alarmed the senate, that they would not detain the consul to hold the comitia, but ordered him to name a dictator for that purpose, and then to return immediately to his province.²³

With all the patriotism of the Romans, it was not possible that personal ambition and jealousy should be wholly extinct among them; and the influence exercised at the present crisis by Q. Fabius, and his preference of Q. Fulvius and Marcellus to all other commanders, was no doubt regarded by some as excessive and overbearing. The magistrate who presided at the comitia enjoyed so great a power over the elections, that the choice of the dictator on this occasion was of some consequence; and Lævinus intended to name the com-

A. U. C. 545. A. C. 209.
A dictator appointed to hold the comitia: Fabius and Fulvius chosen consuls.

²² Livy, XXVII. 5.

²³ Livy, XXVII. 5.

mander of his fleet, M. Messalla, not without some view possibly to his own re-election, if the comitia were held under the auspices of a man not entirely devoted to Fabius and Fulvius. But when he declared his intention to the senate, it was objected that a person out of Italy could not be named dictator; and the consul was ordered to take the choice of the people, and to name whomsoever the people should fix upon. Indignant at this interference with his rights as consul, Lævinus refused to submit the question to the people, and forbade the prætor, L. Manlius Acidinus, to do so. This however availed him nothing; for the tribunes called the assembly; and the people resolved that the dictator to be named should be Q. Fulvius. Lævinus probably expected this, and, as his last resource, had left Rome secretly on the night before the decision, that he might not be compelled to go through the form of naming his rival dictator. Here was a new difficulty, for the dictator could only be named by one of the consuls: so it was necessary to apply to Marcellus; and he nominated Q. Fulvius immediately.²⁴ The old man left Capua forthwith, and proceeded to Rome to hold the comitia, at which the century first called gave its votes in favour of Fulvius himself and Fabius. This no doubt had been preconcerted: but two of the tribunes shared the feelings of Lævinus, and objected to such a monopoly of office in the hands of two or three men; they also complained of the precedent of allowing the magistrate presiding at the election to be himself elected. Fulvius, with no false modesty, or what in our notions would be real delicacy, maintained that the choice of the century was good, and justified by precedents; and at last the question was submitted by common consent to the senate. The senate determined that, under actual circumstances, it was important that the ablest men and most tried generals should be at the head of affairs; and they therefore approved of the election. Accordingly Fabius and Fulvius were once more appointed consuls; the former for the fifth time, the latter for the fourth.²⁵

Thus was the great object gained of employing the three most tried generals of the republic, Fabius, Fulvius, and Marcellus, against Hannibal in the approaching campaign. Each was to command a full consular army, Marcellus retaining that which he now had, with the title of proconsul; and the plan of operations was, that, while Marcellus occupied Hannibal on the side of Apulia, a grand movement should be made against Tarentum and the other towns held by the enemy on the southern coast. Fabius was to attack Tarentum, while Fulvius was to reduce the garrisons still retained by Hannibal in Lucania,²⁶ and then to advance into Bruttium; and that

Plan for the
campaign.

²⁴ Livy, XXVII. 5.

²⁵ Livy, XXVII. 6.

²⁶ Livy, XXVII. 7.

band of adventurers from Sicily, which Lævinus had sent over to Rhegium to do some service in that quarter, was to attempt the siege of Caulon, or Caulonia. Every exertion was to be made to destroy Hannibal's power in the south, before his brother could arrive in Italy to effect a diversion in the north.²⁷ Lævinus, it seems, paid the penalty of his opposition to Fulvius' election, in being deprived of his consular army, which he was ordered to send over to Italy to be commanded by Fulvius himself; and he and the proprætor L. Cincius were left to defend Sicily with the old soldiers of Cannæ, and the remains of the defeated armies of the two Fulvii, the prætor and the proconsul, which had been condemned to the same banishment, together with the forces which they had themselves raised within the island, partly native Sicilians, and partly Numidians, who had come over to the Romans with Mutines.²⁸ With these resources, and with a fleet of seventy ships, Sicily was firmly held; and Lævinus, it is said, was able in the course of the year to send supplies of corn to Rome, and also to the army of Fabius before Tarentum.²⁹

But before the consuls could take the field, a storm burst forth more threatening than any which the republic had yet experienced. The soldiers of the army defeated at Herdonea, who were now to be sent over to Sicily, were in a large proportion Latins of the colonies; and as they were to be banished for the whole length of the war, fresh soldiers were to be levied to supply their place in Italy. This new demand was the drop which made the full cup overflow. The deputies of twelve of the colonies, who were at Rome as usual to receive the consul's orders, when they were required to furnish fresh soldiers, and to raise money for their payment, replied resolutely that they had neither men nor money remaining.³⁰

"The Roman people," says Livy, "had at this period thirty colonies;" of which number twelve thus refused to support the war any longer. The number mentioned by the historian has occasioned great perplexity; but its coincidence with the old number of the states of the Latin confederacy leaves no doubt of its genuineness; and when the maritime colonies are excepted, which stood on a different footing, as not being ordinarily bound to raise men for the regular land service, it agrees very nearly with the list which we should draw up of all the Latin colonies mentioned to have been founded before this period. But what particular causes determined the twelve recusant colonies more than the rest to resist the commands of Rome, we cannot tell. Amongst them we find the name of Alba, which two years before had shown such zeal, in hastening to the

Twelve of the Latin colonies refuse fresh supplies.

The consuls remonstrate with them in vain.

²⁷ Livy, XXVII. 12.

²⁸ Livy, XXVII. 7.

²⁹ Livy, XXVII. 8.

³⁰ Livy, XXVII. 9.

assistance of Rome unsummoned, when Hannibal threatened its very walls; we also find some of the oldest colonies, Circeii, Ardea, Cora, Nepete, and Sutrium; Cales, which had so long been an important position during the revolt of Capua, Carseoli, Suessa, Setia, Narnia, and Interamna, on the Liris. The consuls, thunderstruck at their refusal, attempted to shame them from their purpose by rebuke. "This is not merely declining to furnish troops and money," they said; "it is open rebellion. Go home to your colonies; forget that so detestable a thought ever entered your heads; remind your fellow-citizens that they are not Campanians nor Tarentines, but Romans, Roman born, and sent from Rome to occupy lands conquered by Romans, to multiply the race of Rome's defenders. All duty owed by children to their parents, you owe to the senate and people of Rome." But in vain did Fabius and Fulvius, with all the authority of their years and their great name, speak such language to the deputies. They were coldly answered, "that it was useless to consult their countrymen at home; the colonies could not alter their resolution; for they had no men nor money left." Finding the case hopeless, the consuls summoned the senate, and reported the fatal intelligence. The courage, which had not yielded to the slaughter of Cannæ, was shaken now. "At last," it was said, "the blow is struck, and Rome is lost: this example will be followed by all our colonies and allies: there is doubtless a general conspiracy amongst them to give us up bound hand and foot to Hannibal."³¹

The consuls bade the senate to take courage: the other colonies were yet true; "even these false ones will return to their duty, if we do not condescend to entreat them, but rather rebuke them for their treason." Every thing was left to the consuls' discretion; they exerted all their influence with the deputies of the other colonies privately; and having ascertained their sentiments, they then ventured to summon them officially, and to ask, "Whether their appointed contingents of men and money were forthcoming?" Then M. Sextilius of Fregellæ stood up and made answer in the name of the eighteen remaining colonies: "They are forthcoming; and if more are needed, more are at your disposal. Every order, every wish of the Roman people, we will with our best efforts fulfil: to do this we have means enough, and will more than enough." The consuls replied, "Our thanks are all too little for your desert: the whole senate must thank you themselves." They led the deputies into the senate-house; and thanks were voted to them in the warmest terms. Then the consuls were desired to lead them before the people, to remind the people of all the services which

Patriotic spirit of the other eighteen colonies: the senate resolves to take no notice of the twelve.

³¹ Livy, XXVII. 9.

the colonies had rendered to them and to their fathers, services all surpassed by this last act of devotion. The thanks of the people were voted no less heartily than those of the senate. "Nor shall these eighteen colonies even now," says Livy, "lose their just glory. They were the people of Signia, of Norba, of Saticula, of Brundisium, of Fregellæ, of Luceria, of Venusia, of Hadria, of Firmum, and of Ariminum; and from the lower sea, the people of Pontia, and of Pæstum, and of Cosa; and from the midland country, the people of Beneventum, and of Æsernia, and of Spoleto, and of Placentia, and of Cremona." The aid of these eighteen colonies on that day saved the Roman empire. Satisfied now, and feeling their strength invincible, the senate forbade the consuls to take the slightest notice of the disobedient colonies; they were neither to send for them, nor to detain them, nor to dismiss them; they were to leave them wholly alone.³²

It is enough for the glory of any nation, that its history in two successive years should record two such events as the magnanimous liberality of the senate in sacrificing their wealth to their country, and the no less magnanimous firmness and wisdom of their behaviour towards their colonies. An aristocracy endowed with such virtues deserved its ascendancy: for its inherent faults were now shown only towards the enemies of Rome; its nobler character alone was displayed towards her citizens. But when M. Sextilius of Fregellæ was standing before Q. Fulvius, promising to serve Rome to the death, and the old consul's stern countenance was softened to admiration and joy, and his lips, which had so remorselessly doomed the Capuan senators to a bloody death, were now uttering thanks and praises to Rome's true colonists, how would each have started, could he have looked for a moment into futurity, and seen what events were to happen, before a hundred years were over! By a strange coincidence, each would have seen the selfsame hand red with the blood of his descendants, and extinguishing the country of the one and the family of the other. Within ninety years, the Roman aristocracy were to become utterly corrupted: and its leader, L. Opimius, as base personally as he was politically cruel, was to destroy Fregellæ, and treacherously in cold blood to slay an innocent youth, the last direct representative of the great Q. Fulvius, after he had slain M. Fulvius, the youth's father, in civil conflict within the walls of Rome.³³ Fregellæ, to whose citizens Rome at this time owed her safety, was within ninety years to be so utterly destroyed by the Roman arms, that at this day its very site is not

Magnanimity of their conduct. Singular coincidence in the subsequent destinies of the house of Fulvius and of Fregellæ.

³² Livy, XXVII. 10.

tarch, C. Gracchus, c. xvi. Appian B. C.

³³ Velleius, II. 6, 4. II. 7. 2. Plu- I. 26.

certainly known: the most faithful of colonies has perished more entirely than the rebellious Capua.³⁴

Rome could rely on the fidelity of the majority of her colonies; but their very readiness made it desirable to spare them to the utmost. Therefore a treasure, which was reserved in the most sacred treasury for the extremest need, was now brought out; amounting, it is said, to four thousand pounds' weight of gold; and which had been accumulating during a period of about 150 years, being the produce of the tax at five per cent. on the value of every emancipated slave, paid by the person who gave him his liberty. With this money the military chests of the principal armies were well replenished; and supplies of clothing were sent to the army in Spain, which P. Scipio was now commanding, and was on the point of leading to the conquest of New Carthage.³⁵

At length the consuls took the field. Marcellus, according to the plan agreed upon, broke up from his quarters at Venusia, and proceeded to watch and harass Hannibal; while Fabius advanced upon Tarentum, and Fulvius marched into Lucania. Caulonia at the same time was besieged by the band of adventurers from Sicily. The mass of forces thus employed was overwhelming; and Hannibal, while he clung to Apulia and Bruttium, was unable to retain his hold on Samnium and Lucania. Those great countries, or rather the powerful party in both, which had hitherto been in revolt from Rome, now made their submission to Q. Fulvius, and delivered up such of Hannibal's soldiers as were in garrison in any of their towns. They had apparently chosen their time well; and by submitting at the beginning of the campaign they obtained easy terms. Even Fulvius, though not inclined to show mercy to revolted allies, granted them a full indemnity: the axes of his lictors were suffered this time to sleep unstained with blood. This politic mercy had its effect on the Bruttians also: some of their leading men came to the Roman camp to treat concerning the submission of their countrymen on the terms which had been granted to the Samnites and Lucanians; and the base of all Hannibal's operations, the southern coast of Italy, was in danger of being torn away from him, if he lingered any longer in Apulia.³⁶

Then his indomitable genius and energy appeared once more in all its brilliancy. He turned fiercely upon Marcellus, engaged him twice, and so disabled him, that Marcellus, with all his enterprise, was obliged to take refuge within the walls of Venusia, and there lay help-

The sacred treasure is brought out.

Samnium and Lucania submit to the Romans; the Bruttians treat about submission.

Hannibal's brilliant exploits. Tarentum is betrayed to the Romans.

³⁴ Velleius, II. 6. 4. Strabo, V. p. 363. Auctor ad Herennium, IV. 15.

³⁵ Livy, XXVII. 10.

³⁶ Livy, XXVII. 15.

less during the remainder of the campaign.³⁷ Freed from this enemy, Hannibal flew into Bruttium: the strength of Tarentum gave him no anxiety for its immediate danger; so he hastened to deliver Caulonia. The motley band who were besieging it fled at the mere terror of his approach, and retreated to a neighbouring hill; thither he pursued them, and obliged them to surrender at discretion.³⁸ He then marched back with speed to Tarentum, hoping to crush Fabius, as he had crushed Marcellus. He was within five miles of the city, when he received intelligence that it was lost. The Bruttian commander of the garrison had betrayed it to Fabius: the Romans had entered it in arms: Carthalo, the Carthaginian commander, and Nico and Philemenus, who had opened its gates to Hannibal, had all fallen in defending it: the most important city and the best harbour in the south of Italy were in the hands of the Romans.³⁹

The news of the fall of Paris, when Napoleon was hastening from Fontainebleau to deliver it, can scarcely have been a heavier disappointment to him, than the news of the loss of Tarentum was to Hannibal. Yet, always master of himself, he was neither misled by passion nor by alarm: he halted and encamped on the ground, and there remained quiet for some days, to show that his confidence in himself was unshaken by the treason of his allies. Then he retreated slowly towards Metapontum, and contrived that two of the Metapontines should go to Fabius at Tarentum, offering to surrender their town and the Carthaginian garrison, if their past revolt might be forgiven. Fabius, believing the proposal to be genuine, sent back a favourable answer, and fixed the day on which he would appear before Metapontum with his army. On that day Hannibal lay in ambush close to the road leading from Tarentum, ready to spring upon his prey. But Fabius came not: his habitual caution made him suspicious of mischief; and it was announced that the omens were threatening: the haruspex, on inspecting the sacrifice, which was offered to learn the pleasure of the gods, warned the consul to beware of hidden snares, and of the arts of the enemy. The Metapontine deputies were sent back to learn the cause of the delay; they were arrested, and, being threatened with the torture, disclosed the truth.⁴⁰

The remaining operations of the campaign are again unknown: the Romans however seem to have attempted nothing farther; and Hannibal kept his army in the field, marching whither he would without opposition, and again laying waste various parts of Italy with fire and sword.⁴¹ So far as we can discover, he returned at the end of the season to his old winter quarters in Apulia.

Hannibal tries to draw Fabius into a snare, but fails.

He remains master of the field.

³⁷ Livy, XXVII. 12-14.

³⁸ Livy, XXVII. 15, 16.

³⁹ Livy, XXVII. 15, 16.

⁴⁰ Livy, XXVII. 16.

⁴¹ Livy, XXVII. 20. "Vagante per Italianam Hannibale."

It is not wonderful that this result of a campaign, from which so much had been expected, should have caused great disappointment at Rome. However much men rejoiced in the recovery of Tarentum, they could not but feel that even this success was owing to treason; and that Hannibal's superiority to all who were opposed to him was more manifest than ever. This touched them in a most tender point; because it enabled him to continue his destructive ravages of Italy, and thus to keep up that distress which had long been felt so heavily. Above all, indignation was loud against Marcellus:⁴² and if in his lifetime he indulged in that braggart language, which his son used so largely after his death, the anger of the people against him was very reasonable. If he called his defeats victories, as his son no doubt called them afterwards, and as the falsehood through him has struck deep into Roman history, well might the people be indignant at hearing that a victorious general had shut himself up all the summer within the walls of Venusia, and had allowed the enemy to ravage the country at pleasure. The feeling was so strong, that C. Publicius, one of the tribunes, a man of an old and respected tribunician family, brought in a bill to the people to deprive Marcellus of his command. Marcellus returned home to plead his cause, when Fulvius went home also to hold the comitia; and the people met to consider the bill in the Flaminian circus, without the walls, to enable Marcellus to be present; for his military command hindered his entering the city. It is likely that the influence of Fulvius was exerted strongly in his behalf; and his own statement, if he told the simple truth, left no just cause of complaint against him. He had executed his part of the campaign to the best of his ability: twice had he fought with Hannibal to hinder him from marching into Bruttium; and it was not his fault, if the fate of all other Roman generals had been his also; he had but failed to do what none had done, or could do. The people felt for the mortification of a brave man, who had served them well from youth to age, and in the worst of times had never lost courage: they not only threw out the bill, but elected Marcellus once more consul, giving him, as his colleague, his old lieutenant in Sicily, T. Quintius Crispinus, who was now prætor, and during the last year had succeeded to Fulvius in the command at Capua.⁴³

It marks our advance in Roman history, that among the prætors of this year we find the name of Sex. Julius Cæsar; the first Cæsar who appears in the Roman Fasti.

A. U. C. 546. A. C. 208.
Julius Cæsar prætor.

For some time past the Romans seem to have mistrusted the

⁴² Livy, XXVII. 20.

⁴³ Livy, XXVII. 20, 21.

fidelity of the Etruscans ; and an army of two legions had been regularly stationed in Etruria, to check any disposition to revolt. But now C. Calpurnius Piso, who commanded in Etruria, reported that the danger was becoming imminent, and he particularly named the city of Arretium as the principal seat of disaffection.⁴⁴ Why this feeling should have manifested itself at this moment, we can only conjecture. It is possible that the fame of Hasdrubal's coming may have excited the Etruscans. It is possible that Hannibal may have had some correspondence with them, and persuaded them to co-operate with his brother. But other causes may be imagined ; the continued pressure of the war upon all Italy, and the probability that the defection of the twelve colonies must have compelled the Romans to increase the burdens of their other allies. If, as Niebuhr thinks,⁴⁵ the Etruscans were not in the habit of serving with the legions in the regular infantry, their contributions in money, and in seamen for the fleets, would have been proportionably greater ; and both these would fall heavily on the great Etruscan chiefs, or Lucumones, from whose vassals the seamen would be taken, as their properties would have to furnish the money. Again, in the year 544, when corn was at so enormous a price, we read of a large quantity purchased in Etruria by the Roman government for the use of their garrison in the citadel of Tarentum.⁴⁶ This corn the allied states were bound to sell at a fixed price ; so that the Etruscan landowners would consider themselves greatly injured, in being forced to sell at a low price, what in the present condition of the markets was worth four or five times as much. But whatever was the cause, Marcellus was sent into Etruria, even before he came into office as consul, to observe the state of affairs, that, if necessary, he might remove the seat of war from Apulia to Etruria. The report of his mission seemed satisfactory ; and it did not appear necessary to bring his army from Apulia.⁴⁷

Doubts about the fidelity of Etruria.

Yet some time afterwards, before Marcellus left Rome to take the field, the reports of the disaffection of Arretium became more serious ; and C. Hostilius, who had succeeded Calpurnius in the command of the army stationed in Etruria, was ordered to lose no time in demanding hostages from the principal inhabitants. C. Terentius Varro was sent to receive them, to the number of 120, and to take them to Rome. Even this precaution was not thought sufficient ; and Varro was sent back to Arretium to occupy the city with one of the home legions, while Hostilius, with his regular army, was to move up and down the country, that any attempt at insurrection might be

Disaffection of Arretium.

⁴⁴ Livy XXVII. 21.

⁴⁵ Vol. III. p. 505.

⁴⁶ Livy, XXV. 15.

⁴⁷ Livy, XXVII. 21.

crushed in a moment.⁴⁸ It appears also that, besides the hostages, several sons of the wealthy Etruscans were taken away to serve in the cavalry of Marcellus' army, to prevent them at any rate from being dangerous at home.⁴⁹

The two consuls were to conduct the war against Hannibal, whilst Q. Claudius, one of the prætors, with a third army, was to hold Tarentum, and the country of the Sallentines. Fulvius with a single legion resumed his old command at Capua. Fabius returned to Rome, and from this time forward no more commanded the armies of his country, although he still in all probability directed the measures of the government.⁵⁰

Crispinus had left Rome before his colleague, and, with some reinforcements newly raised, proceeded to Lucania, to take the command of the army which had belonged to Fulvius. His ambition was to rival the glory of Fabius, by attacking another of the Greek cities on the southern coast. He fixed upon Locri, and having sent for a powerful artillery from Sicily, with a naval force to operate against the sea front of the town, commenced the siege. Hannibal's approach however forced him to raise it; and as Marcellus had now arrived at Venusia, he retreated thither to co-operate with his colleague. The two armies were encamped apart, about three miles from each other: two consuls, it was thought, must at any rate be able to occupy Hannibal in Apulia, while the siege of Locri was to be carried on by the fleet and artillery from Sicily, with the aid of one of the two legions commanded by the prætor Q. Claudius at Tarentum. Such was the Roman plan of campaign for the year 546, the eleventh of this memorable war.⁵¹

The two armies opposed to Hannibal must have amounted at least to 40,000 men; he could not venture to risk a battle against so large a force: but his eye was every where; and he was neither ignorant nor unobservant of what was going on in his rear, and of the intended march of the legion from Tarentum to carry on the siege of Locri by land. So confident was he in his superiority, that he did not hesitate to detach a force of 3000 horse and 2000 foot from his already inferior numbers, to intercept these troops on their way: and while the Romans marched on in confidence, supposing that Hannibal was far away in Apulia, they suddenly found their road beset; and Hannibal's dreaded cavalry broke in upon the flanks of their column. The rout was complete in an instant; the whole Roman division was destroyed or dispersed; and the fugitives, escaping over the country in all directions, fled back to Tarentum.⁵² The

Disposition of the
Roman armies.
Fabius retires from
military service.

Plan of the campaign.

Hannibal destroys a
legion sent to besiege
Locri.

⁴⁸ Livy, XXVII. 24.

⁴⁹ Livy, XXVII. 26.

⁵⁰ Livy, XXVII. 22.

⁵¹ Livy, XXVII. 25.

⁵² Livy, XXVII. 26.

fleet from Sicily were obliged therefore to carry on the siege of Locri as well as they could, with no other help.

This signal service rendered, Hannibal's detachment returned to his camp, bringing back their numerous prisoners. Frequent skirmishes took place between the opposed armies; and Hannibal was continually

Position of the two armies. Marcellus is killed in an ambush.

hoping for some opportunity of striking a blow. A hill covered with copsewood rose between the two armies, and had been occupied hitherto by neither party; only Hannibal's light cavalry were used to lurk amongst the trees at its foot, to cut off any stragglers from the enemy's camp. The consuls, it seems, wished to remove their camp—for the two consular armies were now encamped together—to this hill; or at any rate to occupy it as an entrenched post, from which they might command the enemy's movement. But they resolved to reconnoitre the ground for themselves; and accordingly, they rode forward with two hundred cavalry, and a few light-armed soldiers, leaving their troops behind in the camp, with orders to be in readiness on a signal given to advance and take possession of the hill.⁵³ The party ascended the hill without opposition, and rode on to the side towards the enemy, to take a view of the country in that direction. Meantime the Numidians, who had always one of their number on the lookout, to give timely notice of any thing that approached, as they were lurking under the hill, were warned by their scout, that a party of Romans were on the heights above them. No doubt he had marked the scarlet war-cloaks of the generals, and the lictors who went before them, and told his companions of the golden prize that fortune had thrown into their hands. The Numidians stole along under the hill, screened by the trees, till they got round it, between the party on the summit and the Roman camp: and then they charged up the ascent, and fell suddenly upon the astonished enemy. The whole affair was over in an instant: Marcellus was run through the body with a spear, and killed on the spot; his son and Crispinus were desperately wounded; the Etruscan horsemen, who formed the greater part of the detachment, had no inclination to fight in a service which they had been forced to enter; the Fregellans, who formed the remainder of it, were too few to do any thing; all were obliged to ride for their lives, and to leap their horses down the broken ground on the hill sides to escape to their camp. The legions in the camp saw the skirmish, but could not come to the rescue in time. Crispinus and the young Marcellus rode in covered with blood, and followed by the scattered survivors of the party; but Marcellus, six times consul, the bravest and stoutest of soldiers, who had dedicated the spoils of the Gaulish king, slain by his

⁵³ Livy, XXVII. 26.

own hand, to Jupiter Feretrius in the capitol, was lying dead on a nameless hill ; and his arms and body were Hannibal's.⁵⁴

The Numidians, hardly believing what they had done, rode back to their camp to report their extraordinary achievement. Hannibal instantly put his army in motion, and occupied the fatal hill. There he found the body of Marcellus, which he is said to have looked at for some time with deep interest, but with no word or look of exultation : then he took the ring from the finger of the body, and ordered, as he had done before in the case of Flaminius and Gracchus, that it should be honourably burned, and that the ashes should be sent to Marcellus' son.⁵⁵ The Romans left their camp under cover of the night, and retreated to a position of greater security : they no longer thought of detaining Hannibal from Bruttium ; their only hope was to escape out of his reach. Then Hannibal flew once more to the relief of Locri : the terror of the approach of his Numidian cavalry drove the Romans to their ships ; all their costly artillery and engines were abandoned ; and the siege of Locri, no less disastrous to the Roman naval force than to their land army, was effectually raised.⁵⁶

During the rest of the season the field was again left free to Hannibal ; and his destructive ravages were carried on, we may be sure, more widely than even in the preceding year. The army of Marcellus lay within the walls of Venusia ; that of Crispinus retreated to Capua ;⁵⁷ officers having been sent by the senate to take the command of each provisionally. Crispinus was desired to name a dictator for holding the comitia ; and he accordingly nominated the old T. Manlius Torquatus ; soon after which he died of the effect of his wounds ; and the republic for the first time on record, was deprived of both its consuls before the expiration of their office, by a violent death.⁵⁸

The public anxiety about the choice of new consuls was quickened in the highest degree by the arrival of an embassy from Massilia. The Massilians, true to their old friendship with Rome, made haste to acquaint their allies with the danger that was threatening them. Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, had suddenly appeared in the interior of Gaul ; he had brought a large treasure of money with him, and was raising soldiers busily. Two Romans were sent back to Gaul with the Massilian ambassadors to ascertain the exact state of affairs ; and these officers, on their return to Rome, informed the senate, that, through the connexions of Massilia with some of

He continues master of the field: the consul Crispinus dies of his wounds.

The Massilians send tidings of Hasdrubal's being in Gaul.

⁵⁴ Livy, XXVII. 27.

⁵⁵ Plutarch, Marcellus, c. 20.

⁵⁶ Livy, XXVII. 28.

⁵⁷ Livy, XXVII. 29.

⁵⁸ Livy, XXVII. 33.

the chiefs in the interior, they had made out that Hasdrubal had completed his levies, and was only waiting for the first melting of the snows to cross the Alps. The senate therefore must expect in the next campaign to see two sons of Hamilcar in Italy.⁵⁹

Reserving the detail of the war in Spain for another place, I need only relate here as much as is necessary for His route out of Spain, through Gaul. understanding Hasdrubal's expedition. Early in the season of 546, while the other Carthaginian generals were in distant parts of the peninsula, Hasdrubal had been obliged with his single army to give battle to Scipio at Baccula, a place in the south of Spain, in the upper part of the valley of the Bætis; and having been defeated there, had succeeded nevertheless in carrying off his elephants and money, and had retreated first towards the Tagus, and then towards the western Pyrenees, whither Scipio durst not follow him, for fear of abandoning the sea-coast to the other Carthaginian generals.⁶⁰ By this movement Hasdrubal masked his projects from the view of the Romans; they did not know whether he had merely retired to recruit his army in order to take the field against Scipio, or whether he was preparing for a march into Italy.⁶¹ But even if Italy were his object, it was supposed that he would follow the usual route, by the eastern Pyrenees along the coast of the Mediterranean; and Scipio accordingly took the precaution of securing the passes of the mountains in this direction, on the present road between Barcelona and Perpignan;⁶² perhaps also he secured those other passes more inland, leading from the three valleys which meet above Lerida, into Languedoc, and to the streams which feed the Garonne. But Hasdrubal's real line of march was wholly unsuspected: for passing over the ground now so famous in our own military annals, near the highest part of the course of the Ebro, he turned the Pyrenees at their western extremity, and entered Gaul by the shores of the ocean, by the Bidassoa and the Adour.⁶³ Thence striking eastward, and avoiding the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, he penetrated into the country of the Arverni; and so would cross the Rhone near Lyons, and join Hannibal's route for the first time in the plains of Dauphiné, at the very foot of the Alps. This new and remote line of march concealed him so long, even from the knowledge of the Massilians, and obliged them to seek intelligence of his movements from the chiefs of the interior.⁶⁴

Now then the decisive year was come, the year of the great struggle so long delayed, but which the Carthaginians had never lost sight of, when Italy was to be

Doubts at Rome about the choice of consuls.

⁵⁹ Livy, XXVII. 36.

⁶² Polybius, X. 40, 11.

⁶⁰ Livy, XXVII. 18, 19. Polybius, X. 38, 39.

⁶³ Livy, XXVII. 20.

⁶¹ Polybius, X. 39, 7. Livy, XXVII. 20.

⁶⁴ Livy, XXVII. 39.

assailed at once from the north and from the south, by two Carthaginian armies, led by two sons of Hamilcar. And at this moment Marcellus, so long the hope of Rome, was gone; Fabius and Fulvius were enfeebled by age; Lævinus, whose services in Macedonia and Sicily had been so important, had offended the ruling party in the senate by his opposition to the appointment of Fulvius as dictator two years before; and no important command would as yet be intrusted to him. In this state of things the general voice pronounced that the best consul who could be chosen was C. Claudius Nero.⁶⁵

C. Nero came of a noble lineage, being a patrician of the Claudian house, and a great-grandson of the famous censor, Appius the blind. He had served throughout the war, as lieutenant to Marcellus in 540; as prætor and proprætor at the siege of Capua, in 542 and 543; as proprætor in Spain in 544; and lastly as lieutenant of Marcellus in 545.⁶⁶ Yet it is strange that the only mention of him personally before his consulship which has reached us, is unfavourable: he is said to have shown a want of vigour when serving under Marcellus in 540, and a want of ability in his command in Spain.⁶⁷ But these stories are perhaps of little authority; and if they are true, Nero must have redeemed his faults by many proofs of courage and wisdom; for his countrymen were not likely to choose the general rashly, who was to command them in the most perilous moment of the whole war; and we know that their choice was amply justified by the event.

But if Nero were one consul, who was to be his colleague?

It must be some one who was not a patrician, to comply with the Licinian law, and the now settled practice of the constitution. But there was no Decius living, no Curius, no Fabricius; and the glory of the great house of the Metelli had hitherto, during the second Punic war, been somewhat in eclipse, bearing the shame of that ill-advised Metellus, who dared after the rout of Cannæ to speak of abandoning Italy in despair. The brave and kindly Gracchus, the bold Flaminius, the unwearied and undaunted Marcellus, had all fallen in their country's cause. Varro was living, and had learnt wisdom by experience, and was serving the state well and faithfully; but it would be of evil omen to send him again with the last army of the commonwealth to encounter a son of Hamilcar. At last men remembered a stern and sullen old man, M. Livius, who had been consul twelve years before, and had then done good service against the Illyrians, and obtained a triumph, the last which Rome had seen;⁶⁸ but whose hard nature had made him general-

⁶⁵ Livy, XXVII. 34.

⁶⁶ Livy, XXIV. 17. XXV. 2, 3. 22.

XXVI. 17. XXVII. 14.

⁶⁷ Livy, XXIV. 17. XXVII. 14.

⁶⁸ See above, p. 271, 272.

ly odious, and who, having been accused before the people of dividing the Illyrian spoil amongst his soldiers unfairly, had been found guilty and fined.⁶⁹ The shame and the sense of wrong had so struck him,—for though ungracious and unjust from temper, he was above corruption,—that for some years he lived wholly in the country; and though he had since returned to Rome, and the last censors had obliged him to resume his place in the senate, yet he had never spoken there, till this very year, when the attacks made on his kinsman, the governor of Tarentum, had induced him to open his lips in his defence. He was misanthropical to all men, and especially at enmity with C. Nero: yet there were qualities in him well suited to the present need; and the senators suggested to their friends and tribesmen and dependents, that no better consuls could be appointed than C. Nero and M. Livius.⁷⁰

The people might agree to choose Livius, but would he consent to be chosen? At first he refused altogether: He consents reluctantly to be chosen consul; “If he were fit to be consul, why had they condemned him? if he had been justly condemned, how could he deserve to be consul?” But the senators reproved him for this bitterness, telling him “that his country’s harshness was to be borne like a parent’s, and must be softened by patient submission.” Overpowered, but not melted, he consented to be elected consul.

Then the senators, and especially Q. Fabius, besought him to be reconciled to his colleague. “To what purpose?” he replied: “we shall both serve the com- and is reconciled to Nero. monwealth the better, if we feel that an enemy’s eye is watching for our faults and negligences.” But here again the senate’s authority prevailed; and the consuls were publicly reconciled.⁷¹ Yet the vindictive temper of Livius still burnt within him so fiercely, that, before he took the field, when Q. Fabius was urging him not to be rash in hazarding a battle, until he had well learnt the strength of his enemy, he replied, “that he would fight as soon as ever he came in sight of him:” and when Fabius asked him why he was so impatient, he answered, “Because I thirst either for the glory of a victory, or for the pleasure of seeing the defeat of my unjust countrymen.”⁷²

It is worth while to remark what gigantic efforts the Romans made for this great campaign. One consul was to have Cisalpine Gaul for his province, the other Lucania and Bruttium; each with the usual consular army of two legions, and an equal force of Italian allies. The army of the north was supported by two others of equal force; one, com- Enormous armament of the Romans.

⁶⁹ Frontinus, IV. I. 45.

⁷⁰ Livy, XXVII. 34.

⁷¹ Livy, XXVII. 35. Valerius Maximus, IV. 2. 2. VII. 2. 6.

⁷² Livy, XXVII. 40. Valerius Maximus, IX. 3. 1.

manded by L. Porcius, one of the prætors, was to co-operate with it in the field; the other, commanded by C. Varro, was to overawe Etruria, and form a reserve. In like manner the consul of the army of the south had two similar armies at his disposal, besides his own; one in Bruttium, of which old Q. Fulvius once more took the command, and another in the neighbourhood of Tarentum. Besides these twelve legions, one legion occupied Capua, and two new home legions were raised for the immediate defence of Rome. Thus fifteen legions, containing 75,000 Roman citizens, besides an equal number of Italian allies, were in arms this year for the protection of Italy. In this same year the return of the whole population of Roman citizens of an age to bear arms according to the census, amounted only to 137,108; and in addition to the forces employed in Italy, eight legions were serving abroad; two in Sicily, two in Sardinia, and four in Spain.⁷³

Soldiers were raised with a strictness never known before; insomuch that even the maritime colonies were called upon to furnish men for the legions, although ordinarily exempted from this service, on the ground that their citizens were responsible for the defence of the sea-coast in their neighbourhood. Only Antium and Ostia were allowed to retain their customary exemption; and the men within the military age in both these colonies were obliged to swear that they would not sleep out of their cities more than thirty nights, so long as the enemy should be in Italy. The slaves also were again invited to enlist; and two legions were composed out of them; and after all, so perilous was the aspect of affairs in the north from the known disaffection of Etruria, and even of Umbria, that P. Scipio is said to have draughted 10,000 foot and 1000 horse from the forces of his province, and sent them by sea to reinforce the army of the north; while the prætor commanding in Sicily sent 4000 archers and slingers for the army of the south. The lot decided that M. Livius was to be opposed to Hasdrubal, C. Nero to Hannibal.⁷⁴

Meantime Hasdrubal had begun his march from the plains between the Rhone and the Isere, and proceeded to cross the Alps by the route formerly followed by his brother. It is said that he found the obstacles of all kinds, both those presented by nature, and those offered by the hostility of the inhabitants, far less than had been experienced by Hannibal. The inhabitants were now aware that the stranger army meant them no ill; that it was merely passing through their valleys on its way to a distant land, to encounter its enemies there. Nay, it is added that traces of Hannibal's engineering were still

Means taken to
raise troops.

Hasdrubal crosses the
Alps, and advances
upon Ariminum.

⁷³ Livy, XXVII. 36.

⁷⁴ Livy, XXVII. 38.

in existence, that the roads which he had built up along the steep mountain sides, and the bridges which he had thrown over the torrents, and the cuttings which he had made through the rocks, after having been exposed for eleven years to the fury of the avalanches, and the chafing of the swollen streams, were even now serviceable to Hasdrubal. At any rate Hasdrubal appeared in Italy sooner than either friend or foe had expected him;⁷⁵ and having issued from the Alpine valleys, and crossed the Po, he descended along its right bank, and sat down before the Latin colony of Placentia. But the colony was one of the faithful eighteen, and did not forget its duty. It closed its gates; and Hasdrubal had no artillery to batter down its walls; he only lay before it therefore long enough for the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians to join him, and then pressed forward on his march by the line of the later Æmilian road, towards Ariminum and the shores of the Adriatic. The prætor L. Porcius retreated before him; and Hasdrubal sent off four Gaulish horsemen and two Numidians to his brother, to announce his approach, and to propose that they should unite their two armies in Umbria, and from thence advance by the Flaminian road straight upon Rome.⁷⁶ Livius had by this time arrived on the scene of action, and had effected his junction with L. Porcius: yet their combined forces were unable to maintain their ground on the frontier of Italy; Ariminum was abandoned to its fate; they fell back behind the Metaurus; and still keeping the coast road,—for the later branch of the Flaminian road, which ascends the valley of the Metaurus, was not yet constructed,—they encamped about fourteen miles farther to the south, under the walls of the maritime colony of Sena.⁷⁷

On the other side of Italy, C. Nero, availing himself of the full powers with which the consuls were invested for this campaign, had incorporated the two legions, which Q. Fulvius was to have commanded in Bruttium, with his own army, leaving Fulvius at the head of a small army of reserve at Capua. With an army thus amounting to 40,000 foot and 2500 horse, Nero fixed his head quarters at Venusia; his object being by all means to occupy Hannibal, and to hinder him from moving northwards to join his brother.⁷⁸

Nero encamps at Venusia.

At no part of the history of this war do we more feel the want of a good military historian, than at the opening of this memorable campaign. What we have in Livy is absolutely worthless; it is so vague, as well as so falsified, that the truth from which it has been corrupted can scarcely be discovered. We are told that Hannibal moved later from his

Difficulties in the history of this campaign.

⁷⁵ Livy, XXVII. 39. Appian, VII. 52.

⁷⁶ Livy, XXVII. 43.

⁷⁷ Appian, VII. 52.

⁷⁸ Livy, XXVII. 40.

winter quarters than he might have done, because he thought that his brother could not arrive in Cisalpine Gaul so early as he actually did ; and we are told that he received information of his having reached Placentia.⁷⁹ Yet, after having heard this, he wastes much time in moving about in the south, first into Lucania, then to Apulia, thence falling back into Bruttium, and finally advancing again into Apulia, and there remaining idle, till the fatal blow had been struck in the north. It is added, that in the course of these movements he was several times engaged with the Romans, and lost nearly 15,000 men, killed or taken.⁸⁰ Putting aside these absurdities, in which we cannot but recognize the perversions of Valerius Antias, or some annalist equally untrustworthy, we must endeavour as far as possible to conjecture the outline of the real story.

With 40,000 men under an active general opposed to him in the field, and with 20,000 more in his rear in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, Hannibal could only act on the offensive by gathering all his remaining garrisons into one mass, and by raising additional soldiers, if it were possible, amongst the allies who yet adhered to him. This was to be accomplished in the face of a superior enemy, and, as Hasdrubal was already arrived on the Po, without loss of time. It was for this object apparently that he entered Lucania, to raise soldiers amongst his old partisans there ; with this view he crossed back into Apulia, and then moved into Bruttium to join the new Brutian levies, which had been collected by Hanno, the governor of Metapontum. All this he effected, baffling the pursuit of Nero, or beating off his attacks ; and having amassed a force sufficient for his purpose, he again turned northwards, re entered Apulia, advanced, followed closely by Nero, to his old quarters near Canusium, and there halted.⁸¹ Whether he was busy in collecting corn for his farther advance, or whether he was waiting for more precise intelligence from his brother, we know not ; but we do not find that he moved his army beyond Canusium.

Admitting however that Hannibal was aware of Hasdrubal's arrival before Placentia, we can understand why his own movements could not but be suspended, after he had collected all his disposable force together, till he should receive a fresh communication from his brother. For from Placentia Hasdrubal had a choice of roads before him ; and it was impossible for Hannibal to know beforehand which he might take. But on this knowledge his own plans were to depend : if Hasdrubal crossed the Apennines into Etruria, in order to rally the disaffected Etruscans around him, Hannibal might then ad-

Hannibal's movements.

He waits for tidings from his brother.

⁷⁹ Livy, XXVII. 39.

⁸⁰ Livy, XXVII. 41, 42.

⁸¹ Livy, XXVII. 42.

vance into Samnium and Campania: if on the other hand, Hasdrubal were to move eastward towards the Adriatic, thinking it desirable that the two armies should act together, then Hannibal also would keep near the coast, and retracing the line of his own advance after the battle of Thrasymenus, would be ready to meet his brother in Picenum, or in Umbria. And it was in order to determine Hannibal's movements, that Hasdrubal, when he left Placentia, sent off the six horsemen, as has been already mentioned, to say that he was marching upon Ariminum, instead of upon Etruria, and that the two brothers were to effect their junction in Umbria.

With marvellous skill and good fortune Hasdrubal's horsemen made their way through the whole length of Italy. But Hannibal's rapid movement into Brut-^f tium disconcerted them: they attempted to follow him thither; but mistaking their way, and getting too near to Tarentum, they fell in with some foragers of the army of Q. Claudius, and were made prisoners. The prætor instantly sent them under a strong escort to Nero. They were the bearers of a letter from Hasdrubal to his brother, containing the whole plan of their future operations: it was written, not in cipher, but in the common Carthaginian language and character; and the interpreter read its contents in Latin to the consul.^{s2}

Nero took his resolution on the instant. He dispatched the letter to the senate, urging the immediate recall of Fulvius with his army from Capua to Rome, the ^{Nero leaves his camp,} calling out every Roman who could bear arms, and the marching forward the two home legions to Narnia, to defend that narrow gorge of the Flaminian road against the invader. At the same time he told the senate what he was going to do himself. He picked out 7000 men, of whom 1000 were horse, the flower of his whole army; he ordered them to hold themselves in readiness for a secret expedition into Lucania, to surprise one of Hannibal's garrisons; and as soon as it was dark, he put himself at their head, leaving his lieutenant, Q. Catius, in the command of the main army, and began his march.^{s3}

His march was not towards Lucania. Already before he left his camp had he sent forward horsemen on the road ^{and marches to join Livius.} leading to Picenum and Umbria, with the consul's orders, that all the provisions of the country should be brought down to the road-side, that all horses and draught cattle should be led thither also, and carriages for the transport of the weak and wearied soldiers. Life and death were upon his speed, the life and death of his country. His march was towards the camp of his colleague, before Sena; his hope was to crush Hasdrubal

^{s2} Livy, XXVII. 43.^{s3} Livy, XXVII. 43.

with their combined and overwhelming forces, whilst Hannibal, waiting for that letter which he would never receive, should remain still in Apulia.

When Nero had reached a sufficient distance from Hannibal, he disclosed the secret of his expedition to his soldiers. They felt the glory of their mission, and shared the spirit of their leader. Nor was it a little thing to witness the universal enthusiasm which every where welcomed their march. Men and women, the whole population of the country, crowded to the road side ; meat, drink, clothing, horses, carriages, were pressed upon the soldiers ; and happy was the man from whom they would accept them. Every tongue blessed them as deliverers ; incense rose on hastily built altars, where the people, kneeling as the army passed, poured forth prayers and vows to the gods for their safe and victorious return. The soldiers would scarcely receive what was offered to them : they would not halt ; they ate standing in their ranks ; night and day they hastened onwards, scarcely allowing themselves a brief interval of rest.⁸⁴ In six or seven days the march was accomplished : Livius had been forewarned of his colleague's approach : and according to his wish Nero entered the camp by night, concealing his arrival from Hasdrubal no less successfully than he had hidden his departure from Hannibal.⁸⁵

The new comers were to be received into the tents of Livius' soldiers ; for any enlargement of the camp would have betrayed the secret ; and they were more than seven thousand men : for their numbers had been swelled on their march ; veterans who had retired from war, and youths too young to be enlisted, having pressed Nero to let them share in his enterprise. A council was held the next morning ; and though Livius and L. Porcius, the prætor, urged Nero to allow his men some rest before he led them to battle, he pleaded so strongly the importance of not losing a single day, lest Hannibal should be upon their rear, that it was agreed to fight immediately. The red ensign was hoisted as soon as the council broke up ; and the soldiers marched out and formed in order of battle.⁸⁶

The enemy, whose camp, according to the system of ancient warfare, was only half a mile distant from that of Hasdrubal retreats, the Romans, marched out and formed in line to meet them. But as Hasdrubal rode forward to reconnoitre the Roman army, their increased numbers struck him ; and other circumstances, it is said, having increased his suspicions, he led back his men into their camp, and sent out some horsemen to collect information. The Romans then returned to their own

⁸⁴ Livy, XXVII. 45.

⁸⁵ Livy, XXVII. 46.

⁸⁶ Livy, XXVII. 46.

camp ; and Hasdrubal's horsemen rode round it at a distance to see if it were larger than usual, or in the hope of picking up some stragglers. One thing alone, it is said, revealed the secret ; the trumpet, which gave the signal for the several duties of the day, was heard to sound as usual once in the camp of the prætor, but twice in that of Livius. This, we are told, satisfied Hasdrubal that both the consuls were before him ; unable to understand how Nero had escaped from Hannibal, and dreading the worst, he resolved to retire to a greater distance from the enemy ; and having put out all his fires, he set his army in motion as soon as night fell, and retreated towards the Metaurus.⁸⁷

Whose narrative Livy has followed here, we cannot tell ; it is not that of Polybius, except in part : and some points speak ill for the credibility of its author. along the banks of the Metaurus.

According to this account, Hasdrubal marched back fourteen miles to the Metaurus : but his guides deserted him and escaped unobserved in the darkness, so that, when the army reached the Metaurus, they could not find the fords, and began to ascend the right bank of the river, in the hope of passing it easily when daylight came, and they should be arrived at a higher part of its course. But the windings of the river, it is said, delayed him : as he ascended further from the sea, he found the banks steeper and higher ; and no ford was to be gained.⁸⁸

The Metaurus, in the last twenty miles of its course, flows through a wide valley or plain, the ground rising into heights rather than hills, while the mountains from which it has issued ascend far off in the distance, and bound the low country near the sea with a gigantic wall. But, as is frequently the case in northern Italy, the bed of the river is like a valley within a valley, being sunk down between steep cliffs, at a level much below the ordinary surface of the country ; which yet would be supposed to be the bottom of the plain by those who looked only at the general landscape, and did not observe the kind of trough in which the river was winding beneath them. Yet this lower valley is of considerable width ; and the river winds about in it from one side to the other, at times running just under its high banks, at other times leaving a large interval of plain between it and the boundary. The whole country, both in the lower valley and in the plain above, is now varied with all sorts of cultivation, with scattered houses and villages, and trees ; an open, joyous, and habitable region, as can be found in Italy. But when Hasdrubal was retreating through it, the dark masses of uncleared wood still no doubt in many parts covered the face of the higher plain, overhanging the very cliffs of the lower valley ; and the river below, not to be judged of by its present scanty and

Description of the course of the Metaurus.

⁸⁷ Livy, XXVII. 47.

⁸⁸ Livy, XXVII. 47.

loitering stream, ran like the rivers of a half cleared country, with a deep and strong body of waters.

These steep cliffs would no doubt present a serious obstacle to an army wishing to descend to the edge of the river; and if their summits were covered with wood, they would at once intercept the view, and make the march more difficult. Thus Hasdrubal was overtaken by the Romans, and obliged to fight. It is clear from Polybius that he had encamped for the night after his wearisome march; and retreat being fatal to the discipline of barbarians, the Gauls became unmanageable, and indulged so freely in drinking, that, when morning dawned, many of them were lying drunk in their quarters, utterly unable to move.⁸⁹ And now the Roman army was seen advancing in order of battle; and Hasdrubal, finding it impossible to continue his retreat, marched out of his camp to meet them,⁹⁰

No credible authority tells us what was the amount of his army: that the Roman writers extravagantly magnified it, is certain; and that he was enormously outnumbered by his enemy is no less so. Polybius⁹¹ says, that he deepened his lines, diminishing their width, and drawing up his whole force in a narrow space, with his ten elephants in front. We hear nothing of his cavalry, the force with which his brother had mainly won his victories; and he had probably brought scarcely any African horse from Spain: what Gaulish horsemen had joined him since he had crossed the Alps, we know not. His Gaulish infantry, as many as were fit for action, were stationed on his left, in a position naturally so strong as to be unassailable in front; and its flank would probably be covered by the river. He himself took part with his Spanish infantry, and attacked the left wing of the Roman army, which was commanded by Livius. Nero was on the Roman right, the prætor in the centre.⁹²

Between Hasdrubal and Livius the battle was long and obstinately disputed, the elephants being, according to Polybius, an equal aid, or rather an equal hinderance, to both parties;⁹³ for, galled by the missiles of the Romans, they broke sometimes into their own ranks, as well as into those of the enemy. Meanwhile Nero, seeing that he could make no progress on his front, drew off his troops out of the line, and passing round on the rear of the prætor and of Livius, fell upon the right flank and the rear of the enemy. Then the fate of the day was decided; and the Spaniards, outnumbered and surrounded, were cut to pieces in their ranks, resisting to the last. Then too, when

He is defeated and slain.

⁸⁹ Polybius, XI. 3.

⁹⁰ Livy, XXVII. 48.

⁹¹ Polybius, XI. 1.

⁹² Livy, XXVII. 48.

⁹³ XI. 1.

all was lost, Hasdrubal spurred his horse into the midst of a Roman cohort, and there fell sword in hand, fighting, says Livy with honourable sympathy, as became the son of Hamilcar and brother of Hannibal.⁹⁴

The conquerors immediately stormed the Carthaginian camp, and there slaughtered many of the Gauls, whom they found still lying asleep in the helplessness of Effects of the victory. brute intoxication.⁹⁵ The spoil of the camp was rich, amounting in value to 300 talents: of the elephants, six were killed in the action; the other four were taken alive. All the Carthaginian citizens who had followed Hasdrubal, were either killed or taken; and 3000 Roman prisoners were found in the camp, and restored to liberty. The loss of men on both sides was swelled prodigiously by the Roman writers, ambitious, it seems, of making the victory an exact compensation for the defeat of Cannæ; but Polybius⁹⁶ states it at 10,000 men on the side of the vanquished, and 2000 on that of the Romans; a decisive proof that Hasdrubal's army actually engaged cannot have been numerous; for of those in the field few can have escaped. But the amount of the slain mattered little; Hasdrubal's army was destroyed; and he himself had perished; and Hannibal was left to fight out the war with his single army, which, however unconquerable, could not conquer Italy.

Polybius⁹⁷ praises the heroic spirit of Hasdrubal, saying that he knew when it was time for him to die; that, Value of Hasdrubal's life. having been careful of his life, so long as there was any hope of accomplishing his grand enterprise, when all was lost, he gave his country, what Pericles calls the greatest and noblest gift of a true citizen, the sacrifice of his own life. And doubtless none can blame the spirit of self-devotion to the highest known duty: Hasdrubal was true to his country in his death as in his life. Yet the life of a son of Hamilcar was to Carthage of a value beyond all estimate: Hasdrubal's death outweighed the loss of many armies; and had he deigned to survive his defeat, he might again have served his country, not only in peace as Hannibal did after his defeat at Zama, but as the leader of a fresh army of Gauls and Ligurians, of Etruscans and Umbrians, co-operating with his brother in marching upon Rome.

With no less haste than he had marched from Apulia, Nero hastened back thither to rejoin his army. All was Hannibal receives intelligence of his brother's death. quiet there: Hannibal still lay in his camp, waiting for intelligence from Hasdrubal. He received it too soon, not from Hasdrubal, but from Nero: the Carthaginian prisoners were exhibited exultingly before his camp; two of them were set at

⁹⁴ Livy, XXVII. 49. Polybius, XI. 2.

⁹⁵ Polybius, XI. 3.

⁹⁶ XI. 3.

⁹⁷ XI. 2.

liberty, and sent to tell him the story of their defeat ; and a head was thrown down in scorn before his outposts, if his soldiers might know whose it was. They took it up, and brought to Hannibal the head of his brother.⁹⁸ He had not dealt so with the remains of the Roman generals : but of this Nero recked nothing ; as indifferent to justice and humanity in his dealings with an enemy, as his imperial descendants showed themselves towards Rome, and all mankind.

Meanwhile, from the moment that Nero's march from the south had been heard of at Rome, intense anxiety possessed the whole city. Every day the senate sat from sunrise to sunset ; and not a senator was absent : every day the forum was crowded from morning till evening, as each hour might bring some great tidings ; and every man wished to be among the first to hear them. A doubtful rumour arose, that a great battle had been fought, and a great victory won only two days before : two horsemen of Narnia had ridden off from the field to carry the news to their home ; it had been heard and published in the camp of the reserve army, which was lying at Narnia to cover the approach to Rome. But men dared not lightly believe what they so much wished to be true : and how, they said, could a battle fought in the extremity of Umbria be heard of only two days after at Rome ? Soon however it was known that a letter had arrived from L. Manlius Acidinus himself, who commanded the army at Narnia : the horsemen had certainly arrived there from the field of battle, and brought tidings of a glorious victory. The letter was read first in the senate, and then in the forum from the rostra : but some still refused to believe : fugitives from a battle-field might carry idle tales of victory to hide their own shame : till the account came directly from the consuls it was rash to credit it.⁹⁹ At last word was brought that officers of high rank in the consul's army were on their way to Rome ; that they bore a despatch from Livius and Nero. Then the whole city poured out of the walls to meet them, eager to anticipate the moment which was to confirm all their hopes. For two miles, as far as the Milvian bridge over the Tiber, the crowd formed an uninterrupted mass ; and when the officers appeared, they could scarcely make their way to the city, the multitude thronging around them, and overwhelming them and their attendants with eager questions. As each man learnt the joyful answers, he made haste to tell them to others : "the enemy's army is destroyed ; their general slain ; our own legions and both the consuls are safe." So the crowd re-entered the city ; and the three officers, all men of noble names, L. Veturius Philo, P. Licinius Varus, and Q. Metellus, still followed by the thronging multi-

⁹⁸ Livy, XXVII. 51.

⁹⁹ Livy, XXVII. 50.

tude, at last reached the senate-house. The people pressed after them into the senate-house itself: but even at such a moment the senate forgot not its accustomed order; the crowd was forced back; and the consuls' despatch was first read to the senators alone. Immediately afterwards the officers came out into the forum: there L. Veturius again read the despatch; and as its contents were short, and it told only the general result of the battle, he himself related the particulars of what he had seen and done. The interest of his hearers grew more intense with every word; till at last the whole multitude broke out into a universal cheer, and then rushed from the forum in all directions to carry the news to their wives and children at home, or ran to the temples to pour out their gratitude to the gods. The senate ordered a thanksgiving of three days; the prætor announced it in the forum; and for three days every temple was crowded; and the Roman wives and mothers in their gayest dresses, took their children with them, and poured forth their thanks to all the gods for this great deliverance. It was like the burst of all nature, when a long frost suddenly breaks up, and the snow melts, and the ground resumes its natural colouring, and the streams flow freely. The Roman people seemed at last to breathe and move at liberty: confidence revived; and with it the ordinary business of life regained its activity: he who wanted money found that men were not afraid to lend it; what had been hoarded came out into circulation; land might be bought without the dread that the purchase would be rendered worthless by Hannibal's ravages; and in the joy and confidence of the moment, men almost forgot that their great enemy with his unbroken army was still in Italy.¹⁰⁰

At the end of the year both consuls returned to Rome, and triumphed. Many years had passed since this spectacle had been exhibited in its full solemnity; for ^{The consuls triumph.} Marcellus had only obtained the smaller triumph, or ovation, in which the general passed through the streets on foot. But now the kingly chariot once more carried a Roman consul in the pomp of kingly state up to the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter; and the streets once more resounded with the shouts and rude jests of the victorious soldiers, as they moved in long array after their general. The spoil of Hasdrubal's camp was large; each soldier received a donative of three denarii and a half; and three millions of sesterces in silver, besides 80,000 pounds of the old Italian copper money, were carried into the treasury. Nero rode on horseback by the side of his colleague's chariot; a distinction made between them, partly because Livius had happened to have the command on the day of the battle, and partly because Nero had come without his army; his province still requiring its usual force, as Hannibal

¹⁰⁰ Livy, XXVII. 51.

was there. But the favour of the multitude, if we can trust the writers under Augustus, when they speak of his adopted son's ancestor, amply compensated to Nero for this formal inferiority : they said that he was the real conqueror of Hasdrubal, while his name, even in absence, had overawed Hannibal.¹⁰¹ One thing however is remarkable, that Nero was never employed again in a military command : we only hear of him after his consulship as censor. Fabius and Fulvius and Marcellus had been sent out year after year against Hannibal ; whilst the man, whose military genius eclipsed all the Roman generals hitherto engaged in Italy, was never opposed to him again. Men's eyes were turned in another direction ; and the conqueror of the Metaurus was less regarded than a young man whose career of success had been as brilliant as it was uninterrupted, and who was now almost entitled to the name of conqueror of all Spain. It is time that we should trace the events of the war in the west, and describe the dawn of the glory of Scipio.

¹⁰¹ Livy, XXIX. 37.

CHAPTER XLVII.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. HIS OPERATIONS IN SPAIN. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF NEW CARTHAGE. BATTLE OF BÆCULA. THE CARTHAGINIANS EVACUATE THE SPANISH PENINSULA. SCIPIO RETURNS TO ROME, AND IS ELECTED CONSUL.—A. U. C. 543 TO A. U. C. 548.

THREE generations of Scipios have already been distinguished in Roman history ; L. Scipio Barbatus, who was actively engaged in the third Samnite war ; L. Scipio, his son, who was consul early in the first Punic war, and obtained a triumph ; and Publius and Cnæus Scipio, the sons of L. Scipio, who served their country ably in Spain in the second Punic war, and, as we have seen, were at last cut off there by the enemy, towards the end of the siege of Capua. Publius Scipio, who was killed in Spain, left two sons behind him, Lucius and Publius : of these, Lucius, the elder, became afterwards the conqueror of king Antiochus ; Publius, the younger, was the famous Scipio Africanus.

Family of the Scipios.

Athens abounded in writers at the time of the Peloponnesian war ; but, had not Thucydides been one of them, how hard would it be rightly to estimate the characters of the eminent men of that period ! And even Thucydides seems in one instance to have partaken of the common weaknesses of humanity : his personal gratitude and respect for Antiphon has coloured, not indeed his statement of his actions, but his general estimate of his worth : he attributes an over-measure of virtue to the conspirator, who scrupled not to use assassination as a means of overthrowing the liberty and independence of his country. But Polybius, whose knowledge of Rome was that of a foreigner, and for a long time of a prisoner, could not be to Roman history what Thucydides is to that of Greece, even if in natural powers he had approached more nearly to him ; and all his accounts of the Scipios are affected by his intimacy with the younger Africanus, and are derived from partial sources, the anecdotes told by the elder Lælius, or the funeral orations and traditions of the family. On the other hand, there was a large

Contradictory accounts of Scipio's character.

party in Rome, to whom Scipio was personally and politically obnoxious; and their writers would naturally circulate stories unfavourable to him. Hence, the accounts of his early life and character are varying, and sometimes contradictory; and points apparently the most notorious are stated very differently, so that we know not what to believe. His friend and companion, Lælius, told Polybius,¹ that in his first battle, when only seventeen, he saved his father's life; but Cælius Antipater said that this was a false pretension; that the consul, P. Scipio, was saved, not by his son, but by the fidelity of a Ligurian slave.² By his friends again Scipio is represented as one who, amid all temptations of youth and power, maintained the complete mastery over his passions:³ while his enemies said that his youth was utterly dissolute; and that the famous story of his noble treatment of the Spanish captive maiden was invented to veil conduct which had really been of the very opposite nature.⁴ His common admirers extolled his singular devotion to the gods: he delighted, it was said, to learn their pleasure, and to be guided by their counsel; nor would he ever engage in any important matter, public or private, till he had first gone up to the capitol, and entered the temple of Jupiter, and there sat for a time alone, as it seemed, in the presence of the god, and doubtless enjoying unwonted communications from his divine wisdom.⁵ But Polybius, by temper and by circumstances a rationalist, is at great pains to assure his readers, that Scipio owed no part of his greatness to the gods, and that his true oracle was the clear judgment of his own mind.⁶ According to him, Scipio did but impose upon and laugh at the credulity of the vulgar; speaking of the favour shown him by the gods, while he knew the gods to be nothing. Livy, with a truer feeling, which taught him that a hero cannot be a hypocrite, suggests a doubt, though timidly, as if in fear of the skepticism of his age, whether the great Scipio was not really touched by some feelings of superstition,⁷ whether he did not in some degree speak what he himself believed.

A mind like Scipio's, working its way under the peculiar influences of his time and country, cannot but move irregularly; it cannot but be full of contradictions. Two hundred years later, the mind of the dictator Cæsar acquiesced contentedly in Epicureanism: he retained no more of enthusiasm than was inseparable from the intensity of his intellectual power, and the fervour of his courage, even amidst his utter

¹ X. 3.² Livy, XXI. 46.³ Polybius, X. 18, 19. Livy, XXVI. 49, 50.⁴ Cn. Nævius and Valerius Antias, quoted by A. Gellius, VI. 8.⁵ Polybius, X. 2, 5, 11. Livy, XXVI. 19.⁶ Polybius, X. 2, 5, 7.*⁷ XXVI. 19. Sive et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi.

moral degradation. But Scipio could not be like Cæsar. His mind rose above the state of things around him; his spirit was solitary and kingly; he was cramped by living among those as his equals, whom he felt fitted to guide as from some higher sphere; and he retired at last to Liternum to breathe freely,⁸ to enjoy the simplicity of childhood, since he could not fulfil his natural calling to be a hero king. So far he stood apart from his countrymen, admired, revered, but not loved. But he could not shake off all the influences of his time; the virtue, public and private, which still existed at Rome, the reverence paid by the wisest and best men to the religion of their fathers, were elements too congenial to his nature, not to retain their hold on it; they cherished that nobleness of soul in him, and that faith in the invisible and divine, which two centuries of growing unbelief rendered almost impossible in the days of Cæsar. Yet how strange must the conflict be, when faith is combined with the highest intellectual power, and its appointed object is no better than Paganism! Longing to believe, yet repelled by palpable falsehood, crossed inevitably with snatches of unbelief, in which hypocrisy is ever close at the door, it breaks out desperately, as it may seem, into the region of dreams and visions, and mysterious communings with the invisible, as if longing to find that food in its own creations, which no outward objective truth offers to it. The proportions of belief and unbelief in the human mind in such cases, no human judgment can determine: they are the wonders of history; characters inevitably misrepresented by the vulgar, and viewed even by those who in some sense have the key to them as a mystery, not fully to be comprehended, and still less explained to others. The genius which conceived the incomprehensible character of Hamlet, would alone be able to describe with intuitive truth the character of Scipio or of Cromwell.

In both these great men, the enthusiastic element which clearly existed in them, did but inspire a resistless energy into their actions, while it in no way interfered with the calmest and keenest judgment in the choice of their means: nor in the case of Scipio did it suggest any other end of life, than such as was appreciated by ordinary human views of good. Where religion contained no revelation of new truth, it naturally left men's estimate of the end of their being exactly what it had been before, and only furnished encouragement to the pursuit of it. It so far bore the character of magic, that it applied superhuman power to the furtherance of human purposes: the gods aided man's work; they did not teach and enable him to do theirs.

Its effect on his life.

The charge of early dissoluteness brought against Scipio by

⁸ Livy, XXXVIII. 52, 53. Valerius Maximus, V. 3. 2.

his enemies is likely to have been exaggerated, like the stories of our Henry V. Yet the sternest and firmest manhood has sometimes followed a youth marked with many excesses of passion: and what was considered an unbecoming interruption to the cares of public business, was held to be in itself nothing blameable. That sanction of inherited custom, which at Rome at this period was the best safeguard of youthful purity, Scipio was not inclined implicitly to regard.

With all his greatness there was a waywardness in him, which seems often to accompany genius; a self-idolatry, natural enough where there is so keen a consciousness of power and of lofty designs; a self-dependence, which feels even the most sacred external relations to be unessential to its own perfection. Such is the Achilles of Homer, the highest conception of the individual hero, relying on himself, and sufficient to himself. But the same poet who conceived the character of Achilles, has also drawn that of Hector; of the truly noble, because unselfish hero, who subdues his genius to make it minister to the good of others, who lives for his relations, his friends, and his country. And as Scipio lived in himself and for himself, like Achilles, so the virtue of Hector was worthily represented in the life of his great rival Hannibal, who, from his childhood to his latest hour, in war and in peace, through glory and through obloquy, amid victories and amid disappointments, ever remembered to what purpose his father had devoted him, and withdrew no thought or desire or deed from their pledged service to his country.

Scipio had fought at Cannæ, and after the battle, had been forward, it was said, in putting down that dangerous spirit, which showed itself among some of high birth and name, when they were purposing to abandon Italy in despair, and seek their fortune in Greece or Egypt or Asia.⁹ His early manhood had attracted the favour of the people; and although the details are variously given, it is certain that he was made curule ædile at an early age, and with strong marks of the general good will.¹⁰ But he had filled no higher office than the ædileship, when his father and uncle were killed in Spain, and when C. Nero, after the fall of Capua, was sent out as proprætor to command the wreck of their army, and joining it to the force which he brought from Italy, to maintain the almost desperate cause of the Roman arms in the west.

He held his ground, and even ventured, if we may believe a story overrun with improbabilities, to act on the offensive, and to penetrate into the south of Spain, as far as the Bætis.¹¹ The faults of the Carthagi-

Charge against him.

Comparison between his character and Hannibal's.

His first offices.

A. U. C. 543.

A. U. C. 544. A. C. 210. War in Spain after the death of the Scipios.

⁹ Livy, XXII. 53. See above, p. 319. ¹¹ Livy, XXVI. 17.

¹⁰ Polybius, X. 4. Livy, XXV. 2.

nian generals were ruining their cause, and vexing the spirit of Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, who alone knew the value of the present opportunity, and was eager to make use of it. But the other Hasdrubal and Mago thought their work was done, and were only anxious to enrich themselves out of the plunder of Spain. They disgusted the Spanish chiefs by their insolence and rapacity, while they were jealous of each other, and both, as was natural, hated and dreaded the son of Hamilcar.¹² Accordingly all concert between the Carthaginian generals was at an end; they engaged in separate enterprises in different parts of the country: Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, and Mago, moved off to the extreme west of the peninsula, to subdue and plunder the remoter Spanish tribes; and only Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, remained to oppose the Romans. Nero therefore, whether he acted on the offensive or no, was certainly unassailed behind the Iberus; and at the end of the year 544, eighteen months at least after the defeat of the Scipios, the Roman arms had met with no fresh disaster; and the coast of the Mediterranean between the Pyrenees and the Iberus still acknowledged the Roman dominion.

It was at this period that the government resolved to increase its efforts in Spain, to employ a larger army there, and to place it under the command of an officer of higher rank than Nero, who was only *proprætor*.

A. U. C. 545. A. C. 209. The Romans resolve to prosecute it with more vigour.

It was probable that Hasdrubal's expedition to Italy was now seriously meditated, and that the Romans, being aware of this, were anxious to detain him in Spain; but, even without this special object, the importance of the Spanish war was evident; and it was not wise to leave the Roman cause in Spain in its present precarious state, in which it was preserved only by the divisions and want of ability of the enemy's generals. Accordingly, the tribes were to meet to appoint a *proconsul*, who should carry out reinforcements to Spain, and, with a *proprætor* acting under him, take the supreme command of the Roman forces in that country.

To the surprise of the whole people, P. Scipio, then only in his twenty-seventh year, and who had filled no higher office than that of *curule ædile*, came forward as a candidate.¹³ It is said that he had no competitors, all men being deterred from undertaking a service which seemed so unpromising; whereas Scipio himself had formed a truer judgment of the state of affairs in Spain, and felt that they might be restored, and that he himself was capable of restoring them. He expressed his confidence strongly in all his addresses to the people; and there was that in him which distinguished his boldness from a young man's idle boastings, and communicated his hope to his hearers.¹⁴ At the same age, and nearly under the same circum-

Scipio is elected *proconsul* for the Spanish war,

¹² Polybius, IX. 11. X. 36.

¹³ Livy, XXVI. 18. Polybius, X. 6.

¹⁴ Livy, XXVI. 19. Polybius, X. 6.

stances, in which Napoleon was appointed in 1796 to take the command of the French army of Italy, was P. Scipio chosen by the unanimous voice of the Roman people, to take the command of their army in Spain. And great as were the consequences of the appointment of Napoleon, those which followed the appointment of Scipio were greater and far more lasting.

At the same time a new proprætor was to be sent out in the room of C. Nero, whose year of command was and goes with large reinforcements to Spain. come to an end. His successor was M. Junius Silanus,¹⁵ who had been prætor two years before, and since that time had been employed in overawing the party disaffected to Rome in Etruria. The two new generals were to take with them large reinforcements, amounting to 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and a fleet of thirty quinqueremes. The troops were embarked at the mouth of the Tiber; and the fleet proceeded along the coasts of Etruria, Liguria, and Gaul, till it arrived safely at Emporiæ, a Massaliot colony, lying immediately on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees. Here the soldiers were disembarked, and proceeded by land to Tarraco; the fleet followed; and the head quarters of the proconsul were established at Tarraco for the winter, as it was too late in the season to admit of any active operations immediately.¹⁶

And now that Spain has received that general and that army, View of Spain. by whom her fate was fixed through all after time, —for the expulsion of the Carthaginians from the peninsula decided its subjection to the Romans, and though the work of conquest was slow, and often interrupted, it was not the less sure,—let us for a moment survey the earliest known state of this great country; what Spain was, and who were the earliest Spaniards, before Romans, Goths, and Moors, had filled the land with stranger races, and almost extirpated the race and language of its original people.

The Spanish peninsula, joined to the main body of Europe by Description of the Spanish peninsula. the isthmus of the Pyrenees, may be likened to one of the round bastion towers which stand out from the walls of an old fortified town, lofty at once and massy. Spain rises from the Atlantic on one side, and the Mediterranean on the other, not into one or two thin lines of mountains divided by vast tracts of valleys or low plains, but into a huge tower, as I have called it, of table land, from which the mountains themselves rise again like the battlements on the summit. The plains of Castile are mountain plains, raised nearly 2000 feet above the level of the sea; and the elevation of the city of Madrid is nearly double that of the top of Arthur's Seat, the hill or mountain which overhangs Edinburgh. Accordingly the centre of Spain, notwithstanding its

¹⁵ Livy, XXVI. 19.

¹⁶ Livy, XXVI. 19, 20.

genial latitude, only partially enjoys the temperature of a southern climate; while some of the valleys of Andalusia, which lie near the sea, present the vegetation of the tropics, the palm tree, the banana, and the sugar cane. Thus the southern coast seemed to invite an earlier civilization; while the interior, with its bleak and arid plains, was fitted to remain for centuries the stronghold of barbarism.

Accordingly the first visits of the Phœnicians to Spain are placed at a very remote period. Some stories ascribed the foundation of Gades to Archelaus the son of Phœnix.—Phœnix and Cadmus being the supposed founders of Tyre and Sidon, and belonging to the earliest period of Greek tradition; while other accounts of a more historical character made the origin of Gades contemporary with the reign of the Athenian Codrus, that is, about a thousand years before the Christian era.¹⁷ Three hundred years later, the Prophet Isaiah¹⁸ describes the downfall of Tyre as likely to give deliverance to the land of Tarshish; that is, to the south of Spain, where the Phœnicians had established their dominion. In the time of Ezekiel, the Tyrian trade with Spain was most flourishing; and the produce of the Spanish mines, silver, iron, tin, and lead, are especially mentioned as the articles which came from Tarshish to the Phœnician ports.¹⁹ Nor did the Phœnicians confine themselves to a few points on the sea coast; they were spread over the whole south of Spain; and the greatest number of the towns of Turditania were still inhabited in Strabo's time by people of Phœnician origin.²⁰ They communicated many of the arts of life to the natives, and among the rest the early use of letters; for the characters which the Iberians used in their writing before the time of the Romans,²¹ can scarcely have been any other than Phœnician. The Phœnicians visited Spain at a very remote period; but they found it already peopled. Who the aboriginal inhabitants were, and from whence they came, it is impossible to determine. The Greeks called them Iberians, and said that, although they were divided into many tribes, and spoke many various dialects, they yet all belonged to the same race.²² It cannot be doubted that their race and language still exist; that the Basques, who inhabit the Spanish provinces of Guipuscoa, Biscay, Alava, and Navarre, and who in France occupy the country between the Adour and the Bidassoa, are the genuine descendants of the ancient Iberians. Their language bears marks of extreme antiquity; and its unlikeness to the other languages of Europe is very strik-

Early Phœnician settlements in Spain. The Basques, a remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants.

¹⁷ Velleius, I. II. 5.

¹⁸ XXIII. 10.

¹⁹ XXVII. 12.

²⁰ III. p. 149.

²¹ Strabo, III. p. 139.

²² Herodotus, in a fragment of Stephanus Byzantius, v. Ἰβηρίαι, preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and given by Berkelius: Τὰ Ἰβηρικὸν γένος—διώρισται ὀνόμασιν, ἐν γένος ἑὸν, κατὰ φύλα.

ing, even when compared with Welsh, or with Slavonic. The affinities of the Welsh numerals with those of the Teutonic languages, and the Greek and Latin, are obvious at the first glance; and the same may be said of most of the Slavonic numerals: but the Basque are so peculiar, that it is difficult to identify any one of them, except "sei," "six," with those of other languages.²³ And an evidence of its great antiquity seems furnished by the fact, that the inflexions of the nouns and verbs are manifestly so many distinct words, inasmuch as they exist in a separate form as such. We suspect this reasonably of the terminations of the nouns and verbs of Greek and Latin; but in the Basque language it can be proved beyond question.²⁴

We have seen that the Phœnicians were settled amongst the Iberians in the south; and Keltic tribes were said to be mixed up with them in parts of the north and centre, forming a people, whom the Greeks called Keltiberians. How far strangers of other races were to be found in Iberia, it is difficult to decide. One or two Greek colonies from Massalia, such as Rhoda and Emporiæ, were undoubtedly planted on the shore of the Mediterranean, just within the limits of Iberia, immediately to the south of the Pyrenees.²⁵ These belong to the times of certain history; but stories are told of invasions of Spain, and of colonies founded on its territory, on which in their present form we can place no reliance. Carthaginian writers spoke of a great expedition of the Tyrian Hercules into Spain, at the head of an army of Medes, Persians, Armenians, and other nations of the east.²⁶ Megasthenes,²⁷ the Greek traveller and historian of

²³ I give the Welsh from Pughe's Welsh grammar, Denbigh, 1832; the Slavonic (Bohemian), from Dobrowsky, Prague, 1729. Prag. 1819; the Basque from Larramendi, Arte de la Lingua Bascongada, Salamanca, 1729.

Lehrgebäude der Böhmischen Sprache,

Numerals from 1 to 10.

	WELSH.	SLAVONIC.	BASQUE.
One	Un	Geden	Bat
Two	Dau	Dwa	Bi
Three	Tri	Tri	Hirú
Four	Pedwar	Etyñ	Lau
Five	Pump	Pêt	Bost
Six	Chwech	Ssest	Sei
Seven	Saith	Sedm	Zazpi
Eight	Wyth	Osm	Zortzi
Nine	Naw	Dewët	Bederatzi
Ten	Deg	Deset	Amâr.

²⁴ See W. Humboldt's Dissertation on the Basque Language in Adelung's *Mithridates*, vol. iv. pp. 314–332.

²⁵ Strabo, III. pp. 159, 160.

²⁶ Sallust, Jugurth. c. XVIII.

²⁷ Quoted by Strabo, XV. 1. § 6. p.

687, and by Josephus, *Antiq.* X. 11, § 1, and contr. Apion. I. 20. Strabo's character of Megasthenes is not favourable: διαφερόντως ἀπιστεῖν ἄξιον Δημόχῳ τε καὶ Μεγασθένει. II. 1. p. 70.

India, said that Tearco, king of Æthiopia, and Nabuchodonosor, king of the Chaldæans, had both carried their arms as far as Spain. Amongst the innumerable countries which were made the scene of the adventures of the Greek chiefs on their return from Troy, after they had been scattered by the famous storm, the coasts of Iberia, and even its coasts upon the ocean, are not forgotten.²⁸ Other stories, as we have seen, claimed a Greek origin for Saguntum; while others again called it a Rutulian colony, from the Tyrrheno-Pelasgian city of Ardea.²⁹ The settlements of the Greek chiefs on their way home from Troy are mere romances, as unreal as the famous siege of Paris by the Saracens in the days of Charlemagne, or as the various adventures and settlements of Trojan exiles, which were invented in the middle ages. Whether any real events are disguised in the stories of the expeditions of Hercules, of Tearco, and of Nabuchodonosor, is a question more difficult to answer: for the early migrations from the east to the west are buried in impenetrable obscurity. But the Persians and Æthiopians may have made their way into Spain before historical memory, as the Vandals and Arabs invaded it in later times; the fact itself is not incredible, if it rested on any credible authority.

Not knowing then what strange nations may at one time or other have invaded or settled in Spain, we cannot judge how much the Iberian character and man-
State of agriculture in Spain.
 ners were affected by foreign influence. Agriculture was practised from a period beyond memory: but the vine and olive, and perhaps the flax, were first introduced into the south of Spain by the Phœnicians, and only spread northwards gradually, the vine and fig advancing first, and the olive, as becomes its greater tenderness, following them more slowly and cautiously. Even in Strabo's time the vine had scarcely reached the northern coast of Spain; and the olive, when Polybius wrote, appears not to have been cultivated north of the Sierra Morena.³⁰ Butter supplied the place of oil to the inhabitants of the northern coast, and beer that of wine.³¹

In the character of the people some traits may be recognized, which even to this day mark the Spaniard. The
Character of the Iberians.
 grave dress,³² the temperance and sobriety, the un-
 yielding spirit, the extreme indolence, the perseverance in guerilla warfare, and the remarkable absence of the highest military qualities, ascribed by the Greek and Roman writers to the ancient Iberians, are all more or less characteristic of the Spaniards of modern times. The courtesy and gallantry of the Spaniard to

²⁸ Strabo, III. pp 149, 150.

³¹ Strabo, III. p. 155. Polybius in

²⁹ Livy, XXI. 7. See Niebuhr, vol. i. Athenæus, I. 28.

note 127.

³² Strabo, III. p. 145. μελανείμονες ἄπαν-

³⁰ III. p. 164.

women has also come down to him from his Iberian ancestors : in the eyes of the Greeks, it was an argument of an imperfect civilization, that among the Iberians the bridegroom gave, instead of receiving, a dowry ; that daughters sometimes inherited to the exclusion of sons, and, thus becoming the heads of the family, gave portions to their brothers, that they might be provided with suitable wives.³³ In another point, the great difference between the people of the south of Europe, and those of the Teutonic stock, was remarked also in Iberia : the Iberians were ignorant, but not simple-hearted ; on the contrary, they were cunning and mischievous, with habits of robbery almost indomitable, fond of brigandage, though incapable of the great combinations of war.³⁴ These, in some degree, are qualities common to almost all barbarians ; but they offer a strong contrast to the character of the Germans, whose words spoke what was in their hearts, and of whose most powerful tribe it is recorded, that their ascendancy was maintained by no other arms than those of justice.³⁵

Spanish soldiers had for more than two centuries formed one of the most efficient parts of the Carthaginian armies ;³⁶ and on this account the Carthaginian government set a high value on its dominion in Spain. But this dominion furnished Carthage with money, no less than with men. The Spanish mines had been worked for some centuries ; first by the Phœnicians of Asia, and latterly by their Carthaginian descendants ; yet they still yielded abundantly. And some of them have been worked for two thousand years since the Carthaginians were driven out of the country ; and to this hour their treasures are unexhausted.³⁷

These mines existed for the most part in the mountains which divide the streams running to the Guadiana from those which feed the Guadalquivir.³⁸ This is the chain so well known by the name of the Sierra Morena ; but the several arms which it pushes out towards the sea eastward and southward, were also rich in precious metals ; and some mines were worked in the valley of the Guadalquivir itself, as low down as Seville. The streams, moreover, which flowed from these mountains, brought down gold mingled with their sand and gravel ;³⁹ and this was probably collected long before the working of the regular mines began. But in the time of the second Punic war the mines were worked actively ; and a hundred years earlier, the cinnabar or sulphuret of quicksilver, of the famous mines of Almaden, was well known in the markets of Greece.⁴⁰ The Carthaginians honoured as a hero or demi-god, the man who first

³³ Strabo, III. p. 165.

³⁴ Strabo, III. p. 154.

³⁵ Tacitus, German. 22, 35.

³⁶ Herodotus, VII. 165.

³⁷ Strabo, III. 146-148.

³⁸ Strabo, III. p. 142.

³⁹ Strabo, III. p. 146.

⁴⁰ Strabo, III. p. 147.

discovered the most productive silver mines; and one of these was in the immediate neighbourhood of New Carthage itself.⁴¹ Others were nearer the Guadalquivir, at Castulo and Ilipa; or on the feeders of the Guadiana, as at Sisapo,⁴² the ancient name of the place near to which the great quicksilver mines were worked, now known as the mines of Almaden. One large and most productive silver mine, yielding three hundred pounds daily, is said to have been opened by Hannibal himself,⁴³ who, while he was in Spain, had married the daughter of one of the chiefs of Castulo,⁴⁴ and perhaps had acquired some possessions through her in the mining district, as Thucydides had through his wife in Thrace.

The immense resources which the Carthaginians derived from their Spanish dominion, seemed now more than ever secured to them, by the destruction of the Ro-
Scipio's first measures in Spain.
 man army under the two Scipios, and the consequent retreat of the Romans behind the Iberus. But the divisions between their generals, and the arrogance with which their officers now treated the Spaniards, as if it was no longer worth while to conciliate them, had made a fatal opening, exposing their power to the most deadly blow which it had yet sustained. Scipio, with intuitive sagacity, observed this opening, and with decision no less admirable struck his blow to the heart of his enemy. He formed his plans at Tarraco during the winter; as soon as the season allowed his fleet to co-operate with him, he put it and his army in motion; and while the three Carthaginian generals were in places equally remote from one another, and from the point threatened by the enemy, Scipio crossed the Iberus, and led his land and sea forces to besiege New Carthage.⁴⁵

His early and most intimate friend C. Lælius commanded the fleet; the proprætor, M. Silanus, was left behind the Iberus with 3000 foot and 500 horse, to protect the country of the allies of Rome, while Scipio himself led 25,000 foot and 2500 horse on his expedition. Polybius declares that the march from the Iberus to New Carthage was performed in seven days; but as, according to his own reckoning, the distance was not less than 325 Roman miles, the accuracy of one or both of his statements may well be questioned.⁴⁶ Three degrees of latitude divide Carthagenæ from the Ebro; and the ordinary windings and difficulties of a road in such a distance must make it all but an impossibility that an army with its baggage should have marched over it in a single week. However, the march was undoubtedly rapid; and the Roman army estab-

A. U. C. 545. A. C. 209. He marches against New Carthage.

⁴¹ Polybius, X. 10, 11. Strabo, III. p. 148.

⁴² Polybius, X. 38. 7. Strabo, III. p. 142.

⁴³ Pliny, XXXIII. 31.

⁴⁴ Livy, XXIV. 41.

⁴⁵ Polybius, X. 6-9. Livy, XXVI. 42.

⁴⁶ Polybius, X. 9. 7. III. 39, 5. XXVI. 42.

lished itself under the walls of New Carthage, while all succour was far distant, and when the actual garrison of a place so important did not exceed a thousand men. To the protection of a force so small was committed the capital of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain, the base of their military operations, their point of communication with Africa, their treasures and magazines, and the hostages taken from the different Spanish tribes to secure their doubted fidelity.⁴⁷

The present town of Carthage stands at the head of its famous harbour, built partly on some hills of tolerable height, and partly on the low ground beneath them, with a large extent of marshy ground behind it, which is flooded after rains, and its inner port surrounded by the buildings of the arsenal, running deeply into the land on its western side. But in the times of the second Punic war, the marshy ground behind was all a lagoon, and its waters communicated artificially with those of the port of the arsenal; so that the town was on a peninsula, and was joined to the main land only by a narrow isthmus, which had itself been cut through in one place, to allow the lagoon-water to find an outlet.⁴⁸ Scipio then encamped at the head of this isthmus; and having fortified himself on the rear, with the lagoon covering his flank, he left his front open, that nothing might obstruct the free advance of his soldiers to storm the city.⁴⁹

Accordingly, without delay, he was preparing to lead on his men to the assault, when he was himself assailed by Mago, who with his scanty garrison made a desperate sally along the isthmus against the Roman camp. After an obstinate struggle, the besieged were beaten back into the town with loss; and the Romans, following them, fixed their ladders to the walls, and began to mount. But the height of the walls was so great, that the long ladders necessary to reach their summit broke in some instances under the weight of the soldiers who crowded on them; and the enemy made their defence so good, that towards afternoon Scipio found it expedient to recall his men from the assault.⁵⁰

He had told his men before the assault began, that the god Neptune had appeared to him in his sleep, and had promised to give him aid in the hour of need, so manifest, that all the army should acknowledge his interposition.⁵¹ For the lagoon, it seems, was so shallow, that even the slight fall of the tide in the Mediterranean was sufficient to leave much of it uncovered, as is the case at this day in parts of the harbour of Venice. This would take place in the afternoon, and Scipio

⁴⁷ Polybius, X. 8.

⁴⁸ Polybius, X. 10. Livy, XXVI. 42.

⁴⁹ Polybius, X. 11.

⁵⁰ Polybius, X. 12, 13. Livy, XXVI.

45.

⁵¹ Polybius, X. 11. Livy, XXVI. 45.

ordered five hundred men to be ready with ladders, to march across the lagoon as soon as the ebb began. Then he renewed his assault by the isthmus ; and whilst this in itself discouraged the enemy, who had hoped that their work for the day was over, and whilst the soldiers again swarmed up the ladders, and the missiles of the besieged were beginning to fail, the five hundred men who were in readiness, boldly rushed across the lagoon, and, having guides to show them the hardest parts of it, reached the foot of the walls in safety, applied their ladders where there were no defenders, and mounted without opposition.⁵²

No sooner had they won the walls, than they hastened to the main gate of the city, towards the isthmus ; and when they had burst it open, their comrades from without rushed in like a torrent. At the same moment the scaling parties on each side of the main gate overbore the defenders, and were now overflowing the ramparts. Mago reached the citadel in safety ; but Scipio in person pushed thither with a thousand picked men ; and the governor, seeing the city lost, surrendered. The other heights in the town were stormed with little difficulty ; and the soldiers, according to the Roman practice, commenced a deliberate massacre of every living creature they could find, whether man or beast, till, after the citadel had surrendered, a signal from their general called them off from slaughter, and turned them loose upon the houses of the town to plunder. Yet it marks the Roman discipline, that even before night fell, order was restored. Some of the soldiers marched back to the camp, from whence the light troops were sent for to occupy one of the principal heights of the town ; Scipio himself, with a thousand men, went to the citadel ; and the tribunes got the soldiers out of the houses, and made them bring all their plunder into one heap in the market-place, and pass the night there quietly, waiting for the regular division of the spoil, which was to take place on the following morning.⁵³

When the morning came, whilst the usual distribution of the money arising from the sale of the plunder was made by the tribunes, Scipio proceeded to inspect his prisoners. All were brought before him together, to the number of nearly 10,000. He first caused them to be divided into three classes. One consisted of all the citizens of New Carthage, with their wives and families : all these Scipio set at liberty, and dismissed them to their homes unhurt. The second class contained the workmen of handicraft trades, who were either slaves, or, if free, only sojourners in the city, enjoying no political rights. These men were told, that they were now the slaves of the Roman people, but that, if they worked well and zealously in their

Scipio's conduct to the prisoners.

⁵² Polybius, X. 14. Livy, XXVI. 46.

⁵³ Polybius, X. 15. Livy, XXVI. 46.

several callings, they should have their liberty at the end of the war. Meantime they were all to enter their names with the quæstor; and a Roman citizen was set over every thirty of them as an overseer. These workmen were in all about two thousand. The third class contained all the rest of the prisoners, domestic slaves, seamen, fishermen, and the mixed populace of the city; and from these Scipio picked out the most able-bodied, and employed them in manning his fleet: for he found eighteen ships of the enemy at New Carthage; and these he was able to add to his own naval force immediately, by putting some of his own seamen into them, and filling up their places with some of the captives, taking care however that the number of these should never exceed a third of the whole crew. The seamen thus employed were promised their liberty at the end of the war, like the workmen, if they did their duty faithfully.⁵⁴

The Carthaginian prisoners and the Spanish hostages were still to be attended to. The former were committed to the care of Lælius, to be taken forthwith to Rome; and there were amongst them fifteen members of the great or ordinary council of Carthage, and two members of the council of elders. The Spanish hostages were more than three hundred; and amongst them were many young boys. To show kindness to these was an obvious policy: accordingly Scipio made presents to them all, and desired them to write home to their friends, and assure them that they were well and honourably treated, and that they would all be sent back safely to their several countries, if their countrymen were willing to embrace the Roman alliance. Particular attention was shown to the wife of a Spanish chief of high rank, who had been recently seized as a hostage by Hasdrubal Gisco, because her husband had refused to comply with his demands for money. Her treatment had been rude and insolent, if not worse; but Scipio assured her that he would take as delicate care of her and of the other Spanish women, as he would of his own sisters or daughters. This honourable bearing of the young conqueror, for Scipio was not more than twenty-seven years of age, produced a deep impression all over Spain.⁵⁵

After this important conquest, Scipio remained for a time at New Carthage, and busied himself in exercising his soldiers and seamen, and in setting his workmen to labour in manufacturing arms.⁵⁶ He had taken a considerable artillery in the place, a large sum of money, abundant magazines of corn, and about sixty-three merchant-ships in the harbour, with their cargoes; so that, according to Livy, the least valuable part of the conquest of New Carthage was New Carthage itself.⁵⁷

Magazines taken in the city.

⁵⁴ Polybius, X. 16, 17. Livy, [XXVI.

47.

⁵⁵ Polybius, X. 18. Livy, XXVI. 47,

49.

⁵⁶ Polybius, X. 20.

⁵⁷ XXVI. 47. Polybius, X. 19.

Lælius with his prisoners arrived at Rome after a voyage of thirty-four days, and brought the welcome news of this great restoration of the Roman affairs in Spain.⁵⁸ Amidst the confusions of the chronology of the Spanish war, it is not easy to ascertain the exact time at which Lælius reached Rome. But it is probable that he arrived there early in the year 545, perhaps at that critical moment when the disobedience of the twelve colonies excited such great alarm, and when the destruction of the army of Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea was still fresh in men's memories. Scipio's victory was therefore doubly welcome; and his requests for supplies were favourably listened to: for his army, although victorious, was still in want of many things, the old soldiers especially, who had been ill clothed and worse paid during several years. Accordingly we find that a sum of fourteen hundred pounds' weight of gold was brought out from the treasure reserved for the most extraordinary occasions, and expended in purchasing clothing for the army in Spain.⁵⁹

Lælius carries the news of this conquest to Rome.

Scipio himself returned from New Carthage to Tarraco, taking his Spanish hostages with him.⁶⁰ It was early in the season; but we hear of no other military action during the remainder of the year. This on Scipio's part is easily intelligible: his army was too weak to hold the field against the combined forces of the enemy; and it was his object to strengthen himself by alliances with the natives, and to draw them off from the service of Carthage, if he could not induce them to enter that of Rome. He had struck one great blow with vigour, surprising the enemy by his rapidity: but what had been won by vigour might be lost by rashness; and after so great an action as the conquest of New Carthage, he could well afford to lie quiet for the rest of the year, waiting for his supplies of clothing from Rome, and strengthening his interest amongst the chiefs of Spain. The inactivity of the Carthaginian generals would be more surprising, if we did not make allowance for the paralyzing effect of their mutual jealousies. No efficient co-operation could be contrived between them; and Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, was too weak to act alone, and, disgusted with the conduct of his colleagues, was probably anxious to husband his own army carefully, looking forward now more than ever to the execution of his long projected march upon Italy. Thus there was a pause from all active operations in Spain for several months; whilst in Italy Fabius had recovered Tarentum, and he and Fulvius were on the point of being succeeded in the consulship by Marcellus and Crispinus.

The rest of the year passes in inaction.

The loss of Tarentum made it more important than ever,

⁵⁸ Livy, XXVII. 7.

⁵⁹ Livy, XXVII. 10.

⁶⁰ Livy, XXVII. 17. Polybius, X. 34.

A. U. C. 546. A. C.
208. Decline of the
Carthaginian influ-
ence in Spain.

that Hasdrubal should join his brother in Italy ; while the growing disposition of the Spaniards to revolt to Rome rendered the prospect of success in Spain less encouraging. But with no Carthaginian accounts remaining, and amidst the confusions, omissions, and contradictions, of the Roman historians, it is almost impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the events of the ensuing year, 546, in Spain. Masinissa, then a very young man, the son of a Numidian king, named Gala, was sent over from Africa with a large body of Numidian cavalry to reinforce Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, principally, it is said, in order to his march into Italy.⁶¹ Still Hasdrubal made no forward movement, but remained in a very strong position near a place called variously Bæcula or Bebula, situated in the upper valley of the Guadalquiver, near the mining district ; and there he seemed rather disposed to await Scipio's attack, than to assume the offensive.⁶² He saw that the fidelity of the Spaniards to Carthage was deeply shaken, not only by the loss of their hostages, but by the encouraging treatment which the hostages themselves had received from the Romans. This feeling had been working ever since the fall of New Carthage ; and now its fruits were daily becoming more manifest ; insomuch that, when the time at which Scipio was expected to take the field drew near, Mandonius and Indibilis, two of the most influential of the Spanish chiefs, retired with all their followers from Hasdrubal's camp, and established themselves in a strong position, from which they might join the Romans, as soon as their army should appear in the south.⁶³ On the other hand, Scipio's Roman force was strengthened, by his having laid up his fleet, and draughted the best of his seamen into the legions, to increase the number of his soldiers. And although a combined effort of the three Carthaginian generals might yet have recovered New Carthage, or at any rate kept Scipio behind the Iberus, nothing of this sort was attempted ; and Hasdrubal Gisco, jealous, it seems, both personally and politically of Hannibal's brother, left him unaided to sustain the first assault of the enemy.

Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, therefore, under these circumstances, was doubtless anxious to carry into effect his expedition into Italy. Yet, not wishing it to be said that he had abandoned his colleagues, he resolved first to try his strength with Scipio, to see what Spanish tribes would actually join him, and whether, by offering battle in a favourable position, he could repulse the enemy, and thus break that spell of Scipio's fortune which was working so powerfully. But in this hope he was disappointed. Scipio advanced from the

Hasdrubal leaves
Spain.

⁶¹ Livy, XXIV. 49. XXV. 34.

⁶² Polybius, X. 38. Livy, XXVII. 18.
Appian, VI. 24.

⁶³ Polybius, X. 35. Livy, XXVII. 17.

Iberus to the valley of the Bætis, or Guadalquiver, before Hasdrubal saw any thing of the armies of his colleagues hastening to his aid : many Spanish tribes joined the Roman army at the Iberus ; Mandonius and Indibilis hastened to it as soon as it approached the place where they were posted ; and Hasdrubal, unable to maintain his strong position, and, if we believe Scipio's statement, seeing it in the act of being carried by the enemy at the close of a successful assault, retreated accordingly, not towards the southern sea, nor towards the western ocean, but northwards towards the Tagus,⁶⁴ and from thence, as we have seen, towards the western Pyrenees ; there recruiting his army from those tribes which had not yet come under the influence of Rome, and preparing for that great expedition to Italy, of which we have already related the progress and the event.

Before Hasdrubal finally retreated, he had lost many prisoners. All those who were Spaniards, were sent home free without ransom by the politic conqueror ; and he liberally rewarded those Spanish chiefs who had already come over to his side. They on their part saluted him with the title of king. The first Hasdrubal, the founder of New Carthage, had lived in kingly state amongst the Spaniards ; and they probably thought that Scipio meant to do the same, and would pass the rest of his life in their country. But the name of king, although perhaps not ungrateful to Scipio's ears, was intolerable to those of his countrymen ; nor would he have been contented to reign in Spain over barbarians : his mind was already turned towards Africa, and anticipated the glory of conquering Carthage. So he repressed the homage of the Spanish chiefs, and desired them to call him, not king, but general. He then took possession of the strong position which Hasdrubal had evacuated ; and there he remained during the rest of the season, watching, so it is said, the movements of Hasdrubal Gisco, and Mago, who were now come upon the scene of action. On the approach of winter he again returned to Tarraco.⁶⁵

Such is the account given by Polybius of the events of the war in Spain during the summer of the year 545 ; and such, no doubt, was the statement given by Scipio himself, and obtained by Polybius from Scipio's old friend and companion, C. Lælius. What Silenus said of these events, we know not ; and it is possible that Hasdrubal's account of them was never known, owing to his subsequent fate, so that Silenus may have had no peculiar information about them, and may have passed them over slightly. It is evident that Scipio's pretended victory at Bæcula was of little importance. Hasdrubal carried off

⁶⁴ Polybius, X. 38, 39. Livy, XXVII. 17, 18. Appian, VI. 25-28.

⁶⁵ Polybius, XXXVIII. 40. Livy, XXVII. 19.

all his elephants, all his treasure, and a large proportion of his infantry: he was not pursued; he retreated in the direction which best suited his future movements; and these movements he effected without the slightest interruption from the enemy. Scipio did not follow him, says Polybius,⁶⁶ because he dreaded the arrival of the other Hasdrubal and Mago: he remained in the south, therefore, to keep them in check, and to prevent them from attacking New Carthage; and not doubting that Hasdrubal would follow his brother's route, and attempt to enter Gaul by the eastern Pyrenees, he detached some troops from his army to secure the passes of the mountains, and other defensible positions between the Iberus and the frontiers of Gaul.⁶⁷ It is probable that his notions of the geography of the western parts of Spain and Gaul were so vague, that he had no conception of the possibility of Hasdrubal's marching towards the Alps without coming near the Mediterranean. The line which he actually took from the western Pyrenees to the upper part of the course of the Rhone, through the interior of Gaul, was one of which Scipio in all probability did not even suspect the existence.

It may be asked why Hasdrubal, whose great object was to reach Italy, did not commence his march at the beginning of the year, without waiting so long at Bæcula; especially after the desertion of Mandonius and Indibilis had taught him that the Spaniards were no longer to be relied on. But he had himself on a former occasion won over the Celtiberians from the army of Scipio's father; and any reverse sustained by the Romans might tempt the Spanish chiefs to return to their old alliance. It is possible also that he waited so long at Bæcula for another reason, because he wished to carry with him as large a sum of money as possible; and he was daily drawing a supply from the abundant silver mines in the neighbourhood. The success of his expedition depended on his being able to raise soldiers amongst the Cisalpine Gauls, as well as amongst the tribes of north-western Spain; and for both these purposes ready money was most desirable.

A more inexplicable point in the story of these transactions is the alleged discord between Hasdrubal and the other Carthaginian generals; when one of them, Mago, was his own brother, and was not only a soldier of tried ability, but is expressly said to have conducted the war in Spain in accordance with Hannibal's directions, after Hasdrubal had marched into Italy.⁶⁸ Whether Mago was placed under Hasdrubal Gisco's orders, and could not act independently, or whether jealousy, or any other cause, really made him careless of his

⁶⁶ X. 39.⁶⁷ Polybius, X. 40.⁶⁸ Polybius, IX. 22.

brother's success and safety, we cannot pretend to determine : the interior of a Carthaginian camp, and still more the real characters and feelings of the Carthaginian generals, are entirely unknown to us.

The one great advantage possessed by Scipio, far more important than his pretended victory at Bæcula, was the remarkable ascendancy which he had obtained over the minds of the Spaniards. Every thing in him was at once attractive and imposing ; his youth, and the mingled beauty and majesty of his aspect ; his humanity and courtesy to the Spanish hostages and to their friends ; his energy and ability at the head of his army. Above all, there was manifest in him that consciousness of greatness, and that spirit, at once ardent, lofty, and profound, which naturally bows the hearts and minds of ordinary men, not to obedience only and respect, but to admiration, and almost to worship. The Carthaginian generals felt, it is said, that no Spanish troops could be trusted, if brought within the sphere of his influence ; Mago must go over to the Balerian islands, and raise soldiers there, who might be strangers to the name of Scipio ; while Masinissa should follow the course pursued by Mutines in Sicily, and scour the whole country with his Numidian cavalry, relieving the allies of Carthage, and harassing the states which had revolted.⁶⁹ But Masinissa himself was not secure from Scipio's ascendancy : his nephew had been made prisoner at Bæcula, and had been sent back to him without ransom :⁷⁰ some conciliatory messages were probably addressed to him at the same time, and Scipio never lost sight of him, till two years afterwards he gratified the Numidian's earnest wish for a personal interview, and then attached him for ever to the interests of Rome.⁷¹

Meanwhile that memorable year was come, when the fortune of Rome was exposed to its severest trial, and rose in the issue signally triumphant. Vainly did Scipio's guards keep vigilant watch in the passes of the eastern Pyrenees, looking out for the first signs of Hasdrubal's approach, and hoping to win the glory of driving him back defeated, and of marring his long-planned expedition to Italy. They sat on their mountain posts, looking earnestly southwards, while he for whom they waited was passing far on their rear northwards, winning his way through the deep valleys of the chain of Cebenna, or the high and bleak plains of the Arverni, till he should descend upon the Rhone, where it was as yet unknown to the Massaliot traders, flowing far inland in the heart of Gaul. Hasdrubal had accomplished his purpose : his Spanish soldiers were removed out of the reach of Scipio's ascendancy ; the accumulated treasures of his

Ascendency of Scipio over the minds of the Spaniards.

A. U. C. 547. Hasdrubal evades Scipio, and marches into Italy.

⁶⁹ Livy, XXVII. 20.

⁷⁰ Livy, XXVII. 19.

⁷¹ Livy, XXVIII. 35.

Spanish mines had purchased the aid of a numerous band of Gauls; and the Alps had seemed to smooth their rugged fastnesses to give him an easy passage. All the strength which Rome could gather was needed for the coming struggle; and Scipio, as we have seen, sent a large detachment from his own army, both of Roman soldiers and of Spaniards, to be conveyed by sea from Tarraco to Etruria, and to assist in conquering the enemy in Italy, whose march he had been unable to stop in Spain.

Thus, with Hasdrubal's army taken away from the Carthaginian force in Spain, and with the Roman army weakened by its contributions to the defence of Italy, the Spanish war was carried on but feebly during the summer of the year 547. A new general of the name of Hanno had been sent over to take Hasdrubal's place; and he and Mago proceeded to raise soldiers amongst the Celtiberians in the interior,⁷² while Hasdrubal Gisco was holding Bætica, and while Scipio was still in his winter quarters at Tarraco. But some Celtiberian deserters informed Scipio of the danger; and he sent M. Silenus with a division of his army to put it down. A march of extreme rapidity enabled him to surprise the enemy; the best of Hanno's new levies were cut to pieces, the rest dispersed. Hanno himself was made prisoner; but Mago carried off his cavalry and his old infantry without loss, and joined Hasdrubal Gisco safely in Bætica.⁷³ The formation of a Carthaginian army in the centre of Spain was thus effectually prevented; and Scipio, encouraged by this success, ventured to resume the offensive, and to advance in pursuit of Hasdrubal Gisco into the south. Hasdrubal, instead of risking a general action, broke up his army into small detachments, with which he garrisoned the more important towns. Scipio shrank from the tedious and difficult service of a series of sieges, in a country at a distance from his resources, and where Mago and Masinissa with their cavalry would be sure to obstruct, if not destroy, all his communications. But to avoid the discredit of retreating without having done any thing, he singled out one of the wealthiest and strongest of the towns thus garrisoned against him, by name Oringis, and sent his brother, L. Scipio, with a large division of his army to attack it. It was stormed after an obstinate resistance; and the conqueror, true to his brother's policy, after carrying off his Carthaginian prisoners in the garrison, restored the town unplundered to its Spanish inhabitants.⁷⁴ Thus much having been achieved for the honour of the Roman arms, Scipio carried back his whole army behind the Iberus, sent off L. Scipio to Rome, with Hanno and his other prisoners of distinction, and himself went into winter quarters as usual at Tarraco.⁷⁵

⁷² Livy, XXVIII. 1.

⁷³ Livy, XXVIII. Appian, VI. 31.

⁷⁴ Livy, XXVIII. 3.

⁷⁵ Livy, XXVIII. 4.

A. U. C. 547. A. C. 207. The campaign of 547 not marked by any decisive events.

But before the end of the season he must have received intelligence of the battle of the Metaurus. The troops which he had sent to Italy were probably, in part at least, sent back to him; and every motive combined to make him desirous of marking the next campaign by some decisive action. Nero, whom he had succeeded in Spain, had won the greatest glory by his victory over Hasdrubal: it became Scipio to show that he too could serve his country no less effectively.

The Carthaginian general, whether he had been reinforced from Africa, or whether he had used extraordinary vigour in his levies of soldiers in western Spain, took the field early in the spring of the year 548, with an army greatly superior to that of his enemy. If Polybius, or rather Scipio may be trusted, he had 70,000 foot, 4000 horse, and thirty-two elephants; while the Roman army, with all the aids which Scipio could gather from the Spanish chiefs in the Roman alliance, did not exceed 45,000 foot, and 3000 horse⁷⁶. Hasdrubal took up a position in the midst of the mining district, near a town, which is variously called Elinga and Silpia;⁷⁷ but neither its real name nor its exact situation can be determined. His camp lay on the last hills of the mountain country, with a wide extent of open plain in front of it. He wished to fight, and if possible on this ground, favourable at once to his superior numbers, and to his elephants.

Scipio, no less anxious to bring on a general battle, marched straight towards the enemy. But when he saw their numbers, he was uneasy lest the faith of his Spanish allies should fail, as it had towards his father: he dared not lay much stress on them; yet without them his numbers were too weak for him to risk a battle. His object therefore was to use his Spaniards for show, to impose upon the enemy, while he won the battle with his Romans. And thus, when the day came, on which he proposed to fight, he suddenly changed his dispositions. For some days previously, both armies had been drawn up in order of battle before their camps; and their cavalry and light troops had skirmished in the interval between. All this time the Roman troops had formed the centre of Scipio's line, opposite to Hasdrubal's Africans, while the Spanish auxiliaries in both armies were on the wings. But on the day of the decisive battle, the Spaniards formed the centre of Scipio's army, while his Roman and Italian soldiers were on the right and left. The men had eaten their breakfast before day; and the cavalry and light troops pushed forward close under the camp of the enemy, as if chal-

A. U. C. 548. A. C. 206. Scipio becomes anxious for a decisive action.

Strength and position of the two armies.

Preparations for battle.

⁷⁶ Polybius, XI. 20. Livy, XXVIII. 12. Polybius, has been altered into Ilipa, on the authority of Strabo; in the text of

⁷⁷ Elinga in the MS. and old text of Livy the name stands Silpia.

lenging him to come out and meet them. Behind this cloud of skirmishes, the infantry were fast forming, and advancing to the middle of the plain ; and when the sun rose, it shone upon the Roman line with its order completed ; the Spaniards in the centre, the Romans and Italians on the right and left ; the left commanded by M. Silanus and L. Marcius, Scipio in person leading his right.⁷⁸

The assault of the Roman cavalry and light troops called out Hasdrubal's army ; the Carthaginians poured forth from their camp without waiting to eat, just as the Romans had done at the Trebia ; their cavalry and light troops engaged the enemy ; while their infantry formed in its usual order, with the Spanish auxiliaries on the wings, and the Africans in the centre. In this state the infantry on both sides remained for a time motionless ; but when the day was advanced, Scipio called off his skirmishers, sent them to the rear, through the intervals of his maniples, and formed them behind his infantry on both wings ; the light infantry immediately behind the regular infantry, and the cavalry covering all.

For a few moments the Roman line seemed advancing evenly to meet the line of the enemy. But suddenly the troops on the right wing began to wheel round to the left, and those on the left wing wheeled to the right, changing their lines into columns ; while the cavalry moved round from the rear, and took up its position on the outside of the columns ; and both infantry and cavalry now advanced with the utmost fury against the enemy. Thus the centre of the Roman army was held back by the rapid advance of its wings ; and the Africans in Hasdrubal's centre were standing idle, doing nothing, whilst the battle was raging on their right and left, and yet not venturing to move from their position to support their wings, because of the enemy in their front, who threatened every moment to attack, yet still advanced as slowly as possible to give time for the attacks on the two wings to complete their work. And this work was not long ; Roman and Italian veterans were opposed to newly raised Spaniards ; men well fed to men exhausted by their long fast ; men perfect in all their movements, and handled by their general with masterly skill, to barbarians confused by evolutions which neither they nor their officers could deal with. As usual, the elephants did as much mischief to friends as to foes ; and the Carthaginian wings, broken and slaughtered, began to fly. Then the Africans in the centre commenced their retreat also ; slowly at first, as men who had not themselves been beaten ; but the flight of their allies infected them ; and the Romans pressed them so hardly, that they too rushed towards their camp with more haste

Scipio gains a complete victory.

⁷⁸ Polybius, XI. 22. Livy, XXVIII. 14.

than order.⁷⁹ The battle was won; and Scipio said that the camp would have been won also, had not a violent storm suddenly burst on the field of battle, and the rain fallen in such a deluge, that the Romans could not stand against it, but were obliged to seek the shelter of their own camp. Their work however was done; not least probably by the effect which the battle would have on the minds of the Spaniards. In the Carthaginian army, their countrymen had been exposed to defeat and slaughter, while the Africans looked on tamely, and moved neither hand nor foot to aid them; on the other hand, the Spaniards in Scipio's army had obtained a victory, with no loss to themselves; it had been purchased altogether by the blood of the Romans.

Accordingly the Carthaginian generals found that the contest in Spain was virtually ended. The Spanish soldiers in their army went over in large bodies to the enemy; the Spanish towns opened their gates to the Romans, and put the Carthaginian garrisons into their hands. Hasdrubal and Mago, closely followed by the enemy, retreated by the right bank of the Bætis to the shores of the ocean, and effected their escape by sea to Gades. Masinissa left them, and went home to Africa, not, it is said, without having a secret interview with M. Silanus, and settling the conditions and manner of his defection. Scipio himself returned by slow marches to Tarraco, inquiring by the way into the merits or demerits of the various native chiefs, who came crowding around him to plead their services, and to propitiate the favour of the new conqueror of Spain. Silanus, whom he had left behind in the south, to witness the final dispersion of the army of Hasdrubal, soon after rejoined him at Tarraco, and reported to him that the war was over, that no enemy was to be found in the field, from the Pyrenees to the Pillars of Hercules.⁸⁰ Scipio therefore sent off his brother to Rome, to announce the completion of his work.

His own mind was already turned to another field of action: the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Spain seemed to him only to be valued as it might enable him the easier to carry the war into Africa. He had already won the support of Masinissa: but he desired to secure a more powerful ally; and accordingly he sent Lælius over to Africa, to sound the dispositions of the Masæsylian king, Syphax, the most powerful of all the African princes, and who, although at present in alliance with the Carthaginians, had been, not many years since, their enemy. Syphax told Lælius that he would negotiate only with the Roman general in person; and Scipio, relying on his own personal ascendancy, and affecting in all things what was

⁷⁹ Polybius, XI. 23, 24. Livy, XXVIII. 15, 16.

⁸⁰ Livy, XXVIII. 16.

Destruction of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain.

Scipio crosses to Africa, and negotiates with Syphax.

extraordinary, did not hesitate to leave his province, and to cross over from New Carthage to Africa, with only two quinqueremes, in order to visit the Masæsylian king. No less fortunate than Napoleon, when returning from Egypt to France in his solitary frigate, Scipio crossed the sea without accident, and entered the king's port in safety, with the wind so brisk and fair as to carry him into the harbour in a straight course, in a very short time after his ships had first been seen from the shore.⁸¹ in the harbour, by the strangest of chances, were seven ships of the Carthaginians, which had just brought Hasdrubal from Spain with the very same object as Scipio, to secure the alliance of king Syphax ; it having been known probably, that a Roman officer had lately visited his court, with purposes which could not be doubtful. Hasdrubal and Scipio met under the roof of Syphax ; and by his special request, they were present at the same entertainment.⁸² Lælius, who had accompanied his friend to Africa, magnified the charms of his address and conversation, according to his usual practice, and told Polybius many years afterwards, that Hasdrubal had expressed to Syphax his great admiration of Scipio's genius, which, he said, appeared to him more dangerous in peace than in war.⁸³ Lælius further declared that Syphax was so overcome by Scipio's influence, as to conclude a treaty of alliance with him,⁸⁴ which treaty however, we may be very sure, was not one of those which Polybius found preserved in the capitol. It is very possible that Syphax amused Scipio with fair promises ; but in reality Hasdrubal negotiated more successfully than his Roman rival ; and the beauty of his daughter, Sophonisba, was more powerful over the mind of Syphax, than all the fascinations of Scipio's eloquence and manners.⁸⁵ Scipio however was satisfied with the success of his mission, and returned again to New Carthage.

It is manifest that, when Scipio and Silanus returned from the south of Spain to Tarraco, after the dispersion of the Carthaginian army, they imagined that their work was done ; and they cannot have expected to be called out again to active operations in the same year. But, after Scipio's return from his voyage to Africa, we find him again taking the field in the south ; we find a general revolt of the Spanish chiefs, who had so lately joined him ; and what is most startling, we find his own Roman army breaking out into an alarming mutiny. Livy's explanation is simply, that the present appeared a favourable opportunity to punish those Spanish towns, which had made themselves most obnoxious to Rome in the course of the war, and on which it would not have been expedient to take vengeance

Insurrection of the Spaniards.

⁸¹ Livy, XXVIII. 17.

⁸² Livy, XXVIII. 18.

⁸³ XI. Fragm. Mai. Livy, XXVIII. 18.

⁸⁴ Livy, XXVIII. 18.

⁸⁵ Livy. XXIX. 23.

earlier.⁸⁶ But surely, if any such intention had been entertained a few weeks sooner, the Roman army would never have been marched back behind the Iberus, but would have proceeded at once to attack the obnoxious towns, as soon as Hasdrubal and Mago had retired to Gades, and the Carthaginian army was broken up. Either the Spaniards must have given some new provocation, which called Scipio again into the field ; or some new motive must have influenced him, which hitherto he had not felt, and, outweighing all other considerations, forced him to retrace his steps to the south.

Either of these cases is sufficiently probable. Mago had by this time received instructions from Hannibal ; and acting under such direction, he was not likely to Probable causes of it. abandon Spain to the Romans without another struggle. We read of a Carthaginian garrison in Castulo, which is said to have fled thither after the dispersion of Hasdrubal's army ;⁸⁷ but it may also have been sent thither by Mago from Gades, to assist in organizing a new rising against the Romans. The mines were still in his hands ; and he probably employed their treasures liberally. Nor were causes wanting to rouse the Spaniards, without any foreign instigation. If they had admired Scipio, they had since found that his virtues did not restrain the license of his army : the Roman soldiers had fleshed themselves with the plunder of Spain, and were likely to return after a moment's respite, and fall again upon their prey. On the other hand, the Roman army, like the Spaniards afterwards in America, may have been so eager to prosecute their conquest, and to win more of the wealth of Spain, that their general found it impossible not to gratify them ; or they may have shown symptoms of license and turbulence, which made it desirable to keep them actively employed, that they might not have leisure to contrive mischief : whatever was the cause, the Roman army again marched into the south of Spain. L. Marcius was ordered to attack Castulo ; Scipio himself laid siege to Illiturgi.

Illiturgi stood on the north, or right bank of the Bætis, near to the site of the present town of Andujar and not far therefore from Baylen, and from the scene of the Situation and state of Illiturgi. almost solitary triumph of the Spanish arms in the war with Napoleon. Its people had been allies of the Carthaginians, and had revolted to Rome, when the two Scipios first advanced into the south of Spain ;⁸⁸ but after their defeat and death, Illiturgi had gone back to the alliance of Carthage ; and the Roman fugitives from the rout of the two Scipios, who escaped to Illiturgi, were either cut off by the inhabitants, or given up by them to the Car-

⁸⁶ Livy, XXVIII. 19.⁸⁸ Livy, XXIII. 49.⁸⁷ Livy, XXVIII. 20.

thaginians. Such was the Roman account of the matter; and Castulo was charged with a similar defection after the defeat of the Scipios, a defection however not aggravated, as at Illiturgi, by any particular acts of hostility.⁸⁹

Vengeance was now to be taken for this alleged treason.

Its capture and destruction.

Without any terms of peace offered or solicited on either side, the Romans prepared to attack Illiturgi, and the Spaniards with all their national obstinacy to defend it. They fought so stoutly, that the Romans were more than once repulsed; and Scipio was at last obliged to offer to lead the assault in person, and was preparing to mount the first ladder, when a general shout of his soldiers called upon him to forbear: with an overwhelming rush of numbers they crowded up the ladders in many places at once, and drove the defenders by main force from the ramparts. At the same moment, Lælius scaled the walls on the opposite side of the city; and some African deserters, who were now in the Roman service, men trained to all feats of daring activity, climbed up the almost precipitous cliff on which the citadel was built, and surprised it without resistance.⁹⁰ Then followed a horrible massacre, in which neither age nor sex was spared; and when the sword had done its work upon the people, fire was let loose upon the buildings of the city, and Illiturgi was totally destroyed.

Scipio then marched to Castulo to support L. Marcius, who had been able, it seems, to make no impression with the force under his separate command. But Scipio's arrival, fresh from the storming of Illiturgi, struck terror into the besieged; and the Spaniards hoped to make their peace by surrendering, not their town only, but a Carthaginian garrison, which was engaged jointly with them in its defence. The Romans treated Castulo, says Livy, more mildly than they had treated Illiturgi; which seems to imply that even at Castulo blood was shed after the town was taken, though it did not amount to an indiscriminate massacre.⁹¹

After this second conquest, Scipio left it to L. Marcius to complete the work, whether of vengeance or of ambition, by the subjugation of the other towns of Bætica, while he himself returned to New Carthage.⁹² Marcius crossed the Bætis, and received the submission of some of the towns on the left bank; but the inhabitants of one place, Astapa, which had rendered itself obnoxious, by carrying on an active guerilla warfare against the Roman detached parties and communications, exhibited one of those shocking instances of desperation which testify so painfully to the miserable lot of the vanquished

⁸⁹ Livy, XXVIII. 19.

⁹⁰ Livy, XXVIII. 19, 20.

⁹¹ Livy, XXVIII. 20.

⁹² Livy, XXVIII. 21.

in ancient warfare. They erected a great pile in the middle of their city, on which they threw all their ornaments and most valuable property, and then bade their wives and children ascend it, and sit down quietly on the top. Fifty chosen men were left to keep watch beside the pile, while the rest of the citizens sallied out against the Romans, determined to fight till they were cut to pieces. They fell to a man, selling their lives dearly: in the meanwhile the fifty men left by the pile performed their dreadful task; they set it on fire; they butchered the women and children who were placed on it, and then threw themselves into the flames. The Roman soldiers lost their plunder, and exclaimed against the desperate ferocity of the people of Astapa.⁹³

After this tragedy, the neighbouring towns submitted; and Marcius returned to his general at New Carthage. But he was not allowed to rest: for a secret deputation came to Scipio from Gades, offering to surrender the city to him, along with the Carthaginian fleet and garrison employed in maintaining it, and Mago their general, Hannibal's brother. Again therefore Marcius took the field with a light division of the army; and Lælius accompanied him by sea with a small squadron, to ascertain whether the offer could really be executed.⁹⁴

Offer to surrender
Gades.

It was now late in the summer; and the season, combined with the fatigue and excitement which he had undergone, brought on a serious illness upon Scipio, which rumor magnified, spreading the tidings over Spain that the great Roman general could not live. At once, it is said, the fidelity of the Spanish chiefs was shaken: Mandonius and Indibilus, who had regarded Scipio with such extreme veneration, cared nothing for the Roman people, and prepared to assert their country's independence, by driving out the Roman army.⁹⁵ But a worse mischief was threatening: a division of eight thousand Roman or Italian soldiers, who were quartered in a stationary camp on the Sucro, at once as a reserve for the army engaged in the field, and as a covering force to keep the more northern parts of Spain quiet, broke out into open mutiny; and having driven their tribunes from the camp, they conferred the command on two private soldiers, the one C. Atrius, of the allied people of the Umbrians, and the other C. Albius, of the Latin colony of Cales. It is probable that this division of Scipio's army consisted almost entirely of Latins and Italian allies; and the generals chosen accordingly represented both of these, and assumed the full state of Roman generals, causing the lictors to go before them, and to bear the rods and axes, which were the symbol of the consul's imperium, his absolute power of life and death.⁹⁶

Scipio's illness:
mutiny in the
Roman army.

⁹³ Livy, XXVIII. 22, 23. Appian, VI.

⁹⁵ Livy, XXVIII. 24.

33.

⁹⁶ Livy, XXVIII. 25.

⁹⁴ Livy, XXVIII. 23.

The alleged grievance of the mutinous soldiers was, that their pay was greatly in arrears. This indeed Its causes: Scipio's recovery. was likely to be the case, the treasury of Rome being ill able to meet the numerous demands for the public service; and as the Spanish army had avowedly been left to its own resources as to money, it is probable that the soldiers were allowed to plunder the more freely, in order to reconcile them to their not being paid in the regular manner. Scipio himself was charged with injuring the discipline of his army by his indulgence: here, as in other things, it was in his character to rely on his own personal ascendancy; and he thought that he might dispense with the constant strictness necessary to ordinary men, as he was sure that his soldiers would never be disobedient to him. But however lax his discipline was, troops at a distance from the seat of war, and quartered amongst a friendly or submissive people, must be somewhat restrained in their license of plunder; and accordingly, even before Scipio's illness, the soldiers on the Sucro complained that they were neither paid regularly as in peace, nor allowed to provide for themselves as in war. And when they heard that Scipio was at the point of death, and that the Spaniards in the north were revolting from Rome, they hoped to draw their own profit out of these troubled waters, and, following the example of the Campanians at Rhegium, to secure a city for themselves, and to live in luxury upon the plunder and the tributes of the surrounding people.⁹⁷ It is said that Mago from Gades sent them money, to prevail on them to enter into the service of Carthage, and that they took the money, but did no more than appoint their own generals, take oath of fidelity to one another, and remain in a state of open revolt from Rome.⁹⁸ They probably thought that they might establish themselves in Spain without serving any government at all; and that their own swords were more to be relied on than Mago's promises. While this was the state of affairs on the Sucro, tidings came, not of Scipio's death, but of his convalescence; and presently seven military tribunes arrived in the camp, sent by Scipio to prevent the soldiers from breaking out into any worse outrage. The tribunes affected to rejoice that matters had not been carried to any greater extremity: they acknowledged the former services of the troops, and said that Scipio was not a man to forget or leave them unrewarded; meanwhile the general would endeavour to raise money from the subject tribes of Spain, to make good their arrears of pay. Accordingly soon afterwards a proclamation appeared, inviting the soldiers to come to New Carthage to receive it.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Livy, XXVIII. 24.⁹⁸ Appian, VI. 34.⁹⁹ Livy, XXVIII. 25.

Scipio's recovery was felt from one end of Spain to the other ; the revolted Spaniards gave up their hostile purposes, and returned quietly to their homes ; and the soldiers on the Sucro, moved at once by the fear of resisting one whom the gods seemed to favour in all things, and by the hope of receiving, not only pardon for their fault, but the very pay which they demanded, resolved to march in a body to New Carthage. As they drew near to that city, the seven tribunes, who had visited their camp on the Sucro, came to meet them, gave them fair words, and mentioned, as if incidentally, that M. Silanus, with the troops at New Carthage, was to march the next morning to put down the revolt of Mandonius and Indibilis. Delighted to find that Scipio would thus be left without any force at his disposal, they entered New Carthage in high spirits : there they saw the troops all busy in preparations for their departure ; and they were told that the general was rejoiced at their seasonable arrival, to supply the place of the soldiers who were going to leave him. In perfect confidence they dispersed to their quarters for the night.¹⁰⁰

The mutineers come to New Carthage.

Thus the prey had run blindly into the snare. The seven tribunes, who met the soldiers on their march, had each been furnished with the names of five of the principal ringleaders, whom they were to secure in the course of the evening without disturbance. Accordingly they invited them to supper in their quarters, seized them all, and kept them in close custody till the next morning. But all else was quiet : the baggage of the army which was to take the field against the Spaniards, began to move before day-break ; about dawn the columns of the troops formed in the streets, and marched out of the town. But they halted at the gates ; and parties were sent round to every other gate to secure them all, and to take care that no one should leave the city. In the mean time the troops from the Sucro were summoned to the forum to meet their general ; and they crowded impatiently to the place, without their arms, as was the custom of the Greek soldiers on similar occasions. No sooner were they all assembled, than the columns from the gates marched into the town, and occupied all the streets leading to the market-place. Then Scipio presented himself on his tribunal, and sat awhile in silence. But as soon as he heard that the prisoners, who had been secured on the preceding evening, were brought up, the crier with his loud clear voice commanded silence, and Scipio arose to speak.¹⁰¹

They are surrounded.

The scene had been prepared with consummate art ; and its effect was overwhelming. The mutinous soldiers saw themselves completely in their general's pow-

The mutiny is quelled by the punishment of the ringleaders.

¹⁰⁰ Livy, XXVIII. 26.

¹⁰¹ Livy, XXVIII. 26.

er; they listened in breathless anxiety to his address, and with joy beyond all hope heard his concluding sentence, that he freely pardoned the multitude, and that justice would be satisfied with the punishment of those who had misled them. The instant he ceased speaking, the troops posted in the adjoining streets clashed their swords on their shields, as if they were going to attack the mutineers; and the crier's voice was again heard calling the names of the thirty-five ringleaders one after another, to receive the punishment to which they had been condemned. They were brought forth, already stripped and bound; each was fastened to his stake; and all underwent their sentence, being first scourged, and then beheaded. When all was finished, the bodies were dragged away, to be thrown out of the city; the place of execution was cleansed from the blood; and the soldiers from the *Sucro* heard the general and the other officers swear to grant them a free pardon with an entire amnesty for the past. They were then summoned by the crier, one by one, to appear before the general to take the usual military oath of obedience, after which each man received his full arrears of pay.¹⁰² Never was mutiny quelled with more consummate ability: and Scipio's ascendancy over his soldiers after this memorable scene was doubtless more complete than ever.

The punishment of the mutineers however, we are told, rendered the revolted Spaniards desperate. Thinking that they had already done enough to draw down Scipio's vengeance, they resolved to try the chances of war, and again took the field, and began to attack the allies of the Romans on the north of the Iberus. Scipio lost not a moment in marching in pursuit of them: he was not sorry to employ his soldiers against the enemy, as the surest means of effacing the recollection of their recent disorders; and he spoke of the Spaniards with bitter contempt, as barbarians equally powerless and faithless, on whom he was resolved to take signal vengeance. In ten days he marched from New Carthage to the Iberus; and on the fourth day after crossing the river he came in sight of the enemy. He engaged and totally defeated them, not however without a loss of more than four thousand men killed and wounded; and immediately after the battle the chiefs threw themselves on his mercy. He required nothing more than the immediate payment of a sum of money, which was to make good the money lately advanced or borrowed to pay the soldiers after the mutiny; and then, leaving Silanus at Tarraco, he returned to New Carthage.¹⁰³

Even yet he would not allow himself to rest. Leaving the mass of his army at New Carthage, he joined L. Marcius, his lieutenant, in the neighbourhood of

¹⁰² Polybius, XI. 30. Livy, XXVIII. 29. Appian, VI. 36.

¹⁰³ Polybius, XI. 31-33. Livy, XXVIII. 31-34.

Gades, for the sole purpose, it is said, of gratifying Masinissa's earnest desire of a personal interview. Masinissa had returned from Africa to Gades, and was professedly consulting with Mago how one more attempt might be made to restore the Carthaginian dominion in Spain. But his mind was already made up to join the Romans; and he took the opportunity of a pretended plundering excursion with his Numidian cavalry to arrange and effect a meeting with Scipio. He too, it is said, like all other men, was overawed at once, and delighted by Scipio's personal appearance, manner, and conversation; he promised the most zealous aid to the Romans, and urged Scipio to cross over as soon as possible into Africa, where he might be able to serve him most effectually.¹⁰⁴ Scipio's keen discernment of character taught him the value of Masinissa's friendship; and his journey from New Carthage to Gades, in order to secure it, was abundantly rewarded afterwards; for had Masinissa fought in Hannibal's army, Scipio in all probability would never have won the day at Zama.

Mago heard of the termination of the mutiny in the Roman army, and of the defeat of the revolted Spaniards in the north; and he found that the Roman army was again returned to New Carthage, and that all hopes of making head against Rome in Spain were for the present at an end. Hannibal summoned him to Italy: and the Carthaginian government, acting, as it seems, cordially upon Hannibal's views, ordered him to obey his brother's call. It was not the least bold enterprise of this great war, to plan the invasion of Italy from Gades, at a time when the whole of Spain, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees, was possessed by the enemy. But Scipio, to strengthen his land forces, had laid up the greater part of his fleet; and the exertions of the Carthaginian government, or his own, had provided Mago with a naval force, small probably in point of numbers, but consisting of excellent ships manned by skilful seamen, and capable, if ably used, of rendering essential service. He was supplied with money from Carthage; and he levied large contributions, it is said, on the people of Gades, and even emptied their treasury, and stripped their temples.¹⁰⁵ He then put to sea, so late in the season, that Scipio was gone back to Tarraco, and was preparing to return to Rome; and the Roman army being gone into its winter quarters behind the Iberus, New Carthage was left to the protection of its own garrison. This encouraged Mago to attempt to surprise the place; but in this he failed: he then crossed over to the Island of Pityusa (Iviza), which was held by the Carthaginians; and having there received supplies of provisions and of men, he proceeded to attack the two Balearian islands, now called Majorca and Minorca. He

Mago evacuates Spain, and makes preparations in Minorca for invading Italy.

¹⁰⁴ Livy, XXVIII. 35.

¹⁰⁵ Livy, XXVIII. 36.

was repulsed from the larger island, but made himself master of the smaller : there he landed his men, and drew up his ships, and purposed to pass the winter, the season securing him from any attack by sea, perhaps even hiding his movements altogether from the knowledge of the Romans ; while he lay in readiness to catch the first return of spring, and to run over to Italy, and establish himself on the coast of Liguria, in the midst of a warlike population, furnishing the materials of a future army.¹⁰⁶

Spain was thus abandoned by the Carthaginians ; and Gades, Treaty with Gades. Scipio returns to Rome. left to itself, went over to the Roman alliance, and concluded a treaty with L. Marcius, which for two centuries formed the basis of its relations with Rome.¹⁰⁷ He had probably been left in command at New Carthage, when Scipio returned to Tarraco. Scipio himself was known to be desirous of leaving Spain, and offering himself as a candidate for the consulship ; and accordingly L. Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidius were appointed proconsuls, to succeed him and M. Silanus in the command of the Roman army and province. Scipio meanwhile, accompanied by C. Lælius, returned to Rome ; he could not have a triumph, because he had been neither consul nor prætor ; but he entered the city with some display, with an immense treasure of silver, in money and in ingots, which he deposited in the treasury ; and his name was so popular, that he was elected consul immediately, with an almost unanimous feeling in his favour. His colleague was P. Licinius Crassus, who at that time held the dignity of Pontifex Maximus.¹⁰⁸

Thus the war, being altogether extinguished in Spain, was Prospects of the war in Italy. reduced as it were to Italy only ; and there it smouldered rather than blazed ; for Hannibal with his single army could do no more than maintain his ground in Bruttium. Was it possible that Mago might kindle a fierce flame in Liguria ? might blow up the half-extinguished ashes in Etruria, and reviving the fire in the south, spread the conflagration around the walls of Rome ? This was not beyond possibility : but Scipio, impatient of defensive warfare, and himself the conqueror of a vast country, was eager to stop the torrent at its source, rather than raise barriers against it, when it was sweeping down the valley : he was bent on combating Hannibal, not in Italy, but in Africa.

¹⁰⁶ Livy, XXVIII. 37.

¹⁰⁷ Livy, XXVIII. 37. Appian, VI. 37.
See Cicero pro Cornelio, c. XVII.

¹⁰⁸ Livy, XXVIII. 38.

SUPPLEMENT.

[WITH the preceding chapter the work is unfortunately terminated. From a note in the margin, that chapter appears to have been finished on the 5th of May; on the 12th of June the author breathed his last. Two more chapters at least would have been requisite to bring the history down to the end of the Second Punic War; for the heading of the forty-eighth chapter shows what it was intended to contain:—Last years of the war in Italy. Consulship of P. Scipio. Scipio in Sicily. Siege of Locri. Scipio in Africa. His victories over Hasdrubal Gisco and Syphax. The Carthaginians recall Hannibal and Mago from Italy. A.U.C. 548 to A.U.C. 551.

Every reader of the foregoing narrative of one of the most interesting and eventful periods in ancient history, must regret that the author was not allowed to carry it on to the close of the war. As the best substitute for that which we should have had, the following account of the last years of the war, written by Dr. Arnold in the year 1823, for the life of Hannibal in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, is here inserted.]

The defeat and destruction of Hasdrubal's army reduced Hannibal to the necessity of acting entirely on the defensive. It had been for some time evident, that Adventures and death of Mago. his single army could not overthrow the supremacy of Rome in Italy. Still, while the fate of the war was balanced in Spain and Sicily, and while he was looking forward to the arrival of his brother to co-operate with him, he might be justified in making himself as troublesome as possible to the enemy, even though by so doing he might sometimes incur the danger of some loss. But now his policy was altered: to maintain his ground in Italy, till another effort could be made by his government to support him, was become his most important duty. He was obliged to abandon several towns which had revolted to him from the Romans; and he forced the inhabitants of others to desert their homes, and to retire with him into the remotest part of Bruttium.

The superiority of his personal character was so great, that the Romans never dared to attack him; and thus he might repose for a while, watching the first favourable opportunity of issuing from his retreat, and attempting once more to accomplish the design with which he had originally invaded Italy. The death of Hasdrubal had not extinguished all his hopes. Mago, after the total wreck of the Carthaginian interest in Spain, was ordered, as we have seen, to attempt a diversion in Italy, and transporting a small force with him by sea, landed in Liguria, and surprised the town of Genoa.¹ The name of his family urged the Gauls and Ligurians to flock to his standard; and his growing strength excited much alarm among the Romans, and obliged them to keep a large army in the north of Italy to watch his movements. The details of his adventures are unknown; nor are we informed what cause prevented him from attempting to penetrate into Tuscany. We only find that he became so formidable an enemy as to maintain an obstinate contest against an army of four Roman legions, a few weeks before the final evacuation of Italy by Hannibal; nor were the Romans certain of victory, till Mago was mortally wounded, and obliged to leave the field. From the scene of this battle, which is said to have been in the country of the Insubrian Gauls, he retreated with as much expedition as his wound would allow, to the coast of Liguria: and there he found orders from Carthage, that he should immediately return to Africa, to oppose the alarming progress of P. Scipio. He accordingly embarked with his troops, and commenced his voyage homewards: but his exertions and anxiety of mind had proved too great for his strength; and he had scarcely passed the coast of Sardinia, when he expired. So unwearied was the zeal, and so great the ability, with which the sons of Hamilcar maintained the cause of their country, almost solely by their personal efforts, against the overbearing resources and energy of the Roman people.

When the Carthaginian government sent for Mago from Italy, they also recalled Hannibal. The account of his operations during the three or four years that preceded his return to Africa is peculiarly unsatisfactory. The Roman writers have transmitted some reports of victories obtained over him in Italy, too audacious in falsehood for even themselves to have believed. But, in truth, the terror with which he continued to inspire his enemies, after his career of success was closed, is even more wonderful than his first brilliant triumphs. For four years after the death of Hasdrubal, he remained in undisputed possession of Bruttium, when the Romans had reconquered all the rest of Italy. Here he maintained his army, without

Hannibal evacuates
Italy.

¹ Livy, XXVIII. 46. XXX. 18.

receiving any supplies from home, and with no other naval force at his disposal, than such vessels as he could build from the Bruttium forests, and man with the sailors of the country. Here too he seems to have looked forward to the renown which awaited him in after-times; and as if foreseeing the interest with which posterity would follow his progress in his unequalled enterprise, he recorded many minute particulars of his campaigns on monumental columns, erected at Lacinium,² a town situated in that corner of Italy, which was so long like a new country acquired by conquest, for himself and his soldiers. At length, when it was plain that no new diversion could be effected in his favour, and when the dangerous situation of his country called for his presence, as the last hope of Carthage, he embarked his troops without the slightest interruption from the Romans; and moved only by the disasters of others, while his own army was unbroken and unbeaten, he abandoned Italy fifteen years after he had first entered it, having ravaged it with fire and sword from one extremity to the other, and having never seen his numerous victories checkered by a single defeat.

Scipio, meanwhile, after his important services in Spain, had returned to Rome, and been elected consul, hoping to carry into execution the design which he had for some time conceived, of forcing Hannibal to leave Italy, by attacking the Carthaginians in Africa. But according to the invincible policy of Rome, he was desirous of securing the aid of some ally in the country which he was going to make the seat of war. For this end, as we have seen, he had already opened a communication with Syphax, the most considerable of the Numidian princes, and, according to Livy, had actually concluded a treaty with him. But Syphax was won over to the interests of Carthage by the charms of Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal Gisco; and a short time before Scipio crossed over into Africa, he sent to inform him of his new connexion, and to dissuade him from his intended expedition, as he should now be obliged to join the Carthaginians in opposing him. Scipio however was not yet without the prospect of finding allies in Africa. Masinissa had deserted the Carthaginian cause after its disasters in Spain, and had privately pledged himself to support the Romans on the first opportunity. Since that time, he had been deprived of his paternal dominions by the united efforts of Syphax and the Carthaginians; but though his power was thus reduced, his zeal in the cause of Rome was likely to be the more heightened; and as his personal character was high among his countrymen, many of them might be expected to join him, when they saw him supported by a Roman army. Accordingly he united himself³ to

A. U. C. 550. A. C.
204. Scipio carries the
war into Africa.

² Polybius, III. 33, 56.

³ Livy, XXIX. 29.

Scipio, so soon as he had landed in Africa ; and his activity, and perfect familiarity with the country and its inhabitants, made him a very valuable auxiliary. The landing had been effected within a few miles of Carthage itself ; and after some plunder, amongst which eight thousand prisoners to be sold for slaves are particularly specified, had been collected from the adjoining country, the army formed the siege of Utica, whilst a considerable fleet co-operated with it on the side of the sea. But the approach of Hasdrubal Gisco and Syphax, at the head of two immense armies of Carthaginians and Numidians induced Scipio to raise the siege, and to remove his troops to a strong position near the sea, where he proposed to remain, as winter was fast approaching, and secure of subsistence, through the co-operation of his fleet, to wait for some favourable opportunity of striking a vigorous blow.

His first hope was⁴ to win over Syphax again to the Roman cause ; and with this view his emissaries were continually going and returning between the Roman and Numidian camps. Their temptations to Syphax were ineffectual : but their report of the manner in which the Carthaginian and Numidian armies were quartered, suggested to Scipio the possibility of ensuring success by other means than negotiation. They related, that the Carthaginians were lodged in huts constructed of stakes or hurdles, and covered with leaves, and that the Numidian quarters were composed of similar materials, of reeds, thatch, and dried leaves. Upon this intelligence, Scipio conceived the plan of setting fire to both the camps of the enemy. In order to gain a more perfect knowledge of their situation, and the approaches to them, he pretended to listen to the terms of peace which Syphax had before proposed to him in vain. Under pretence of negotiation, he was for some months in constant correspondence with the Numidian king ; and disguising some of his most intelligent soldiers in the dress of slaves, he procured them an easy entrance into the enemy's camp, as forming part of the suite of the officers employed in the negotiation. At last, when the season for military operations was returning, and his seemingly sincere desire of peace had thrown the enemy into a state of perfect security, he suddenly broke off all communication with them, declaring that, however disposed he himself was to agree to the proposed terms, the other members of the military council were fixed on rejecting them. This sudden rupture disappointed Syphax ; but neither he nor the Carthaginian general had any suspicion of Scipio's real designs ; when suddenly the Roman army marched out by night in two divisions, the one commanded by Scipio, and the other by Lælius, his second in

He destroys the Carthaginian and Numidian army.

⁴ Polybius, XIV. 1, &c.

command, and advanced against the camps of the enemy, which were not more than six miles from their own. Lælius, assisted by Masinissa, first silently approached the encampment of the Numidians, and set fire to the first tents that he met with. The flames spread so rapidly, that the Numidians were soon precluded from approaching the quarter where they had first broken out, and thus, having no suspicion that they had been kindled by the enemy, crowded together in the utmost disorder to effect their escape out of the camp. Numbers were trampled to death in the confusion at the several outlets; numbers were overtaken by the flames and burnt to death; and the rest, on reaching the open country, found themselves intercepted by Masinissa, who had posted his troops in the quarter to which he knew that the fugitives were most likely to direct their flight. In this manner the whole Numidian army, amounting to sixty thousand men, was completely destroyed or dispersed, with the exception of Syphax himself and a few horsemen.

Meanwhile the Carthaginians, when they first saw the camp of their allies on fire, not doubting that it was occasioned by accident, began partly to run with assistance to the Numidians, and the rest rushed hastily out of their tents, without their arms, and stood on the outside of the camp, contemplating the progress of this fearful conflagration with dismay. In this helpless state they found themselves attacked by the enemy, under the command of Scipio in person: some were instantly cut down; and the rest, driven back into their camp, saw it set on fire by their pursuers. They then understood the whole extent of the calamity which had befallen their allies and themselves; but resistance and flight were alike impracticable; the fire spread with fury to every quarter; and every avenue was choked up by a struggling crowd of men and horses, all striving with the same distracted efforts to effect their escape. In this attempt, Hasdrubal and a few followers alone succeeded: thirty thousand men, who had composed the Carthaginian army, perished. The annals of war contain no bloodier tragedy.

Hasdrubal, hopeless of delaying the progress of the enemy, continued his flight to Carthage; while Syphax had retreated into the opposite direction towards his own dominions, and was endeavoring to rally the wrecks of his army. After much debate in the Carthaginian supreme council, it was resolved that the fortune of war should be tried once more. Syphax was prevailed upon to join his troops to theirs, instead of confining himself to the defence of Numidia; and the recent arrival of four thousand Spaniards, who had been enlisted by Carthaginian agents in Spain, encouraged the two confederates to hope for a successful issue. Scipio was so engrossed with the siege of Utica, which he had pushed with additional vigour after

He gains another victory.

his late victory, that he allowed the enemy to unite their forces, and appear again in the field with no fewer than thirty thousand men. But when he heard of their junction, he lost no time in advancing to meet them; and engaging them a second time, in little more than a month after the destruction of their former armies, he again totally defeated them, and obliged their two generals to fly once more, Syphax to Numidia, and Hasdrubal to Carthage.

The victors now divided their forces: Lælius and Masinissa were despatched in pursuit of Syphax; and in a short time Masinissa recovered his father's kingdom; and Syphax, having risked a third battle, was not only defeated as before, but was himself made prisoner, and his capital fell into the hands of the enemy. Scipio meantime overran the country towards Carthage, receiving or forcing the submission of the surrounding towns, and enriching his soldiers with an immense accumulation of plunder. The chief part of this, in order to lighten his army, he sent back to his winter quarters before Utica; and then he advanced as far as Tunis, and finding that important place abandoned by its garrison, posted himself there, hoping by his presence in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, to terrify the Carthaginians into complete submission. But they had not yet abandoned more resolute counsels; and instead of suing for peace, they determined to send messengers to Italy, to recall Hannibal and Mago, and, in the mean time, to make an attempt to raise the blockade of Utica, by destroying the Roman fleet. The attempt was made, and was partly successful; but this slight advantage was so far overbalanced by the defeat and capture of Syphax, intelligence of which reached Carthage about the same time, that the further prosecution of the war appeared desperate, and a deputation from the council of elders was sent to Scipio to solicit terms of peace. It is said that these deputies forgot their own and their country's dignity in the humbleness of their entreaties: they moved Scipio however to dictate such conditions as he might well deem a sufficient recompense of his victories; conditions which, by obliging the Carthaginians to evacuate Italy and Gaul,—to cede Spain and all the islands between Italy and Africa,—to give up all their ships of war, except twenty,—and to pay an immense contribution of corn and money,—sufficiently declared the complete triumph of the Roman arms. Hard as they were, the Carthaginians judged them sufficiently favourable to be accepted without difficulty. A truce was concluded with Scipio; and ambassadors were sent to Rome to procure the ratification of the senate and people.

With regard to the transactions that followed, we are more than ever obliged to regret the want of a Carthaginian historian. Wherever the family of Scipio

Interruption of the negotiations.

A. U. C. 552. A. C. 202. Defeat and capture of Syphax. The Carthaginians sue for peace.

is concerned, the impartiality of Polybius becomes doubtful ; and besides, we have only fragments of this part of his narrative, so that we cannot exactly fix the dates of the several events, a point which here becomes of considerable importance. According to our only existing authorities, the Carthaginians, emboldened by the arrival of Hannibal, or, according to Livy, by the mere expectation of his arrival, wantonly broke the truce subsisting between them and Scipio, by detaining some Roman transports which had been driven by a storm into the bay of Carthage ; and then denied satisfaction to the officers whom Scipio sent to complain of this outrage ; and lastly, in defiance of the law of nations, endeavoured to seize the officers themselves on their way back to the Roman camp at Utica. By such conduct the resentment of Scipio is described to have been very naturally provoked ; and the war was renewed with greater animosity than ever. This, no doubt, was Scipio's own report of these transactions, which Polybius, the intimate friend of his adopted grandson, and deriving his information, in part at least, from Lælius, in all probability sincerely believed. But it is probable that a Carthaginian narrative of the war in Africa would so represent the matter, that posterity would esteem the behaviour of the Carthaginians, in breaking off the truce when it suited their purposes, as neither more nor less dishonourable than the conduct of Scipio himself, when he set fire to the camps of Syphax and Hasdrubal ; and that, although the success was different, yet the treachery in both cases, whatever it may have been, was pretty nearly equal.

Hannibal, we are told, landed at Leptis,⁵ at what season of the year we know not ; and after refreshing his troops for some time at Adrumetum, he took the Battle of Zama. field, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Zama, a town situated, as Polybius describes it, about five days' journey from Carthage, towards the west. It seems that Scipio was busied in overrunning the country, and in subduing the several towns, when he was interrupted in these operations by the approach of the Carthaginian army. He is said to have detected some spies sent by Hannibal to observe his position ; and by causing them to be led carefully round his camp, and then sent back in safety to Hannibal, he so excited the admiration of his antagonist, as to make him solicit a personal interview, with the hope of effecting a termination of hostilities. The report of this conference, and of the speeches of the two generals, savours greatly of the style of Roman family memoirs, the most unscrupulous in falsehood of any pretended records of facts that the world has yet seen. However, the meeting ended in nothing ; and the next day the

⁵ Livy, XXX. 25, &c. Polybius, XV. 1, &c.

two armies were led out into the field for the last decisive struggle. The numbers on each side we have no knowledge of; but probably neither was in this respect much superior. Masinissa however, with four thousand Numidian cavalry, besides six thousand infantry, had joined Scipio a few days before the battle; while Hannibal, who had so often been indebted to the services of Numidians, had now, on this great occasion, only two thousand horse of that nation to oppose to the numbers and fortune and activity of Masinissa. The account of the disposition of both armies, and of the events of the action, was probably drawn up by Polybius from the information given to him by Lælius, and perhaps from the family records of the house of Scipio. And here we may admit its authority to be excellent. It states that the Roman legions were drawn up in their usual order, except that the maniples of every alternate line did not cover the intervals in the line before them, but were placed one behind another, thus leaving avenues in several places through the whole depth of the army from front to rear. These avenues were loosely filled by the light-armed troops, who had received orders to meet the charge of the elephants, and to draw them down the passages left between the maniples, till they should be enticed entirely beyond the rear of the whole army. The cavalry, as usual, was stationed on the wings; Masinissa, with his Numidians, on the right, and Lælius, with the Italians, on the left. On the other side, Hannibal stationed his elephants, to the number of eighty, in the front of his whole line. Next to these were placed the foreign troops in the service of Carthage, twelve thousand strong, consisting of Ligurians, Gauls, inhabitants of the Balearian islands, and Moors. The second line was composed of those Africans who were the immediate subjects of Carthage, and of the Carthaginians themselves; while Hannibal himself, with his veteran soldiers, who had returned with him from Italy, formed a third line, which was kept in reserve, at a little distance behind the other two. The Numidian cavalry were on the left, opposed to their own countrymen under Masinissa; and the Carthaginian horse on the right, opposed to Lælius and the Italians. After some skirmishing of the Numidians in the two armies, Hannibal's elephants advanced to the charge; but being startled by the sound of the Roman trumpets, and annoyed by the light-armed troops of the enemy, some broke off to the right and left, and fell in amongst the cavalry of their own army on both the wings; so that Lælius and Masinissa, availing themselves of this disorder, drove the Carthaginian horse speedily from the field. Others advanced against the enemy's line, and did much mischief; till at length, being frightened, and becoming ungovernable, they were enticed by the light-armed troops of the Romans to follow them down the avenues which Scipio had purposely left

open, and were thus drawn out of the action altogether. Meantime the infantry on both sides met; and after a fierce contest, the foreign troops in Hannibal's army, not being properly supported by the soldiers of the second line, were forced to give ground; and in resentment for this desertion, they fell upon the Africans and Carthaginians, and cut them down as enemies; so that these troops, at once assaulted by their fellow-soldiers, and by the pursuing enemy, were also, after a brave resistance, defeated and dispersed. Hannibal, with his reserve, kept off the fugitives, by presenting spears to them, and obliging them to escape in a different direction; and he then prepared to meet the enemy, trusting that they would be ill able to resist the shock of a fresh body of veterans, after having already been engaged in a long and obstinate struggle. Scipio, after having extricated his troops from the heaps of dead which lay between him and Hannibal, commenced a second, and a far more serious contest. The soldiers on both sides were perfect in courage and in discipline; and as the battle went on, they fell in the ranks where they fought, and their places were supplied by their comrades with unabated zeal. At last Lælius and Masinissa returned from the pursuit of the enemy's beaten cavalry, and fell, in a critical moment, upon the rear of Hannibal's army.⁶ Then his veterans, surrounded and overpowered, still maintained their high reputation; and most of them were cut down where they stood, resisting to the last. Flight indeed was not easy; for the country was a plain, and the Roman and Numidian horse were active in pursuit; yet Hannibal, when he saw the battle totally lost, with a nobler fortitude than his brother had shown at the Metaurus, escaped from the field to Adrumetum. He knew that his country would now need his assistance more than ever; and as he had been in so great a degree the promoter of the war, it ill became him to shrink from bearing his full share of the weight of its disastrous issue.

On the plains of Zama twenty thousand of the Carthaginian army were slain, and an equal number taken prisoners; but the consequences of the battle far exceeded the greatness of the immediate victory. It was not the

Results of the battle.

⁶ The battle of Marengo forms, in many points, an exact parallel with that of Zama. The Austrians having routed the advanced divisions of the French army, commenced an entirely new action with the reserve, which Buonaparte, like Hannibal, had kept at a distance from the scene of the first engagement. The struggle, which was obstinately maintained, was decided, as at Zama, by a timely charge of cavalry on the flank of the ene-

my's infantry; but the victorious cavalry in the two battles did not belong to the armies whose situations correspond with one another; for at Zama the reserve was defeated by the charge of Lælius; while it was victorious at Marengo, owing to the attack made by Kellerman. See Gen. Matthieu Dumas, *Campagne de 1800*, and *Victoires et Conquêtes des Français*, tome xiii.

mere destruction of an army ; but the final conquest of the only power that seemed able to combat Rome on equal terms. In the state of the ancient world, with so few nations really great and powerful, and so little of a common feeling pervading them, there was neither the disposition nor the materials for forming a general confederacy against the power of Rome ; and the single efforts of Macedonia, of Syria, and of Carthage herself, after the fatal event of the second Punic war, were of no other use than to provoke their own ruin. The defeat of Hannibal ensured the empire of the ancient civilized world.

The only hope of the Carthaginians now rested on the forbearance of Scipio ; and they again sent deputies to him, with a full confession of the injustice of their conduct in the first origin of the war, and still more in their recent violation of the truce ; and with a renewal of their supplications for peace. The conqueror, telling them that he was moved solely by considerations of the dignity of Rome, and the uncertainty of all human greatness, and in no degree by any pity for misfortunes which were so well deserved, presented the terms on which alone they could hope for mercy. "They were to make amends for the injuries done to the Romans during the truce ; to restore all prisoners and deserters ; to give up all their ships of war, except ten, and all their elephants : to engage in no war at all out of Africa, nor in Africa without the consent of the Romans ; to restore to Masinissa all that had belonged to him or any of his ancestors ; to feed the Roman army for three months, and pay it till it should be recalled home ; to pay a contribution of ten thousand Euboic talents, at the rate of two hundred talents a year, for fifty years ; and to give a hundred hostages, between the ages of fourteen and thirty, to be selected at the pleasure of the Roman general." At this price the Carthaginians were allowed to hold their former dominion in Africa, and to enjoy their independence, till it should seem convenient to the Romans to complete their destruction. Yet Hannibal strongly urged that the terms should be accepted, and, it is said, rudely interrupted ⁷ a member of the supreme council at Carthage, who was speaking against them. He probably felt, as his father had done under circumstances nearly similar, that for the present resistance was vain ; but that, by purchasing peace at any price, and by a wise management of their internal resources, his countrymen might again find an opportunity to recover their losses. Peace was accordingly signed ; the Roman army returned to Italy ; and Hannibal, at the age of forty-five, having seen the schemes of his whole life utterly ruined, was now beginning, with equal patience and resolution, to lay the foundation for them again.

Terms of the peace granted to Carthage.

⁷ Polybius, XV. 19.

From our scanty notices of the succeeding years of his life, we learn that his conduct, as a citizen, displayed great wisdom and great integrity. He is said to have reduced the exorbitant⁸ power of an order of perpetual judges, whose authority was very extensive, and had been greatly abused. He turned his attention also to the employment of the public revenue, much of which he found to be embezzled by persons in office, while the people were heavily taxed to raise the yearly contributions due to the Romans by the last treaty. When a man of such high character raised his voice against so gross an abuse, there was yet vigour enough in the popular part of the Carthaginian constitution to give him effectual support; and it appears that the evil was removed, and the public revenue henceforward applied to public services. Hannibal however had thus created many powerful enemies; and ere long they found an opportunity of gratifying their hatred. The war between Rome and Macedonia had lately been concluded; and the success of the Romans, and their commanding interference in the affairs of Greece, awakened the fears and jealousy of Antiochus, king of Syria, whose kingdom was the greatest possessed by any of the successors of Alexander. He seemed disposed to take up the contest which Philip, king of Macedonia, had been compelled to resign; and the Romans were either informed, or fancied, that Hannibal was using all his influence at Carthage to persuade his countrymen to join him. Accordingly a commission was sent to the Carthaginian government, requiring them to punish Hannibal as a disturber of the peace between the two nations. Hannibal, knowing that he should be unable to resist the efforts of his domestic enemies, when thus supported by the influence of Rome, seems at last to have surrendered his long-cherished hopes of restoring his country to her ancient greatness. He found means to escape from Carthage, and procured a vessel to transport him to Tyre, where he was received with all the honours due to a man who had shed such glory on the Phœnician name, and from whence he easily reached the court of Antiochus, at Antioch. Finding that the king was already set out on his way towards Greece, he followed and overtook him at Ephesus; and being cordially received, he contributed powerfully to fix him in his determination to declare war on the Romans, and was retained near his person, as one of his most valuable counsellors.

The ability of Hannibal was displayed again on this new occasion, by the plans which he recommended for the prosecution of the war. He first and most strongly urged that he should be sent⁹ with an army into

Wise domestic policy of Hannibal: he is forced to quit Carthage, and goes to Antiochus.

War of Antiochus. Hannibal goes to the court of Prusias: his death.

⁸ Livy, XXXIII. 45, 46, &c.

⁹ Livy, XXXIV. 60.

Italy; there, he said, the Romans were most vulnerable; and an attack made upon their own country might distract their counsels, and at least lessen their means of carrying on hostilities in Greece or Asia. When this measure was abandoned, owing, as it is said, to the king's jealousy of the glory which Hannibal would gain by its success, his next proposal was¹⁰ that the alliance of Philip, king of Macedon, should be purchased at any price. Macedon was a power strong enough to take a substantial part in the war, and would be too important to escape, as the little second or third-rate states might do, by forsaking its ally so soon as he should experience any reverses. This counsel was also neglected; and Philip united himself with the Romans against Antiochus; so that Hannibal, employed only in a subordinate naval command, a duty for which his experience had in no way fitted him, could render the king no essential service; and in a short time, when the Romans had brought the war to a triumphant end, he was obliged to seek another asylum, as Antiochus had agreed, by one of the articles¹¹ of the treaty, to surrender him up to the Roman government. His last refuge was the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. With that prince he remained about five years; and it is mentioned by Cornelius Nepos, that he gained a victory, while commanding his fleet, over his old enemy Eumenes, king of Pergamus. All his own prospects had long since been utterly ruined; and the condition of such a man, reduced to the state of a dependent exile, under the protection of so humble a sovereign as Prusias, might have satisfied the most violent hatred of the Romans. But it seems they could not be free from uneasiness while Hannibal lived; and when a Roman embassy was sent to the court of Prusias, that king, whether spontaneously, or at the solicitation of the ambassadors, promised to put their great enemy into their hands. His treachery however was suspected by Hannibal; and when he found the avenues to his house secured by the king's guards, he is said to have destroyed himself by a poison which he had long carried about him for such an emergency. Some particulars are added by Livy and Plutarch, which, not being credibly attested, nor likely to have become publicly known, it is needless to insert here. It is sufficient to say, that Hannibal died by his own hand, to avoid falling into the power of the Romans, at Nicomedia, in Bithynia; and, as nearly as we can ascertain, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

If the characters of men be estimated according to the steadiness with which they have followed the true principle of action, we cannot assign a high place to

His character.

¹⁰ Livy, XXXVI. 7.

¹¹ Polybius, XXI. 14.

Hannibal. But if patriotism were indeed the greatest of virtues, and a resolute devotion to the interests of his country were all the duty that a public man can be expected to fulfil, he would then deserve the most lavish praise. Nothing can be more unjust than the ridicule with which Juvenal has treated his motives, as if he had been actuated merely by a romantic desire of glory. On the contrary, his whole conduct displays the loftiest genius, and the boldest spirit of enterprise, happily subdued and directed by a cool judgment, to the furtherance of the honour and interests of his country; and his sacrifice of selfish pride and passion, when after the battle of Zama he urged the acceptance of peace, and lived to support the disgrace of Carthage, with the patient hope of one day repairing it, affords a strong contrast to the cowardly despair with which some of the best of the Romans deprived their country of their service by suicide. Of the extent of his abilities, the history of his life is the best evidence: as a general, his conduct remains uncharged with a single error; for the idle censure which Livy presumes to pass on him for not marching to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, is founded on such mere ignorance, that it does not deserve any serious notice. His knowledge of human nature, and his ascendancy over men's minds, are shown by the uninterrupted authority which he exercised alike in his prosperity and adversity over an army composed of so many various and discordant materials, and which had no other bond than the personal character of the leader. As a statesman, he was at once manly, disinterested, and sensible; a real reformer of abuses in his domestic policy, and in his measures, with respect to foreign enemies, keeping the just limit between weakness and blind obstinacy. He stands reproached however with covetousness by the Carthaginians, and with cruelty by the Romans. The first charge is sustained by no facts that have been transmitted to us; and it is a curious circumstance, that the very same vice was long imputed by party violence to the great duke of Marlborough, and that the imputation has been lately proved by his biographer to have been utterly calumnious. Of cruelty indeed, according to modern principles, he cannot be acquitted; and his putting to death all the Romans whom he found on his march through Italy, after the battle of the lake Thrasymenus, was a savage excess of hostility. Yet many instances of courtesy are recorded of him, even by his enemies, in his treatment of the bodies of the generals who fell in action against him; and certainly, if compared with the ordinary proceedings of Roman commanders, his actions deserve no peculiar brand of barbarity. Still it is little to his honour, that he was not more careless of human suffering than Marcellus or Scipio; nor can the urgency of his circumstances, or the evil influence of his

friends, to both which Polybius attributes much of the cruelty ascribed to him, be justly admitted as a defence. It is the prevailing crime of men in high station to be forgetful of individual misery, so long as it forwards their grand objects ; and it is most important, that our admiration of great public talents and brilliant successes should not lead us to tolerate an indifference to human suffering.

NOTES.

THE following notes are extracted from manuscripts of the Author's, some of them written recently, while he was collecting materials for this history, but the chief part in 1833, when he was thinking of converting the series of Biographies in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* into a continuous history of Rome, which was to open with the first Punic war, the period where Niebuhr's great work had just been broken off by his death. As they contain information, and express opinions, on several interesting questions connected with Roman history, it has been thought expedient to insert them in this volume, under the persuasion that the substance of them would have been inserted by the author, though not exactly in the same form and words.

Note A, to p. 250, l. 41.

If we endeavour to picture to ourselves what the Roman people were at the beginning of the sixth century of their history, to represent to ourselves the size and aspect of their city and its neighbourhood; their language, their manners, their social and domestic habits, their wealth, private and public, their principles of religion and of law; their character and condition, in short, as men and as citizens; where are the eyes so piercing as to discern the almost vanishing forms of these objects amidst the dimness of antiquity? or how can we supply, and arrange into an intelligible whole, the disjointed and seemingly unmeaning images, which our fragments of information offer, as perplexing and incongruous as the chaos of a dream?

The city of Rome, properly so called, was still contained at the beginning of the sixth century, and for some centuries afterwards, within the walls ascribed to Servius Tullius. Its circumference was about seven miles; but this enclosure was far from being all built over. Sacred groves, the remains of the forest which in the earliest times had covered all the higher grounds, were still very numerous; gardens, orchards, perhaps copse-wood, such as still grows on the sides of the Monte Testaccio, also occupied a considerable space. As in so many other towns in their original state, the walls did not come down close

¹ Bunsen's *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, Vol. I. p. 678.

to the river,² but ran parallel to it at some distance, passing from the Capitol to the Aventine by what is called the Janus Quadrifons, and the western extremity of the Circus Maximus. But, as was natural, one of the earliest suburbs sprang up in this quarter; and the space between the walls and the Tiber, without the Porta Flumentana, was already covered with houses in the time of the second Punic war.³ Buildings had probably grown up beyond the Tiber also, connecting the fortress on the Janiculus with the city: on the eastern side of Rome, from the Esquiline to the end of the Quirinal, the space before the walls seems to have been open.

The streets were narrow and winding,⁴ and the houses lofty; the different floors⁵ being occupied by different families, according to the practice still so common in Scotland and on the continent. There was as yet little of ornamental architecture, such as was introduced at a later period from Greece; and of the style of the older temples we have no means of judging. Those great works which peculiarly characterize Rome, her aqueducts and her roads, were as yet in their infancy. Of the former, only two were in existence, the Appia and the Anio Vetus; but these were not carried upon a long line of magnificent arches, like the aqueducts of a later age; their course was almost wholly underground;⁶ for it was not yet beyond possibility that the Romans might see an invading enemy in the neighbourhood of their city, and it was of the utmost importance to conceal the line by which they obtained their supplies of water. Of the roads there existed the Appian, which in the year 459 had been paved with basalt⁷ as far as Bovillæ, that is, to the foot of the Alban hills, ten miles from Rome; and according to Niebuhr, there must also have existed the Latin, the Salarian, the Nomentan, and the oldest Tiburtine. Whether these were as yet paved, we have, I believe, no information.

If we look to the neighbourhood of Rome, we shall find that many of the old towns with which Latium was so thickly set in early times, had already been utterly destroyed. Nothing more surprises those who fancy the Campagna of Rome to be like Champagne, or like the great chalk plains of Hampshire and Wiltshire, than the sight of its actual

² Bunsen, p. 628, &c. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. III. p. 360, note 525.

³ Niebuhr, Abriss der Geschichte de Stadt [in Bunsen's Rome, p. 112].

⁴ Tacitus, Annal. XV. 43.

⁵ This is said expressly by Dionysius, X. 32, of the houses on the Aventine.

⁶ Frontinus, de Aquæductibus, 7, 18. The Aqua Appia had its source near the road to Præneste, between the seventh and eighth mile-stones from Rome; and the whole length of its course to the point at which the distribution of the water took place, near the Porta Trigemina (at the foot of the Aventine, looking towards the Palatine) was 11 miles and 190 paces. It was carried underground the whole of

this distance, except for sixty paces close to the Porta Capena (in the low ground, just under the southern end of the Cælian). The Anio Vetus was contracted for in the year 482 (481 according to Frontinus), and completed a few years afterwards. Its source was [twenty miles from Rome, above Tibur; and the whole length of its course was forty-three miles, all of which, except 221 paces, was underground. Frontinus, c. 6.

⁷ Livy, X. 47. Silice perstrata est. Silex is lava basaltina, of a blackish grey colour, made up of a crystallized mass of augite, leucite, zeolite, &c. See Bunsen's Rome, p. 50, note.

scenery. The swellings of the ground continually end in little precipitous cliffs; and the numerous streams flow between deep rocky banks, offering exactly such situations as the old Italians loved to choose for the citadels of their towns. Accordingly Pliny reckons up the names of fifty-three⁸ people of Latium, who had all perished without leaving a trace of their existence behind. Many of these indeed were destroyed at a period not only beyond historical memory, but even beyond the reach of those traditions which once passed for history; some however occur in the early annals of the commonwealth, and are afterwards lost to us altogether, as Crustumeria, Corioli, Longula, Polusca, &c., while others, as Gabii and Fidenæ, though not actually destroyed, fell into such a state of decay that they became a proverb to express the extremity of loneliness and desolateness.⁹ No doubt the law of conquest had been applied to these states in its full extent; and their lands, having been taken in war, had mostly been occupied by the patricians, and thus became in fact, though not in law, the property of individual Romans. Thus at a very early period we find that the fortunes of the nobility consisted chiefly in land¹⁰ conquered from an enemy; the old Ager Romanus, or original territory of Rome, extending only about five miles¹¹ from the city towards Alba, and still less in other directions. Accordingly Strabo says expressly, that Antemnæ and Fidenæ, the latter five miles from Rome, the former less than three, were in his time the property of private persons. By *property*, *κτῆσις*, he meant *possessions*, land which had been originally won from an enemy, and never divided out as a colony; which was the possession of individuals, sold, let, and bequeathed, like actual property, so long as the state did not choose to exercise its right of resuming it.

Polybius has remarked,¹² that the old Latin language differed so much from that spoken in his time, that even those of the Romans who understood it best met with expressions in it which they found great difficulty in interpreting. This refers to the language spoken at the beginning of the commonwealth; and the famous hymn of the Fratres Arvales, which has been preserved to our own times, enables us to confirm the truth of the statement. But in the Punic wars the Latin language was substantially the same as in the age of Cicero and Virgil: the inscription on the Duillian column, and that on the tomb of L. Scipio, who was consul in 495, are both perfectly intelligible to us, and only differ in the forms of the words from the writings of the Augustan age.

The free male population of Italy of an age to bear arms, exclusive of Bruttium, of the Greek cities of Magna Græcia, and of the whole country north of the Rubicon and the Macra, is said by Polybius to have amounted to 770,000 men, in the year 529. It is not clear however whether there is not some confusion¹³ in the reckoning, and

⁸ III. 5.

⁹ Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis Vicus. See also Cicero, pro Plancio.

¹⁰ Livy, IV. 48. Nec enim ferme quicquam agri, ut in urbe alieno solo positâ, non armis partum erat.

¹¹ Strabo, V. p. 159. Compare Livy, I. 23, and II. 39.

¹² III. 22.

¹³ Polybius reckons the four Roman legions employed in the field, and the reserve which covered the city, as *exclusive*

whether the sum total ought not to be reduced by nearly 50,000. Even adopting the lower number, we get a free population of 1,440,000 persons in the vigour of life; and if we add half as many for those of both sexes who were under seventeen or above sixty, it makes the whole free population of Italy, with the important omissions already noticed, to amount to 2,120,000 souls. The slave population it is impossible to calculate. In Campania the slaves must have been numerous: in Etruria those who were not reckoned amongst the citizens, that subject population who, though not strictly slaves, are often carelessly called so, must have greatly outnumbered those properly called Etruscans. But in Latium, in Samnium, amongst the Sabines, and in Rome itself, the slaves were as yet perhaps a minority of the whole population. Still, if we reckon the whole population, free and slave together, at five millions, and consider the number and populousness of the Greek cities, of which no account is given, the sum for the whole peninsula south of the Macra and the Rubicon will appear sufficiently great. No doubt it had once been far greater; but the long and bloody wars which led to the Roman conquest of Italy, must have diminished it enormously, to say nothing of the wasting invasions of the Gauls.

Extensive tracts of land had been seized by the Romans, and were mostly held in occupation by a small number of proprietors: nor must we conceive of these large estates, as of the large farms of modern times, which are supposed to be so favourable to agriculture. On the contrary, they were cultivated carelessly and partially; and ground, which the necessities of the small proprietor had forced into productiveness, was allowed to return to its natural barrenness. Besides, the extent of the woodlands must have been much greater than at present; and if some spots were then well peopled, which the malaria has now rendered uninhabitable, yet on the other hand there were places, as particularly in the valley of the Arno, which have only been reclaimed in later times from the state of impracticable marshes; and the number of individuals supported by trade, or by any other means than agriculture, was beyond all comparison smaller than in modern Italy.

I know of only one fact which seems to indicate the existence of a commercial spirit among the Romans at the period with which we are now engaged. This is the law of Q. Claudius,¹⁴ one of the tribunes, passed a short time before the second Punic war, which made it unlawful for any senator, or father of a senator, to possess a ship of the burden of more than three hundred amphoræ. The avowed object of this law was to exclude the nobility from engaging in maritime commerce; the professed reason for the exclusion was, that trade was degrading to

of the census of the Romans and Campanians; that is, the complete census, including the legions stationed in Sicily and Tarentum, would have given a sum total of 324,900. But the census for the year 532, gives only 270,213 citizens. Now if, as Niebuhr supposes, the census included all those citizens of foreign states, who were municipes of Rome, it would on

this occasion comprise the Campanians; and we thus get a number very closely agreeing with the sum of the Romans and Campanians as given by Polybius, 273,000, if we suppose that he ought to have included the soldiers actually employed in this amount, instead of reckoning them separately.

¹⁴ Livy, XXI. 63.

the dignity of a senator: but the circumstance that it was resisted strenuously by the whole senate, and carried in despite of their opposition, proves that they felt the restriction much more as an injury than an honour, and makes it probable that the real object of the friends of the law was to monopolize the profits of trade to the middling classes, and to exclude the competition of the nobility, whose superior wealth would have given them great advantages in every market. But the commercial spirit of the Romans had no time to develop itself; the invasion of Hannibal was fatal to the security, and much more to the acquisition of capital; and after the struggle was over, society had undergone a change which fixed the attention of the people on other objects. Trade therefore contributed but little to the greatness of Rome: indeed it is ridiculous to speak of the trade of a country, where some of the simplest callings¹⁵ were as yet unknown, and where silver money had been coined¹⁶ for the first time only five years before the first Punic war.

Were the manners of Rome then as pure as those writers would imagine, who consider an agricultural people to be placed in so much healthier a moral condition than a commercial or manufacturing one? Undoubtedly the Roman character before the second Punic war was full of nobleness: but it is idle to connect its excellence with the preference given to agriculture, rather than to trade. The Roman people were as yet in the youth of their existence; and their minds enjoyed a youthful freshness. They had not lost the feelings of admiration and veneration; feelings which knowledge and experience, inasmuch as their field is an evil world, surely lessen; feelings whose destruction is the worst degradation of human nature. Respect for the gods, respect for the laws, respect for the aged, respect for the judgment of the good and the wise, powerfully influenced a Roman's mind; and opposed to these, self-confidence and self-indulgence could as yet do nothing. What there was of crime was not the mere wickedness of individual gratification: of whatever offences a Roman was guilty, his idol was not that vilest of all, his own single pleasure or pride. He was cruel and treacherous to foreigners; for such conduct might save the majesty of Rome from humiliation: if a patrician, he might be oppressive and insolent to the commons, or the *mob of the forum, turba forensis*: but he was striving against the confusion of sacred things with vile, against dishonouring the images of his ancestors, whose spirits watched over the welfare of their race, and required of their descendants in every generation to transmit its honour and dignity to their children unimpaired. So in Rome, as in more corrupted states, there was violence and injustice, and towards foreigners cruelty and falsehood; but there was, withal, a surrender of self to some more general interest; and where the commands of that interest were in accordance with truth and justice, there was exhibited virtue in some of its most heroic forms, reso-

¹⁵ Barbers were unknown at Rome, according to Varro (Pliny, VII. 59) till the year 554; bakers, or rather breadmakers, till the year 580. (Pliny, XVIII. 11.) But the oldest food of the Romans was *puls*, a

sort of paste made of spelt (far); like the polenta of maize, so commonly eaten in Italy now.

¹⁶ Pliny, XXXIII. 3.

lute control of appetite, obedience even to death, unshaken fortitude, and entire self-devotion in the cause of duty.

In such a state of things the domestic relations are purely and faithfully discharged; for on these points law and public opinion always speak the language of nature and of truth: it is only individual wickedness that leads to the violation of these plain duties. Accordingly we find that the marriage tie was seldom broken, either by adultery or by divorce;¹⁷ and the obedience of children to their parents was secured at once by the general feeling and by law. The laws indeed relating to the *patria potestas* confer on the parent an exclusive authority, and even profane one of the most sacred of human relations by placing it on the footing of that of master and slave. Yet so strong is parental affection, that there is little danger of a father's tyrannizing over his children: and this natural love makes the great distinction between domestic government and political; neglect and disobedience on the part of the child being the evil most to be dreaded in the one, as oppression on the part of the rulers is in the other.

But although in the early times of Rome, the marriage tie was most rarely broken, yet we are not to imagine that the standard of morals approached nearly to the purity required by Christianity. As if compromising with passions which it could not wholly extirpate, public opinion almost tolerated some kinds of sensual indulgence, in order more effectually to put down others. The plays of Plautus, although the stories are of Greek origin, could not have been relished by a Roman audience, had not the state of morals which they describe resembled actual life at Rome, no less than at Athens. So universal is the tendency of our nature to impurity, that we could readily believe, even without express testimony,¹⁸ that the conversation of the Romans at their entertainments, even in the most ancient times, was unfit for a modest woman to hear. Nor can we wonder that the young Romans acted in the entertainments known by the name of *Fabulæ Atellanæ*,¹⁹ without any deg-

¹⁷ It is a well known story that Sp. Carvilius was the first Roman who divorced his wife; and that this took place after the end of the first Punic war (See Aul. Gellius, IV. 3. Valer. Maximus, II. 1. § 4). Niebuhr (Rom. Hist. Vol. III. p. 414) and Hugo (Geschichte des Rom. Rechts, p. 114) consider this as a mistake; and possibly it is not to be taken to the letter. But if, as the story seems to imply, Carvilius divorced his wife in order to marry another (and this is the notion of the word "Divortium," given in Scholium on Cicero de Oratore, I. 40. Divortium est, quoties dissoluto matrimonio alter eorum alteras nuptias sequitur), then it may have been one of the earliest instances of such a divorce, if not absolutely the very earliest. For the Romans in early times, no less than the Germans in the days of Tacitus, abhorred second marriages (Valer. Maxim. II. 1. § 3). Again, marriages

celebrated with the religious ceremonies known by the name of *Confarreatio* were held to be indissoluble, except by the performance of certain other ceremonies, which were purposely made horrid and revolting, in order to deter any one from having recourse to them. This shows the old feeling with regard to divorce; for marriage by *Confarreatio* was doubtless considered originally as the only true and solemn marriage. And therefore in later times, when divorces were frequent, it fell into disuse, as did, in fact, the *Conventio in Manum* altogether; and a less formal marriage came into general use, founded merely on the consent of the parties, which could be dissolved more readily.

¹⁸ See Fragm. Varro, Satyr. Menipp. in Agathon.

¹⁹ Livy, VII. 2. Festus in Personata Fabula.

radation, although these²⁰ in the coarseness of their ribaldry went far beyond the regular drama. It seems as if the ancient commonwealths acted on the famous principle of Aristotle, and deemed it wise to give the passions their full range on particular occasions, that their violence might so be exhausted, and the general course of life preserved safe from their dominion. Thus, while the purity of the Athenian tragedy has been guarded with such scrupulous care, the comedy of the same people indulged in the grossest indecencies; and thus, as the slaves had their season of liberty at the Saturnalia, so the Floralia, the Liberalia, and other religious festivals, gave free license to the lowest and most slavish passions of our nature; and abominations were then practised and publicly sanctioned, which would be utterly inconsistent with the severity of the Roman discipline in other respects, did we not believe that they were looked upon as a sort of safety-valve, whereby it was possible to regulate the escape of feelings too powerful to be repressed altogether.

Note B, to p. 257, l. 44.

THE expression in Varro is remarkable, "T. Manlio Consule, bello Carthaginienſi primo confecto," (Ling. Lat. IV. p. 39, Ed. Varior. 1619,) and again in Livy, I. 19, "T. Manlio Consule, post Punicum primum perfectum bellum." This cannot allude to the first treaty concluded by Catulus six years before, but must relate to the apparently entire termination of all disputes by the solemn confirmation of it in 518-19. And thus, according to the expression of Paternulus, "Certæ pacis argumentum Janus geminus clausus dedit." The gate of Janus was the Porta Janualis, one of the gates of the original Rome on the Palatine. Afterwards, by the addition of the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal and Capitol, it became a passage gate, rather than an entrance gate, being now in the middle of the city, just like Temple Bar. It stood near the present arch of Septimius Severus, on the edge of the Forum, and close upon the Via Sacra. Livy places it in the Argiletum, that is, in the low ground between the Capitol and the Tiber, near the site of the existing arch of Janus Quadrifons; but this is probably a confusion, as we read of a temple of Janus in this quarter, but one which had been built by C. Duillius in the first Punic war. (Tacitus, Annal. II. 49.) The notion of opening the gates of Janus in war was, that this god, who under his name of Quirinus was worshipped by the old Italians, as the god of battles, might go out to war in defence of his people. And his statue was set up at the Porta Janualis, rather than at any other place, because tradition recorded, that in the battle between the Romans and Sabines, in the reign of Romulus, he had wrought a

²⁰ Augustine, Civit. Dei, II. 8. "Hæc sunt scenicorum tolerabilia ludorum, comœdiæ scilicet et tragœdiæ, hoc est, fabulæ, poetarum agendæ in spectaculis, multâ rerum turpitudine, sed nullâ saltem, sicut alia multa, verborum obscœnitate compositæ." That the "alia multa" in-

clude the Atellanæ Fabulæ is clear from the distinction between them and regular comedy, and from Livy's words, "Juventus, histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus jactitare cœpit."

signal deliverance for Rome on that very spot. See Macrobius, *Saturnal.* I. 9. I am aware that Niebuhr (*Vol. I. p. 202, 2d edit.*) gives a different explanation of the origin of the custom, and supposes that the *Porta Janualis*, connecting the Roman and Sabine towns with each other, was closed in peace, to show that they were distinct and independent states, but opened in war to imply that then they were allies, and rendered one another mutual aid. This seems to me rather forced; whereas the statement given above from Macrobius is simple and probable. Besides, Virgil, a high authority in such matters, declares that the custom of opening the gates of Janus in time of war was not of Roman origin, but borrowed from the general practice of the Latins. (*Æn.* VII. 601.) It could not therefore have referred to any local peculiarities in the situation of Rome.

Note C, to p. 258, l. 37.

Nothing is known of the language or customs of the Illyrians, by which we can confidently ascertain their race. A legend recorded by Appian (*Illyrica, c. I.*), which makes Keltus, Illyrius, and Gala, to have been three brothers, the sons of the Cyclops Polyphemus, is grounded probably on the known intermixture of Keltic tribes, the Boii, the Scordisci, and the Taurisci, amongst the Illyrians at a later period; and the Japodes, a tribe on the borders of Istria, are described by Strabo (*IV. p. 143*) as half Kelts, half Illyrians. In the practice of tatooing their bodies, the Illyrians resembled the Thracians (Strabo, *VII. p. 218*. Herodot. *V. 6*); the custom of one of their tribes, the Dalmatians, to have a new division of their lands every seven years (Strabo, *VII. p. 218*) resembles the well-known practice of the Germans, only advanced somewhat farther towards civilized life; and the names of Teuta and Teutus, might make us fancy a connexion between them and the Teutonic race. The author of the *Periplus* ascribed to Scylax speaks of the great influence enjoyed by their women, whose lives in consequence he describes as highly licentious; but Scymnus Chius, writing about a hundred years before the Christian æra, calls them "a religious people, just and kind to strangers, loving to be liberal, and desiring to live orderly and soberly," a character which often marks the first growth of the virtues of peace amongst a people newly reclaimed from barbarism; while they yet retain the simplicity of their earlier state, but have laid aside its lawlessness and cruelty. These happy fruits of Roman conquest and dominion were exhibited in Illyria in the time of Scymnus Chius, as at a later period they were displayed among the Cisalpine Gauls, who in the time of Pliny preserved a simplicity and purity of manners unknown in the rest of Italy. (Pliny, *Epist. I. 14.*) But at the time of the first Illyrian war, the Illyrians were as yet merely barbarous, dreaded for their ferocity, and with that low sense of justice or true nobleness which commonly characterizes the barbarian.

Note D, to p. 261, l. 15.

THE Spaniards value the harbour of Carthagera so highly, that, according to their proverb, "there are four harbours in the Mediterranean;—Carthagera, June, July, and August."

Note E, to p. 263, l. 26.

FROM the mention of Greeks on this and other similar occasions (as in Livy, XXII. 57), Niebuhr concludes that the prophecies referred to cannot have been of Greek origin, and therefore not what were properly called "Sibylline books," but rather of Etruscan origin, or Latin, some of which were kept together with the Sibylline books, under the care of the same officers. But it does not appear that the prophecy and the method of evading it were contained in the same books: nor is it likely; for no prophecy would seek to render itself nugatory. If the books were Greek, they were likely to contain prophecies of Greek triumphs; and such must undoubtedly have been the meaning of the declaration, that the Greeks should take possession of Rome. Prophecies relating to the Gauls may have been of Etruscan origin, dictated by that fear of the Gaulish arms, which the Etruscans had learnt in earlier ages, when the Gauls had driven them from their settlements on the north of the Apennines. The evasion of these prophecies was merely the commentary of the Roman pontifices, such as was generally practised in order to avert a prediction, whose authority it was not thought proper to deny. Niebuhr refers to a similar trick practised by the Apulians against the Brundisians. An oracle had declared that the Ætolians, the followers of Diomedes, should possess Brundisium for ever; so, when the Apulians had expelled them from Brundisium, and they on the assurance of this oracle sent an embassy to reclaim it, the Apulians put the ambassadors to death, and buried them within the city; thus fulfilling the prophecy, and preventing its fulfilment in any other sense. (Justin, XII. 2.)

Note F, to p. 264, l. 34.

NOTHING shows more clearly the great rarity of geographical talent, than the praise which has been commonly bestowed on Polybius as a good geographer. He seems indeed to have been aware of the importance of geography to history, and to have taken considerable pains to gain information on the subject: but this very circumstance proves the more the difficulty of the task; for his descriptions are so vague and imperfect, and so totally devoid of painting, that it is scarcely possible to understand them. For instance, in his account of the march of the Gauls into Italy, and the subsequent movements of their army and of the Romans, there is an obscurity, which never could have existed, had he conceived in his own mind a lively image of the seat of war as a whole, of the connexion of the rivers and chains of mountains with each

other, and of the consequent direction of the roads and most-frequented passes. The Gauls, he tells us, crossed the Apennines into Tuscany, and advanced to Clusium; and thus placed themselves on the rear of the prætor's army, which had been destined to cover the Etruscan frontier. We must suppose then that the prætor's army was posted between Fæsulæ and Pistoria, expecting the Gauls to cross the Apennines nearly by the line of the present road from Modena to Florence by Pistoria; and that the Gauls, instead of taking this line, came in the direction of the modern road from Bologna; except that after descending the main chain of the Apennines, near Moncarelli, they followed the Val Mugello, or Valley of the Sieve, to their left, and thus came out on the Valdarno, about half way between Florence and Incisa: from thence they may either have ascended the Valdarno, till they crossed over from it to the Val di Chiana by the line of the Valdambra; or else, as is more probable, they may have moved at once in the direction of Sienna, and then crossed from Sienna, by the upper part of the Val d'Ombrone and Montepulciano, to Chiusi or Clusium.

Note G, to p. 265, l. 9.

THE text of Polybius (II. 25) places this battle at *Fæsulæ*; this should clearly be corrected into *Rusulæ*. The Italian names of places in our manuscripts of Polybius are continually corrupt, as the Constantinople copyist knew nothing about them.

Note H, to p. 265, l. 28.

IN Polybius, the Gauls are said to be intercepted, *περὶ Τελαμῶνα τῆς Τυρσηρίας*. This is evidently a mistake. Frontinus (I. 2, 7) places the scene of the battle at Poplonia, which is far more intelligible.

Note I, to p. 266, l. 8.

It was probably about eighty years after this period, that the historian Polybius travelled through Cisalpine Gaul, and was struck with the unrivalled productiveness of the country. It yielded wine and all sorts of grain in the greatest abundance; its oak woods, scattered at intervals over the plain, fed the largest part of those immense droves of swine which were annually consumed in Italy, or required for the use of the Roman army; and travellers at the inns were provided plentifully with every thing that they wanted after their day's journey, at the rate of a quarter of an obulus for each person. Such are the fruits of the first application of the security and energy of civilization to a soil highly favoured by nature. The earth is in its first freshness and vigour; the woods thinned, but not destroyed: the population flourishing and increasing, but far below the number of inhabitants capable of being maintained in comfort; and whilst the vices of barbarism have been put down those of corrupted and ill-watched civilization have not yet had

time to grow up. But this was the state of Cisalpine Gaul after it had been subjected for more than half a century to the dominion of Rome. It must have presented a very different aspect to the first Roman settlers of the year 534. The roads or tracts were cut through a wide extent of forest and marshes; and only a small space of the most inviting character had been hardly recovered from its natural wildness by the lazy and careless cultivation of the Gauls. Towns were no where to be seen; the population was scattered about in unwalled villages, if the name of village may be given to a collection of wretched huts, so devoid of the commonest articles of furniture, that "man's life" spent in them was literally "as cheap as beasts'." And along with this state of physical degradation, there was the total absence of civil society. There were men in the country; there were families, bands, and hordes; but there was no commonwealth. One relation alone, beyond those of blood, seems to have been acknowledged; the same which, introduced into Europe six hundred years afterwards by the victories of the German barbarians, has deeply tainted modern society down to this hour; the relation of chief and followers, or, as it was called in its subsequent form, lord and vassals. The head of a family distinguished for his strength and courage gathered around him a numerous train of followers from other families; and they formed his clan, or band, or followers, bound to him for life and death, bestowing on him those feelings of devoted attachment, which can be safely entertained only towards the commonwealth and its laws, and rendering him that blind obedience, which is wickedness when paid to any less than God. This evil and degrading bond is well described by the Greek and Roman writers, by words expressive of unlawful and antisocial combinations ("Factio," Cæsar, de Bell. Gallic. VI. 11; *ἐταρεία*, Polybius, II. 17): it is the same which in other times and countries has appeared in the shape of sworn brotherhoods, factions, parties, sects, clubs, secret societies, and unions, every where and in every form the worst enemy both of individual and of social excellence, as it substitutes other objects in place of those to which as men and citizens we ought only to be bound, namely, GOD and LAW.

Note K, to p. 269, l. 30.

THE removal of the freedmen into the four city tribes is recorded in the Epitome of the 20th book, nearly in the same words as in the Epitome of the 9th. There it is said, "*forensis factio cum comitia et campum turbaret . . . a Q. Fabio censore in quatuor tribus redacta est, quas urbanas appellavit.*" In the 20th Epitome it is said, "*libertini in quatuor tribus redacti sunt, cum antea dispersi per omnes fuissent, Esquilinam, Palatinam, Suburranam, Collinam.*" The "*forensis factio*" of the 9th book is said to have consisted of "*humiles,*" "*humillimi;*" and they are called also "*forensis turba,*" as if their occupation were described rather than their birth. In the 20th book, the persons removed are called simply "*libertini.*" But libertini in general must have followed city employments from the necessity of the case; few can have

had landed property. We must therefore suppose that Fabius' measure was considered as a remedy for a crying evil, rather than a general rule for the time to come; and that, when slaves were set free, they were generally entered in their late master's tribe, which, as he was still in a close relation with them, that of patronus, would be the most natural course to take, when no particular political excitement was stirring. But that such an excitement was stirring in the years immediately preceding the second Punic war, appears from what Livy says of C. Varro: "*proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit.*" XXII. 26. Varro was prætor in 536, and before that time had been quæstor, ædile, and curule ædile; so that he must have come into notice before the censorship of Flaminius. Now it is easy to conceive that, under such circumstances, the aristocracy would wish to lessen the influence of the poorer citizens in the tribes; but the wonder is, how C. Flaminius should have become their instrument in doing this, after his violent contests with them about his Agrarian law, and afterwards about his recall from Cisalpine Gaul, both of which took place before his censorship. Nor could his colleague have done it against his will, according to the well-known law, "*Melior est conditio prohibentis.*"

The solution can only be, that Flaminius was a very honest man, and, whilst he liked the agricultural commons, did not like the populace of the forum. He was like M. Curius, who also vehemently upheld an Agrarian law, yet sold as a slave a citizen who refused to serve as a soldier. He was like P. Decius, the colleague of Fabius in the former clearing of the tribes, yet forward as a supporter of the Ogulnian law. He was like Marius, the stoutest opposer of the aristocracy, yet a resolute opposer also of a *Lex Frumentaria*. (Plutarch, Marius, 4.) Perhaps too, his notions were wholly against giving political influence to any thing but agriculture; and his support of the Claudian law, the object of which was to prevent the senators from becoming merchants, was perhaps conceived in the same spirit as his removing the freedmen into the four city tribes. In this, and perhaps in the vehemence of his temper, he seems to have resembled Cato the censor.

Note L, to p. 284, l. 31.

THE question, in what direction this famous march was taken, has been agitated for more than eighteen hundred years; and who can undertake to decide it? The difficulty to modern inquirers has arisen chiefly from the total absence of geographical talent in Polybius. That this historian indeed should ever have gained the reputation of a good geographer, only proves how few there are who have any notion what a geographical instinct is. Polybius indeed laboured with praiseworthy diligence to become a geographer; but he laboured against nature; and the unpoetical character of his mind has in his writings actually lessened the accuracy, as it has totally destroyed the beauty of history. To any man who comprehended the whole character of a mountain country, and the nature of its passes, nothing could have been easier

than to have conveyed at once a clear idea of Hannibal's route, by naming the valley by which he had ascended to the main chain, and afterwards that which he followed in descending from it. Or admitting that the names of barbarian rivers would have conveyed little information to Greek readers, still the several Alpine valleys have each their peculiar character, and an observer with the least power of description could have given such lively touches of the varying scenery of the march, that future travellers must at once have recognized his description. Whereas the account of Polybius is at once so unscientific and so deficient in truth and liveliness of painting, that persons who have gone over the several Alpine passes for the very purpose of identifying his descriptions, can still reasonably doubt whether they were meant to apply to Mont Genevre, or Mont Cenis, or to the Little St. Bernard.

On the whole, it appears to me most probable, that the pass by which Hannibal entered Italy was that which was known to the Romans by the name of the Graian Alps, and to us as the Little St. Bernard. Nor was this so circuitous a line as we may at first imagine. For Hannibal's object was not simply to get into Italy, but to arrive in the country of those Cisalpine Gauls with whom he had been corresponding, and who had long been engaged in wars with the Romans. Now these were the Boii and Insubrians; and as the Insubrians, who were the more westerly of the two, lived between the Adda and the Ticinus, the pass of the Little St. Bernard led more directly into the country of his expected allies, than the shorter passage into Italy by the Cottian Alps, or Mont Genevre.

Note M, to p. 288, l. 18.

SUCH is the story of the earliest recorded passage of the Alps by civilized men, the earliest and the most memorable. Accustomed as we are, since the completion of the great Alpine roads in the present century, to regard the crossing of the Alps as an easy summer excursion, we can even less than our fathers conceive the difficulties of Hannibal's march, and the enormous sacrifices by which it was accomplished. He himself declared that he had lost above thirty thousand men since he had crossed the Pyrenees, and that the remnant of his army, when he reached the plains of Italy, amounted to no more than twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horsemen: nor does Polybius seem to suspect any exaggeration in the statement. Yet eleven years afterwards Hasdrubal crossed the Alps in his brother's track without sustaining any loss deserving of notice; and "a few accidents"²¹ are all that occurred in the most memorable passage of modern times, that of Napoleon over the Great St. Bernard. It is evident that Hannibal could have found nothing deserving the name of a road, no bridges over the rivers, torrents, and gorges, nothing but mere mountain-paths, liable to be destroyed by the first avalanche or landslip, and which the barbarians neither could nor cared to repair, but on the destruction of which they looked out for another line, such as for their purposes of commu-

²¹ "On n'eut que peu d'accidens." Napoleon's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 261.

nication it was not difficult to find. It is clear also, either that Hannibal passed by some much higher point than the present roads over the Little St. Bernard, or Mount Cenis; or else, as is highly probable,²² that the limit of perpetual snow reached to a much lower level in the Alps than it does at present. For the passage of the main chain is described as wholly within this limit; and the "old snow" which Polybius speaks of was no accidental patch, such as will linger through the summer at a very low level in crevices or sunless ravines; but it was the general covering of the pass, which forbade all vegetation, and remained alike in summer as in winter. How great a contrast to the blue lake, the green turf, the sheep and cattle freely feeding on every side tended by their shepherds, and the bright hues of the thousand flowers, which now delight the summer traveller on the Col of the Little St. Bernard!

I have little doubt as to Hannibal's march up the Tarentaise; but the Val d'Aosta puzzles me. According to any ordinary rate of marching, an army could never get in three days from the Little St. Bernard to the plains of Ivrea; not to mention that the Salassians of that valley were such untameable robbers, that they once even plundered Cæsar's baggage, and Augustus at last extirpated them by wholesale. And yet Hannibal on the Italian side of the main chain sustains little or no annoyance. I have often wished to examine the pass which goes by the actual head of the Isere, by Mont Iseran, and descends by Usseglio, not exactly on Turin, but nearly at Chivasso, where the Po, from running N. and S., turns to run E. and W. In some respects also, I think Mont Cenis suits the description of the march better than any other pass. I lay no stress on the Roche blanche; it did not strike me when I saw it as at all conspicuous; nor does the λευκόπετρον mean any remarkably white cliff, but simply one of those bare limestone cliffs, which are so common both in the Alps and Apennines.

Note N, to p. 292, l. 38.

THERE is a passage in the third volume of Niebuhr's life, in a letter to the Count de Serre, in which he says that Hannibal at the Trebia acted like Napoleon at Marengo, throwing himself between the Romans and the line of their retreat, by Placentia and Ariminum. I believe that this is right, and that Hannibal was on the right bank of the Trebia between the Romans and Placentia, so that the expression in Livy is correct. The Romans had several emporia on the right bank of the

²² Even as late as the year 1646, Evelyn's description of the passage of the Simplon in September can scarcely be recognized by those who know only its present state. He speaks of the house in which he lodged at Sempione, as "half covered with snow," and says that "there is not a tree or bush growing within many miles;" whereas now the pines are so luxuriant about the village, that the road

seems to run through an ornamental park. And again above Sempione, Evelyn was told by the country people that "the way had been covered with snow since the creation; no man remembered it to be without." And he speaks of the descent towards Brieg by the old road as being made for some way "through an ocean of snow." *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 220, 221.

Po, above Placentia, Clastidium, Victumviæ, &c. From these, their army, I suppose, was fed; and the taking of Clastidium thus helped to force them to a battle. Polybius' words are equally clear with Livy's. The front of the Roman centre, he says, despaired of retreating to their own camp *κωλύμενοι διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν καὶ συστροφὴν τοῦ κατὰ κεφαλὴν ὄμβρου* (the rain having made the river deeper than it had been in the morning :) *τηροῦντες δὲ τὰς τάξεις ἀθρόοι μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς Πλακεντίαν*. It is still a difficulty how Sempronius could have been allowed to effect his junction with Scipio, while Hannibal was actually lying between them; but I suppose that he must have turned off to the hills before he approached Placentia, and so have left Hannibal in the plain on his right.

Note O, p. 296, l. 30.

NIEBUHR in the same letter speaks of the following view of Thrasymenus as absolutely certain. Flaminius with Servilius was originally at Ariminum, expecting Hannibal by that road. But when he heard that Hannibal had entered Etruria by the marshes of the lower Arno, he hastened over the Apennines to Arezzo, eager to cover the road to Rome. He moved then by Cortona upon Perugia; but Hannibal turned to the right, and followed the western side of the lake towards Chiusi; then turning short round, occupied the defile of Passignano, and spreading out his right upon the hills, forced the long Roman column by a flank attack into the lake, while he engaged the head of it in the defile. Polybius and Livy differ decidedly as to the scene of the main battle: the latter represents it as taking place in the defile of Passignano, where the Romans had their right flank to the lake. But Polybius says, that only the rear was caught there; most of the army had cleared the defile, and turned to the left into a valley running down at right angles to the lake, so that the lake was exactly on their rear. And the modern road does so turn from the lake to ascend the hills towards Perugia: the only difficulty is (I have been twice on the ground,) that there is nothing that can be called a valley; for the road ascends almost from the edge of the lake: still it is true that the hills do form a small combe, so that an army ascending from the lake might have an enemy on both its flanks on the hill sides above it.

Note P, to p. 324, l. 38.

It seems to me that the Latin colonies and Hannibal's want of artillery were the main causes of his failure. The Romans had in these colonies, not one of which he ever took, fortresses in the heart of the countries which revolted to him. Thus Apulia revolted; but the Romans still held Luceria, Venusia, and Brundisium: Samnium revolted; but the Romans held Æsernia and Beneventum; and so on. Casilinum cost him a siege of several weeks; but the Romans recovered it in a much shorter time. If he had engaged Archimedes as his engineer in

chief, and got Philip to send him artillery, he would have done far better: for the Macedonian princes seemed to have carried their artillery to great perfection. As it was, his only very strong arm was his cavalry: for his infantry, veterans as they were, could never beat the Roman raw levies behind works. It appears to me that the sieges are the great defect of Hannibal's operations in Italy; and thus, as soon as his army moved from any place, the inhabitants who had joined him were at the mercy of the Roman garrisons. And their colonies were very strong garrisons: Venusia was originally settled with 20,000 colonists.

Note Q, to p. 370, l. 14.

ACCORDING to Livy, Hannibal collects all the boats which are to be found on the Vulturnus, orders his men to provide themselves with provisions for ten days, and *crosses in the night*. (XXVI. 7.)

He *remains on the right bank the next day and night*, then moves by Cales in Agrum Sidicinum, and there *remains one day plundering*.

He advances by the Latin road, per Suessanum, Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum. He then *remains for two days under Casinum*, plundering the country in all directions.

He goes on by Interamna and Aquinum to Fregellæ, where he finds the bridges over the Liris broken down; he ravages the ager Fregellanus with peculiar spite for that reason; and then advances by Frusino, Ferentinum, and Anagnia, in Agrum Lavicanum.

From thence he goes over Algidus to Tusculum, descends to Gabii, thence marches down in Pupiniam, and pitches his camp eight miles from Rome.

He moves his camp ad Anienem, three miles from Rome, and there establishes stativa; he himself advancing along under the walls from the Colline gate to the temple of Hercules, to look about him.

On the next day he crosses the Anio, and offers battle to the enemy; a storm breaks off the action.

Next day he offers battle again, and there comes a second storm. He falls back ad Tutiam fluvium, six miles from Rome.

He plunders the temple of Feronia, and marches to Eretum: from thence he goes to Reate, Cutiliæ, and Amiternum. From thence through the Marsian and Marrucinian territory by Sulmo, through the Pelignian territory into Samnium, and from Samnium into Campania. From Campania into Lucania, thence into Bruttium, and thence to Rhegium.

Here are traces of two accounts jumbled together. The march from the Vulturnus, as far as the camp in Pupinia, eight miles from Rome, is all highly consistent and probable, and comes I suspect either from Fabius or Cincius. But the advance to the Anio, the crossing it to offer battle, and then the retreat ad Tutiam, belong to a different story, that namely which made Hannibal advance upon Rome from Reate. For in advancing by the Latin road, or the Via Gabina, he had nothing to do with the Anio; and if he crossed the Anio to offer battle, he must have been between Rome and the Roman army, and the

Roman army would have been between him and the Tutia. : This then is all absurd and inconsistent.

Again, according to Livy, Fulvius had heard beforehand of Hannibal's design, and had warned the senate of it ; he receives an answer from Rome, selects 15,000 foot, and 1000 horse, crosses the Vulturnus on rafts; after a long delay, because Hannibal had burnt all the boats, advances to Rome by the Appian way, and arrives by the Porta Capena just as Hannibal had reached Pupinia. Now, according to Polybius, Hannibal set out for Rome only five days after his arrival before Capua : there was no time therefore for Fulvius to send to Rome and get an answer before Hannibal set out. Again, Casilinum being in the power of the Romans, the passage of the Vulturnus was in their own hands, and the story about the rafts is an absurdity.

Appian says, that Hannibal marched with urgent haste through many and hostile nations, some of whom could not and some did not try to stop him ; and thus he arrived on the Anio, and encamped at 32 stadia from Rome. The Romans break down the bridge over the Anio ; and two thousand men from Alba Marsorum come valiantly to the aid of Rome. This all agrees with Cælius, and supposes evidently that Hannibal advanced through Samnium and by Reate. The "many and hostile nations" are the Pelignians, Marsians, Marrucinians, and Sabines. Thus too he arrives naturally on the Anio ; and the Albensians, seeing him pass through their country, set off at once by the Valerian road to Rome, to be ready to meet him. Had he advanced by the Latin road they would have known nothing about his march, and he would have been between them and Rome.

Fulvius then, according to Appian, hastens to Rome, and meets Hannibal on the Anio, with the river between them. Hannibal ascends the right bank of the river to turn it by its source. Fulvius ascends the left bank watching him. Hannibal leaves some Numidians behind, who cross the river when Fulvius was gone, plunder all the country round the walls, and then rejoin Hannibal. Hannibal goes round by the sources of the river ; and, as it was only a little way to Rome, he steals out by night with three squires to have a look at it, and then takes fright and returns to Capua. Fulvius follows him ; and Hannibal, in attempting to surprise his camp on the road, is sadly foiled. He then marches off to *winter in Lucania* ; and Fulvius rejoins Appian before Capua. This is beneath criticism ; but I observe that the story of Fulvius being too cunning for Hannibal is given by Livy at the assault of the Roman lines before Capua, and is probably as true of one as of the other. Again, the line of retreat here indicated is by the Latin road ; the ascending the Anio shows this, and is inconsistent with the retreat by Reate.

Cælius Antipater had expressly given Hannibal's advance upon Rome thus :—

From Campania into Samnium, and thence to the Pelignians, that is, by the present great road up the Vulturnus to Venafro ; thence by Isernia and Castel di Sangro to the Five Mile plain ; then passing by Sulmo to the Marrucinians ; thence by Alba to the Marsians ; thence

to Amiternum and Foruli: from Amiternum, by Cutiliæ, Reate, and Eretum, upon the Anio.

What a confusion! which neither Nauta nor Prinsterer meddle with. The road from Sulmo to Amiternum is simple enough; descending along the Gizio to the Aterno or Pescara at Popoli, thence ascending to the high upland plain by Navelli and Città Retenga, and so by Aquila to Amiternum, S. Vittorino. But conceive a man,—to say nothing of an army in a hurry,—going down from Popoli to Chieti, then turning back to Sulmona, and going over by the Forchetta to Celano, and thence by Rocca di Mezzo into the valley of Aquila. All this folly arises from the untimely correction where the MS. gives corruptly in Marrucinos, Martinos, Martianos, Maceranos, &c. Cælius supposed that Hannibal, instead of descending from Sulmo towards Popoli, turned to his left, and crossed the mountains by the Forchetta²³ to Cilano, and thence either by Rocca di Mezzo over the mountains to Aquila, or else by the Cicolano, and down the valley of Tornimparte. Instead of Marrucinos, the better condition would be Marrubios, or Marruvios; the people of Marruvium, a Pelignian town on the E. or S.E. shore of the lake Fucinus.

According to Polybius, Hannibal, five days after his arrival before Capua, left his fires burning at night, and set off after supper. He marched by *vigorous and uninterrupted marches through Samnium*, always exploring and preoccupying the ground near the road with his advanced guard: and whilst all at Rome were thinking only of Capua, he suddenly crossed the Anio, and encamped at a distance of not more than four miles from Rome. He intended the next day to assault the city; but the consuls with their two newly raised legions encamped before the walls. He then gives up the assault, and sets about plundering the country and burning the houses in all directions. After this, (how long after is not said, nor why, but we must suppose after Fulvius had arrived from Capua,) the consuls advance boldly, and encamp within ten stadii of Hannibal. Then Hannibal, having filled his army with plunder, and thinking that his diversion must now have taken effect at Capua, commenced his retreat. But the bridges over the Anio had been broken down; and in fording the river he was attacked and sustained some loss: his cavalry however served him so well, that the Romans returned to their camp, *ἄπρακτοι*. He continued his march hastily, which the enemy thought was through fear; so they followed him close, but keeping to the higher grounds. He was moving in haste upon Capua; but *on the fifth day of his retreat*, learning that the Romans there were still in their lines, he halted to wait for his pursuers, and turning upon them attacked their camp by night, and stormed it. The Romans rallied by daybreak on a steep hill which he could not force; so he would not wait to besiege them, but marched through Apulia and Bruttium, and nearly succeeded in surprising Rhegium.

Again what a narrative! with no details of time or place, jumping at once from a five days' march from Rome into Apulia, and merely

²³ At Raiano. This is still a carriageable road. Keppel Craven calls the pass, Furca Caruso.

implying that Hannibal's retreat was on the right bank of the Anio. But this mention of the Anio, connected with the expression "marching through Samnium," seems to show that Polybius, like Cælius, made Hannibal advance by a circuitous route upon Rome, and not by the Latin road.

The season of the year must have been early according to the Roman calendar, not later than April, whatever that was by true time ; because the levy of the two city legions was only half-finished. But unless the Roman calendar was at least two months behind true time, how could Hannibal have passed such defiles as that of Rocca, Vall' Osuira ; or such passes as those between Isernia and Castel di Sangro ? Would not the snow have covered the ground at such a season ?

THE END.



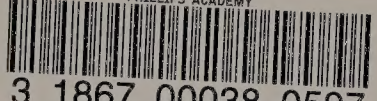
DATE DUE

DEC 10 1978

Li-2

WELLS BINDERY INC.
WALTHAM, MASS.
JULY 1962

PHILLIPS ACADEMY



3 1867 00038 0597

937
AR6

Arnold

History of Rome

V. 2

2498

DATE
DUE

BORROWER'S NAME

2498

937
Ar6
v. 2

